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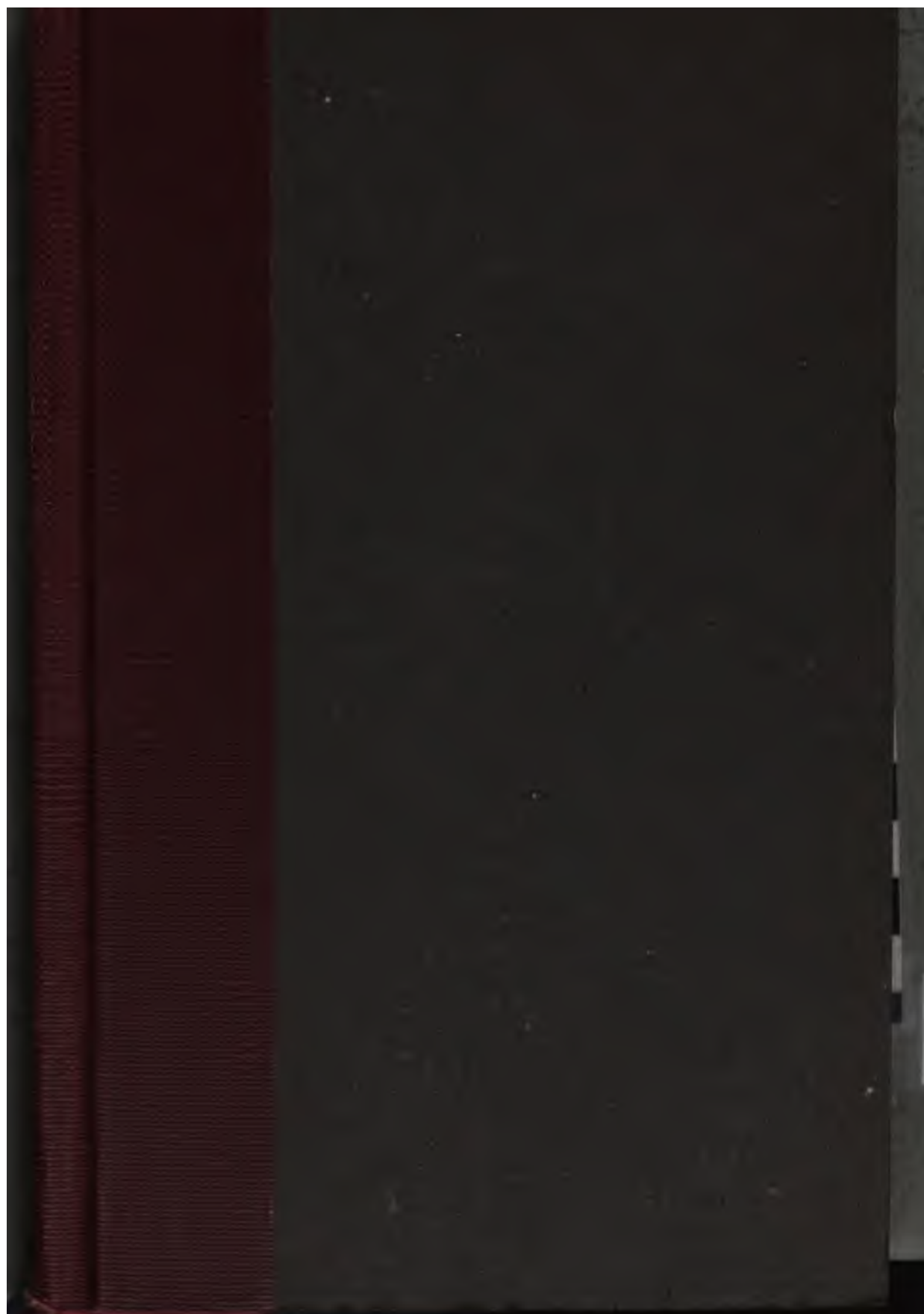
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My Father used, not infrequently, to discuss the merits of two different ways of judging a man. Take, he would say, the case of a great statesman, set up on high before the world; the object both of hatred and of love. If we rule out of court the view of enemies, there remain two different possibilities. There is first the view of the 'impartial' historian. He looks on the statesman in the perspective of history, weighs—from outside as it were—the merits or shortcomings of the statesman's policy; and pronounces a weighty verdict, in which, probably, praise and censure have each a considerable place. On the other hand, there is the view of the wife or the devoted private secretary. They have lived with the statesman through public crises. They have seen into his mind with peculiar intimacy. They may be lacking in knowledge, lacking in power, lacking in impartiality; but they have seen, with the insight of sympathy and of love, right into the inwardness of the great man's actions, *as they appeared to himself*.

According to the offhand opinion of the 'man in the street', the first of these is the true view, and the second is partial or prejudiced. In this opinion my Father did not share; and I have often heard him dwelling on the merits of the 'inside' view. Now, whatever may be their first hasty opinion, most men would admit, on reflection, that both these views have their legitimate place in the rounded fullness of truth; and that neither can be ignored without loss. But it is the former alone which is most usually given to the world. It must therefore be a matter

of concern to those who have been close to a man and a thinker in his lifetime, that the 'intimate' point of view may also be represented.

In the *Church Quarterly Review* of April 1904, there appeared an article, entitled 'Robert Campbell Moberly', which is an excellent example of what we may call,—without meaning to disparage it—the 'external' point of view. It seems worth while to attempt to give some idea of what seem to be its omissions and misunderstandings to those who approach the matter from the other side. I wish to make it quite clear at the outset that this is the object of this paper; and that it makes no claim to be of the nature of a final judgement. For such a judgement far greater knowledge and ability, and—perhaps—a different temper would be necessary. But to represent the more humble point of view, which is here claimed, I believe that I have some right; in that, during the last three years of his life, I was continually in the closest association with my Father, who spoke freely to me of his philosophical and theological views. I may therefore be said to have been familiar with the thinker 'in his shirtsleeves'. I hope therefore that I may now proceed to give my personal impressions of the *Church Quarterly* article, without appearing absurdly presumptuous.

In the first place, it is evident that the reviewer does approach the subject from outside. For his account of the personality—which account, though slight, is extremely appreciative and fair—he makes it clear that he is largely, though not entirely, indebted to others. And the main theme of the article is an attempt to construct a theory of my Father's developement from his books, and quite apart from a personal knowledge of his mental history. Such a knowledge would, I believe, have inevitably modified the reviewer's theory.

But, though it is obvious that the review belongs to the first of the two classes mentioned above, it is, in many ways, marked by unusual insight. Thus the reviewer recognizes, on the first page, the fact that the explanation of many of the peculiarities in my Father's books must be sought in his character. Again, on p. 76, 'Most scholars spend their leisure time in reading, Moberly seems to have spent his in thinking. The range of book knowledge displayed in his writings is surprisingly narrow.'

This is essential; and the advantages and disadvantages of the trait are well pointed out. On the one hand, there are the inconveniences of a new terminology and the likelihood that the pioneer will often waste much time in forcing his way through dense forests, when, if he only knew it, a clear path has long ago been cut. On the other hand, there is no 'half-digested erudition; Moberly's books are all his own'. Again, on p. 80, my Father's attitude towards the logical intellect is dealt with. 'He was never content to discuss a particular problem without first considering the presuppositions on which both sides based their arguments. And if he protests against assuming a purely intellectual basis for religious faith, it is not in order to degrade the intellect into the position of an advocate retained by the will, but because he was convinced that faith must be a matter of the whole personality acting in harmony, and that the truth when fully known, must satisfy both our moral and our intellectual faculties.' And on p. 93, in the final summing up, the reviewer speaks of him as a representative of 'the tendency towards *Greek*, and especially Platonic, methods of thought, towards a theology definitely Johannine and Pauline, and a religious philosophy strongly anti-deistic and anti-individualist'. With regard to these and many other passages, one can only feel thankful for the clear expression of such illuminating thoughts.

It is most pleasant to dwell on points of harmony. But it is more profitable for one who comes after to dwell on the points on which he thinks he can either supplement or criticize. A disproportionate length allotted to criticism need not therefore be taken to mean that one disagrees with the article criticized, as a whole. It will be best then to proceed to challenge points, on which the reviewer seems to shew a less complete insight. The main thread of his article appears to consist in a theory of developement. He holds that my Father, at the beginning of his career as a theologian, was inclined to insist chiefly on a blind obedience to tradition and authority; and that, from that time onwards, he was more and more inclined, in each new book, to shift the centre of gravity from authority to experience. The further inference is drawn, that—had he survived—he would have progressed yet further 'in the direction of Mysticism'. The object of this paper is to suggest that the theory of develop-

ment is—at least—considerably exaggerated; and that the exaggeration is based, partly on an ignorance of my Father's actual psychological history, and partly on an inadequate insight into the religious philosophy of his books.

First, as regards his psychological history. In his later years, he might have been correctly described as a Liberal High Churchman. Now there would be some truth, but not, I think, very much, in saying that his High Churchmanship was born with him, while his Liberalism was a gradual growth. It is true, as has been beautifully said, that he was brought up under the shadow of the Tractarian movement, and among those whose motto was 'He shall not strive nor cry'. But the instincts which developed into a kind of Liberalism were there from the first, especially an earnest belief in the essential reasonableness of all Truth. And it must be remembered that his father, Bishop Moberly, stood in a somewhat independent position towards the older Tractarians; e.g. he entered into a controversy with Dr. Pusey in the early seventies on the Athanasian Creed. Of course, I cannot speak of personal knowledge of the earlier years, but I believe that my Father's most intimate friends, whilst unanimous in declaring that there was a remarkable developement right up to the end, would say that it was rather a developement in force and in power of articulate expression, than a developement from one position and to another. It is possible that, at the time of the *Lux Mundi* essay, he may have been inclined to lay more exclusive emphasis on obedience to tradition than he was at a later stage. But, in making so great a contrast between this essay and the later pronouncements, the reviewer gives the impression that he is selecting, out of a rather complex thought, one aspect in one book and one in another, and so creating a somewhat artificial antithesis. That this is so in the contrast which he tries to make between the teaching of *Ministerial Priesthood* and the teaching of *Atonement and Personality*, I am certain. There was an interval of only two and a half years between the time when *Ministerial Priesthood* was off my Father's hands and the completion of *Atonement and Personality*. He was a slow worker; and he did not touch the books in term time. Practically the whole interval was taken up with the actual writing of *Atonement and*

Personality. The thought was not new to him, and the thinking was not done in that short time. The book was, in a sense, his life work. The main ideas had been simmering in his head for years before he began *Ministerial Priesthood*. Much of the book is based on sermons preached many years earlier. He himself was conscious of no change of opinion on the great question of the relation of inward and outward, during these last years. He thought that he had one consistent and wide-reaching theory on the subject.

It is possible that there may be a slight difference of emphasis in the two books. But this may be easily accounted for by the fact that the earlier book is written chiefly in antithesis to Bishop Lightfoot and others, who insisted somewhat exclusively on the importance of the Inward; while the later one, so far as it is polemical at all, is written in antithesis to Dr. Dale, whose insistence is upon the objective aspect of the Atonement.

My first contention then is, that the reviewer's theory of developement does not fit the facts of my Father's life, as known to his more intimate friends; and that some of the aspects of his work, which incline the reviewer to that theory, are to be explained otherwise. On the other hand, I should wish to guard myself from seeming to deny that there was *any* truth in the theory at all.

But it is time to turn to what is more important, my Father's religious philosophy. Now it is very true, as the reviewer and others have pointed out, that his first-hand acquaintance with the writings of philosophers, and especially of modern philosophers, was exceedingly scanty. No one can regret this more than he did himself. And yet there was one modern philosopher, Hegel, with whose spirit he was very closely in sympathy. And a recognition of this fact, and of all that it implies, might have afforded some critics a certain illumination, of which they stood much in need.

Hegel's famous dictum, 'The rational is the real', is very near the heart of my Father's philosophy. It may all be said to hang from this central identification of fact and idea, as twin aspects of a single whole. To the 'common sense' point of view, this attitude is like a fairy story. It resembles nothing so much as a continual attempt to stand on one's head. At any rate,—

whatever else may be said about it—audacity must be reckoned one of its most strongly marked characteristics. To understand my Father's philosophy, it is essential to realize that this audacity was his also. Again and again, critics seem to misunderstand him, simply because they cannot credit the full extent of that audacity.

I ought perhaps here to guard myself against a misunderstanding. My Father was not a Hegelian pure and simple. The weakness of Hegelianism, to his mind, was that it was throughout too intellectualistic. In making thought or mind the centre of the universe, he considered that it gave too little place to will and emotion; and that, consequently, a certain amount of abstraction ran through the whole system. This abstraction he would have remedied by making the pivot of the system, not thought, but personality: i.e. the concrete whole, in which thought, will, and emotion are equally blended.

This boldness, on which it is necessary to insist, was manifested at least as much in the application, as in the original grasp, of the principle. It has been truly said, that my Father's method of thought was deductive rather than inductive; i.e. that it was his habit to argue downwards from principles to facts, rather than upwards from facts to principles. In any case, every one would acknowledge that, when a principle is once obtained, it is necessary to re-interpret the facts in the light of it. This was the case with my Father. He believed in the general principle that, in the light of absolute truth, the real and the ideal are one; i.e. he was an optimist on the grandest possible scale. It results from this, that, at every point, judgements of value and judgements of reality coincide. This carries him far indeed from the point of view of the ordinary man. But he applied this principle unflinchingly. It is therefore necessary for all criticism—favourable or unfavourable—to recognize this fact, if it is to fulfil its first duty of understanding. The principle acts as a most powerful solvent to all ordinary ideas and standards. And so a criticism which simply criticizes on the basis of the ordinary standards, without going back to first principles, is simply moving in another world, and never gets into touch with him at all. But, before going on to shew some instances of this in the concrete, it is necessary to say something on another point,

which has given rise to misunderstanding ; viz. my Father's view of the relation between the philosophy which is based on experience, and the theology which is based on revealed truth.

It has often been said,—and it is said in the *Church Quarterly* article—that ‘modern men trained in other sciences’, or even those accustomed to modern Philosophy and Theology, feel themselves in a strange atmosphere, as soon as they take up one of my Father's books. They seem to be quitting the light of the sun, and to be plunging into some strange mediaeval cloister. The terminology is unusual, and seems to them to be hopelessly out of date. There is an impression that he wished to begin by the uncritical acceptance of certain revealed truths, or to confine his philosophy to deductions from them. He was thus supposed to be returning to the methods of the Schoolmen, and to be degrading reason to the position of a mere ‘ancilla fidei’. The *Church Quarterly* reviewer indeed sees that this is far from true of the later writings. Yet he speaks of my Father as ‘starting from the assumption that the dogmas themselves are exempted from criticism’. And at the time of the *Lux Mundi* essay, it had not yet occurred to him that dogmatic symbols contain certain words which cannot have a rigid connotation, and which therefore must be interpreted as well as ‘accepted’. Of the *Lux Mundi* essay I cannot speak of my own knowledge. But this would be a ludicrous travesty of his mind at the time at which I had contact with it ; and I am sure that he did not believe himself to have changed so fundamentally. His general attitude may be described as follows. Experience is the ultimate test and criterion : this he acknowledged most fully. All the revealed truths of religion, first principles as well as details, stand or fall ultimately according as they are, or are not, capable of satisfying the demands of experience ; under which head are included the demands of reason. In so far as the merely logical understanding is depreciated, it is only with a view to replacing it by the higher reason, which represents the whole personality. But the philosophy of experience, in so far as it takes no heed of revelation, is unreasonable. It seemed to him to end in certain demands and questions, the answers to which it failed to supply. In Hegelian phraseology, it ends in unreduced difference. But to take no heed of Revelation is unreasonable. It is there. It is,

in a sense, within experience; and it clamours to be correlated with the rest of experience. But, when the philosopher, starting from experience in contradistinction to revelation—which experience is after all a mutilated form of experience—has failed to get satisfactory results; he will, if he brings in the truths of revelation, find that they supply the key to the enigma. They supply what is wanting. Apart from experience, they are nothing. But, when brought within experience they supply the missing link. They are like the sun which illuminates a whole country. So at least it seemed to my Father. And it always used to puzzle him that a philosopher like T. H. Green, in whose philosophy he believed as philosophy, stopped just short of the central Christian verities, such as the Incarnation. For these verities seemed to him exactly what that philosophy required to make it intelligible. Hence sentences which alienated many because they seemed intolerably reactionary and narrow, e.g. *A. and P.* p. 242, 'Vainly to the end of time . . . will philosophy, otherwise than in conscious dependence upon Christian theological truth, attempt to read the riddle of existence, whether in external phenomena, or in man, or in God'.

'Revelation', says the reviewer, 'is regarded as something so purely external that it may be said to transcend experience *absolutely*.' This is precisely one of those attempts on the part of the critic, to dot an author's i's, as the author himself does *not* dot them, which give a wrong turn to the whole. The word 'external', and the word '*absolutely*' which the reviewer italicizes, are words which my Father would have repudiated, for they would have been fatal to his philosophy of religion.

With regard to the question of terminology, the language of religion appeared to him to be concrete, where that of technical philosophy was needlessly abstract; e.g. in the word 'God' he meant to include all that the philosopher includes in the idea of the absolute, but the former seemed to him more concrete and helpful.

I have spoken of my Father as sharing with Hegel the central principle of the identity of the real and the ideal. This is the Omega, which was to become the Alpha, of both their philosophies. But he is also like Hegel, when viewed—as it were—from below. When faced with a concrete difficulty, it is always his effort, not to reject wholly either of two alternatives, but to pierce to a unity

behind the differences. He attempts to play the part of a judge rather than of an advocate ; and of a judge who believes that there is some, though not necessarily equal, truth on both sides. Here then it may be seen why his general principle acts so much as a solvent. If he is successful in piercing to a unity behind two seemingly contrary alternatives, neither of those alternatives can be left in its former independent hard and fastness. They are seen to be mutually dependent fragments of a whole. Thus, in his philosophy, human personality as a whole, and the faculties of human free-will, human reason, and human love, are robbed of the independence and completeness which are usually attributed to them. The negative and incomplete character of the human continually drives us on to the Divine. When we have reached this, we can turn round and see that such positive meaning as the human has, arises solely from its being a part—albeit an infinitesimal part—of a larger whole, which is Divine. This prevailing tendency of my Father's position is well illustrated by a few playful sentences at the end of the supplementary chapter in *Atonement and Personality*, in reference to Archdeacon Wilson's Hulsean Lectures. He considered that the Archdeacon had minimized unduly the objective aspect of the Atonement. 'Yet,' he says, 'if I rightly understand him, I fancy that I can sympathize with every single thing which affirmatively he either means or desires. . . . This then is the effrontery of my audacity ; that, though whilst rejoicing in his spirit, I am unable to accept his exposition as it stands, I do not see why he should hesitate to accept mine.'

Now *Ministerial Priesthood* is, as the reviewer recognizes, just such an attempt at synthesis. It finds two rival theories of the priesthood in possession of the field ; the Roman and the Protestant. It attempts to exhibit the Anglican theory, as one which does justice both to inward and to outward, which pierces to the unity behind 'the unqualified sacerdotalism of modern Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and the theory of simple delegation adopted by English Nonconformity on the other'. It was an attempt to get beyond the ordinary partisan lines of demarcation. My Father hoped accordingly that it would be viewed as an *eirenicon* ; and was correspondingly disappointed, when the critics of all complexions simply treated it as a High Church manifesto.

This was far more markedly the case with the greater work, *Atonement and Personality*. This book may almost be said to contain a philosophy of religion. That philosophy was, to the mind of its author and of those who agreed with him, a unity behind—and containing—the different aspects which are usually insisted on as contraries by different parties. In going behind the ordinary shibboleths and standards, it at once renders them inadequate. Thus minds which are still moving within the circle of the ordinary presuppositions must fail to grasp it. Now many of the criticisms of my Father's philosophy—among which, I fear, the *Church Quarterly* article must to some extent be included—make a curious impression on one who views the matter from the author's standpoint. They remind one of the contemporary criticisms of Kant. Kant's philosophy was one which went behind and transformed all ordinary landmarks; so his contemporaries did not know what to make of him. They kept trying feebly to classify him by standards which he had transcended. So with my Father. When the reviewer raises the question of his view of the relation of tradition to experience,—and raises it, as it appears, on the old basis that they are two contradictory opposites—and when he goes on to suggest that my Father was gradually changing from one position to the other; the whole discussion seems beside the mark to one who believes that his exposition transcends these ordinary differences, and that within it each side finds a place. It is, of course, open to any one to suggest that the attempted synthesis is a failure, either wholly or in part; and to hold that it was completely successful and beyond the possibility of correction would be to hold that he was superhuman. But a criticism which simply bases itself upon the old distinctions, as though nothing had happened, and ignores the vital fact that the book, and the philosophy which it contains, attempt to transcend those distinctions, can hardly be very valuable or illuminating as criticism. I should not wish to suggest—what I do not believe to be true—that the reviewer wholly fails to realize this: but I do suggest that there is a good deal in the article which could not have been there, if the reviewer had had anything like a full comprehension of the real aim of the philosophy which he is criticizing.

This kind of misapprehension may be illustrated from the

reviewer's remarks about *Atonement and Personality*. The first instance is perhaps rather a slip of the pen than a serious mistake. On p. 90, the reviewer, in attempting to interpret my Father, says: 'Jesus Christ's humanity is impersonal, hence its unique capacity of universal relation.' Now it is true, of course, that he did make a distinction between the humanity of Christ and that of the ordinary individual; and the distinction consists precisely in this unique capacity of universal relation. But his whole object was to break down the ordinary conception that the essence of personality consists, to some extent, in exclusiveness and impenetrability. In so far as these qualities are attributes of our personality—and this is the case much less than is generally imagined—they are accidents belonging to its imperfection. The humanity of Christ in its universality is the sole type of perfect human personality. It is far *more*, not less, personal than our humanity. Thus, to mark the universality of Christ's humanity by the negative formula 'impersonal' is to shift the emphasis, and in effect to obscure the point, of my Father's argument. And in fact my Father himself says (pp. 93, 94) 'To deny the human personality, however in some contexts necessary, is not without its own risks. There is, and there can be, no such thing as impersonal humanity. The phrase involves a contradiction in terms.' 'Of necessity, He is a person: and He, the Person, is human . . . There was in Him no impersonal Humanity (which is impossible); but a human nature and character which were personal because they were now the method and condition of His own Personality: Himself become human, and thinking, speaking, acting, and suffering as man.'

Another instance of the same kind of misapprehension is the reviewer's treatment of my Father's relation to Mysticism. The reviewer assumes that we know what Mysticism is; e.g. that it is an attitude at an opposite extreme to Dogmatism and Scholasticism;—and speaks of him as having 'travelled a long way in a few years towards a purely mystical theology'. Now in the twelfth chapter of *Atonement and Personality* Mysticism is dealt with directly. The tendency there is to accept Mysticism as representative of the truth and of the whole truth; but to shew that, truly interpreted, it is nothing partial or one-sided, but

a recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit throughout the whole of life. But, thus viewed, the term Mysticism is no longer capable of being used as a party label. Hence it is unfortunate that the reviewer should attempt to use it so. It is of course open to him to disagree with my Father. He may condemn either any attempt to reach a unity behind the difference of inward and outward, or this particular attempt. But it can hardly conduce to a proper understanding, to treat—without argument to shew its failure—what is an attempt at a higher synthesis, as merely a step on the way towards one of the opposed extremes.

There is another point, on which it seems necessary to say something; and that is my Father's treatment of presuppositions. Nothing that he wrote has been so widely attacked as wholly perverse and absurd. Mr Henson speaks of the two prefaces to *Ministerial Priesthood* as 'the confessions of relentless and disqualifying prejudice. They preach a doctrine of intellectual impotence and point the moral of scientific despair'. And this attitude is a typical one. The *Church Quarterly* reviewer is not so uncompromising in hostility; but he speaks of the 'singular part' which presuppositions play in the preface. And he concludes his discussion by saying: 'A comparison of ecclesiastical histories written by Protestants and Catholics, by Anglicans and Dissenters, should surely suffice as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that dogmatic presuppositions are a trustworthy auxiliary to "historical and exegetical methods".' Yet much of this opposition seems so gratuitous, that it is necessary to say something in explanation of the prefaces. But it is probably a vain task; for nothing could be clearer than the second preface itself. And it has, seemingly, failed to convince the world.

My Father did not think that he was advocating anything very new or startling in these prefaces. He thought that he was merely recognizing obvious facts. He did not raise the subject as an advocate of presuppositions against those who did without them. He raised it in order to point out that his *opponents'* position was in the main the result of presuppositions, and of presuppositions which he considered mistaken. These presuppositions he enumerates and attacks.

His view of the matter was, briefly, this: A man without presuppositions is as much an abstraction, a psychological

monster, as a man without a character. Presuppositions are the result of a man's past experience as a whole. To demand that he shall divest himself of presuppositions, is to demand that he shall view each new question without the least reference to that past experience. And this is an impossibility. For, apart from conscious reference, the very capacities which a man has for dealing with a new experience are inseparably connected with his past experience. And, in the second place, it is unreasonable to treat these presuppositions as necessarily a handicap or hindrance in the endeavour to arrive at truth. If it be true that reality is determined by the ideal, then a knowledge of the ideal must be a guide to a knowledge of reality. And if reality is all of one piece, the knowledge that we have should help us to the knowledge that we have not yet.

At this point the reviewer—who is more appreciative of my Father's point of view in this matter than are most of the critics—would part company with him. He speaks of our presuppositions as concerning 'matters of fact which no doubt are ultimately determined by the natural and spiritual laws of the universe, but which only an absolute knowledge of those laws could enable us to deduce from them'. This my Father would admit; but he would deny the inference that, because all deductions based on partial knowledge are imperfect, they are therefore to be eschewed altogether. Indeed such a 'self-denying ordinance' could only be carried out at the cost of an absolute paralysis of all advance in knowledge whatsoever. The scientific method is not so. The scientist uses generalizations based on imperfect knowledge. The truth of the law of gravitation is a presupposition which every scientist carries with him into the examination of any phenomenon that appears to bear on that law. But no sane person contends that the scientist would be more likely to arrive at truth, by abstracting from his previous experience, and treating the new phenomenon as though that experience had never been. Of course, no one contends that we can never change our opinions, that no new experience can be of sufficient importance to overthrow these presuppositions. But each new datum must be correlated with our knowledge and experience as a whole; and, unless it bulks sufficiently large or important in the new whole to cause a modification, it will have to be modified itself in case

of contradiction. My Father expressly disclaims any desire 'that theological preconceptions as such should tyrannize over the interpretation of the text'. He would have been the last to deny that, with many theological and historical writers of the past, they have done so unduly. But that is not the point. We cannot permit ourselves to be paralysed by the past. And the writer in the *Church Quarterly* cannot really need to be reminded that 'abusus non tollit usum'.

The practical question then will not be one of presuppositions or no presuppositions; for they are natural and inevitable. It will be a question of right or wrong presuppositions. And the best way to secure the right ones, and to prevent those we have from becoming over-rigid and tyrannical,—and also, one would have thought, the way least open to the charge of obscurantism,—is to avow one's presuppositions publicly, to have them ever before one's mind, to be continually confirming, modifying, or correcting them by a correlation with new data as they arise. Thus the only safe way to deal with presuppositions is to bring them to clear self-consciousness; and it is so that both writer and readers are least likely to be misled. This is the method which my Father attempted to put into practice; and it is their failure to do this, which is the reason of his quarrel with those whom he was criticizing in *Ministerial Priesthood*. How far he was *successful* in his attempt to do justice to both elements in experience, the old and the new, may reasonably be matter of controversy. A decision depends on the use made of the method in detail. And this is not the place for such a discussion. But the general principles of method which he professes in the prefaces are surely, when we consider them, not only fair and reasonable, but even obvious and necessary.

There are one or two minor points about which it may be worth while to add a few words. On p. 78, speaking of the relation of faith and reason in the *Lux Mundi* essay, the reviewer says 'We desiderate some clear principle of delimitation, which might help us to fix the frontiers of the understanding . . . and the higher reason'. With this may be compared, p. 84, 'The "combination of obedience that is concretely practical with thought that is speculatively patient" is not the best attitude for dealing with obscure events in past history, when we are trying

to discover what actually occurred.' In these two places, the reviewer assumes as axiomatic, that there is a point where idealism can go no further, that there is a region of hard fact, in which the spiritually informed reason is not only not superior, but even inferior, to the logical understanding.

Now this 'presupposition' of the reviewer's would have been denied by my Father. Of course, he would have acknowledged that, in some subjects, it is possible to abstract from all moral and spiritual influences with less harm than in others. But the possibility of a 'delimitation of provinces', or the existence of a region where the abstract understanding, as such, is a better guide to truth, was utterly foreign to his thought. This is another of those places, where the reviewer seems to fail, because he does not realize the audacity of the thought. The writer is attacking some of the root presuppositions of the ordinary man. It is therefore necessary for the critic to go further back, and to defend, not to assume, those presuppositions.

The next point is almost the converse of this. My Father maintains throughout the inseparability of fact and idea. The reviewer has just before been attacking this inseparability from the side of fact. He now attacks it from the side of idea. He draws a contrast between the historical and the philosophical method of treating the question of the ministry, points out that the latter was the more congenial to my Father, and continues: 'The book would have been stronger, if he had frankly set on one side the historical problems about the ministry in the primitive Church. He was not specially well qualified to deal with them as a historical student, and he neither possessed nor desired to possess the kind of impartiality which the investigator of Christian origins must impose on himself, if his work is to rank above an *ex parte* statement of the evidence.' On the question of impartiality, I have already spoken. And I am not in a position to discuss the more purely historical qualification. But my Father's object, in not ignoring the historical problems, is clear. Though to him mere fact was dead fact, though the ideal element much transcended the factual; idea in total separation from fact remained nevertheless barren. Thus the historical facts of the Incarnation were, to his mind, representations in the phenomenal world of eternal truths far transcending those facts;

but apart from the facts, we at any rate could have no knowledge of those truths. They would remain merely transcendent and other-worldly. Their own inherent majesty might be untouched; but there would be no guarantee that *we* had any part or lot in them. The same holds good of the question of the ministry. Any treatment of this, which wholly ignored historical fact, would remain fundamentally incomplete. It would simply hang in the air. We are reminded of this on p. 91, when the reviewer desiderates a fuller discussion of the relation of historical fact to eternal truth. 'If any presence of Christ other than a spiritual presence would now be by comparison unreal, why was it not so always? What was the use of a historical Incarnation?' Does not the reviewer here refute his own objection on p. 83?

The question of presuppositions seems to be involved again in the discussion of my Father's criticism of Bishop Lightfoot. The reviewer accuses him of misunderstanding the Bishop, in holding him to maintain that 'the organized Church is not much more than a necessary evil'. According to the reviewer, Lightfoot does not uphold the theory of a purely spiritual Church. 'Church order is a means, not an end. But this declaration is combined with the fullest recognition of the necessity of "appointed days, set seasons, and a ministry of reconciliation", so long as the Church is militant here in earth. In short there are no priests or sacraments in Heaven, but we are not there yet. There is nothing in this to which a Catholic need object; the question is only one of emphasis.' Here one may ask whether there is such a very great difference between holding the ministry to be a necessary evil, and holding it to be a necessary accompaniment of the Church's career on earth, but abolished in Heaven. The reviewer seems to treat it as an axiom, that the ministry is incompatible with the ideal immediateness of the relation between God and the individual, which we must imagine to exist in Heaven. And this is to make it dependent upon the weakness of human nature, and to make it vanish with the disappearance of that weakness. This is not the place to discuss such a presupposition. But it is necessary to point out that it was not my Father's; and therefore that to criticize him on the assumption of this common basis is unjustifiable. He would certainly have declined to

dogmatize on the degree of transmutation of the ministry in the ideal reality. But he would not, I think, have accepted as axiomatic the theory that it is, ultimately, to be 'destroyed' rather than 'fulfilled'; or that destruction is the only fulfilment possible to it. To his mind it was not obvious that the existence of an intermediary involves separation, save on a rather crude and mechanical view. It seems permissible then to return a verdict of 'Not proven' to the reviewer's charge of misunderstanding Bishop Lightfoot; for between the Bishop's view and his own there is a wide gulf.

One other minor criticism of the reviewer's seems to involve some slight misunderstanding. On p. 90, speaking of my Father's discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, he says: 'He seems to prefer the word *persona* with its unfortunate legal associations, to the Greek *ὑπόστασις*, of which it was an admittedly unsatisfactory translation.' This is not the case. What he does prefer to *ὑπόστασις*, is not the Latin word *persona*, 'with its unfortunate legal associations'; but the English word 'person', with all the fullness of meaning it has come to have for us. He expressly admits that, historically and in the first instance, the translation may have involved some intellectual loss (cf. *A. and P.* p. 160).

It may or may not be worth while to add, that, whereas the reviewer speaks of him as reaching 'the centre of his subject and the meaning of personality' in ch. 9, which is entitled 'Human Personality'; he himself would, I believe, have been inclined to hold that the centre, both of the book as a whole, and of the meaning of personality in particular, was rather to be found in the discussion of Divine personality in the preceding chapter.

Throughout the article, my Father's position is represented as something of a compromise, and so somewhat unstable. Thus we are told that *Lux Mundi* as a whole had 'the character of Vermittelungstheologie—of a transitional phase that could hardly be permanent'; and his essay is said to suffer 'from the weakness or inconclusiveness of all arguments which, while professing to be unprejudiced, are conducted without any explicit indication of their ultimate premisses'. Of *Ministerial Priesthood* we are told that 'it shews that uncertainty of touch which indicates a transitional period in the writer's thought'. And, even as regards *Atonement and Personality*, 'the book does not

give the impression that the author's views had quite reached their final form. If his life had been spared, he would assuredly have discovered that the scholastic and the mystic in his own mind were not in complete harmony.' It is on this central issue that the view of this paper most joins battle with the view of the *Church Quarterly* article. Those who approached the matter as 'intimates' were impressed, whether in the books or in conversation, by nothing more than the completeness and coherency of the philosophy as a whole. Whatever else might be said about it, it could not, they thought, fairly be said that it was not completely worked out. The author might be wrong; consistency might be bought at too dear a price; but at least he had one consistent and far-reaching philosophy. He knew exactly where he stood in every detail. Thus where the reviewer only sees the uncertainty of touch incidental on a 'half-way house' theory, proceeding from one groping his way he knows not exactly whither; the other view sees a harmonious philosophy, which does not fall between the extremes of ordinary controversy, but goes behind and includes the truth of each. It is obvious that, while this difference as to the general nature of the matter to be criticized exists, there is not likely to be much harmony or mutual understanding, with regard to criticisms in detail.

It is, perhaps, necessary to add one word of caution. It is only possible, within the limits of a paper such as this, to dwell in the roughest way on general features. It is impossible not to produce a picture which is, in some ways, one-sided and exaggerated. It would be most unfortunate and untrue if an impression were given that my Father was inclined to pursue logical consistency at the cost of ignoring or slurring over difficulties. Even if his unification prove not to be finally satisfactory, it is not cheap and easy. In this connexion may be noted his insistence on the place of abstractions, such as force or love in our conception of God, and their superiority to a crude anthropomorphism.

I have already said that this paper does not pretend to accomplish the impossible, i. e. to be written in a really judicial frame of mind. It is an attempt to represent the impression made by a view such as that of the *Church Quarterly* article on one who approaches the matter from the other side. And, of course, it has been mainly necessary to dwell on points

of difference. But that should not be allowed to obscure the gratitude due to one who has given us, what all must feel to be, on the whole, a sympathetic and illuminating bit of criticism. Moreover, it is obvious that anything like a dogmatic tone in this paper would be in especially bad taste. An apology is perhaps due for faults in this direction.

With regard to the very fragmentary treatment of a few points in my Father's teaching, which is all that is attempted here, there is of course no serious effort to appraise the value of that teaching. The attempt has been to indicate on some few points what are the questions which he actually raised ; and to point out some directions in which criticism seems, at least, applicable ; together with some others in which it appears to be a little beside the mark.

W. H. MOBERLY.

THE BELIEFS OF EARLY MOHAMMEDANS RESPECTING A FUTURE EXISTENCE.

THIS subject has attracted a considerable amount of attention in Europe, but though it has so often been discussed I venture to think that it is very little understood. If we open any ordinary manual of history produced in our part of the world, we shall probably find—no matter whether the author be a Christian or a sceptic—that the success of Mohammed is represented as largely due to the hope of Paradise and the fear of Hell wherewith he impressed the minds of his contemporaries. And most European writers are careful to add, not without a certain pleasure, that the Paradise promised by Mohammed differs essentially from the Paradise expected by Christians. In all this as in most popular views of history, there is some admixture of truth, but the more closely we examine the facts the more clearly do we perceive that the question is by no means so simple as is commonly supposed. In reality, Mohammed's teaching on the subject of the future life, far from supplying an easy explanation of his success is proved to have been a great stumbling-block to his contemporaries and was never fully accepted by his followers in subsequent ages.

Europeans who have written on this question usually fall into the mistake of assuming that the doctrine of a future state of retribution can have presented no more difficulty to the Arabs in the time of Mohammed than it presents to most Christians of to-day. In Europe these beliefs have so long formed an essential part, perhaps the most important part of popular religion that we find it hard to imagine a religion without them. Yet it is quite clear that the religion of the heathen Arabs whatever else it may have included, did not include any belief in a Paradise or a Hell. The ancient Arabian poets are never weary of repeating that after death man has nothing more to hope or to fear. So

general was this sentiment among the Arabs that even the Christians of Arabia seem to have been more or less affected by it. The most celebrated of the Christian poets, 'Adī ibn Zaid, who lived at al-Ḥīra on the Euphrates shortly before the public appearance of Mohammed, speaks of death in language which does not differ at all from that of his heathen fellow countrymen. Alluding to the kings and heroes of former times, he says—

'After all their prosperity, their royal estate and their dominion, they vanished into the graves yonder :

'Then they became like dry leaves, which are swept away by the east wind and by the west.'

Together with utterances such as these, which doubtless express the prevailing belief of the time, we find many traces of a more primitive conception, namely the idea that in the grave itself, or in the neighbourhood of the grave, the soul of the dead man still exists, at least for a while, retaining a kind of half-consciousness. The most usual terms applied to the souls of the dead are *ṣadā*, which properly means 'echo', and *hāma*, which also means 'head' or 'skull'. Probably 'soul' is the original meaning of the latter word, and the head is called *hāma* as being the abode of the soul, according to the idea expressed in a well-known verse of the poet ash-Shanfarā, 'in my head is the greater part of myself'¹. Hence the *hāma* is represented in poetry as a kind of bird, resembling an owl (*būma*), which flies out of the head of the dead man and hovers about near the grave. It is curious that almost the only feeling ascribed to the *hāma* is the feeling of 'thirst'. Thus in poems composed on the death of a relative we often find such phrases as, 'may he be refreshed with drink!' In later times this was little more than a poetical figure, the 'drink' referring to the rain which falls upon the grave and keeps it green, but there are many indications that the phrase was originally used in a literal sense². It is not to be supposed, however, that these crude beliefs amounted to any thing like a doctrine of a future life; the *hāma* of the ancient Arabs was

¹ So also heads are called *hillat-al-hām* or *maskin-al-hām*, 'the abode of souls' (Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv 422 line 10 = *Aghāni* xv 77 line 23).

² The evidence is given by Wellhausen in his *Reste arabischen Heidenthums* 2nd ed. (1897) p. 182 seq.

a mere wraith, a shadowy representation of the feelings which had belonged to the man when alive; it was not in any sense a moral personality. The clearest proof of this is that the Bedouins of the present day have similar beliefs as to the shades of the departed, and even offer sacrifices to them; yet, as we learn from no less an authority than Mr Charles Doughty, 'with difficulty they imagine any future life'—if they pray and fast, they do so in hope of some temporal blessing¹. In this respect the modern Bedouin is the true representative of the ancient Semites.

If we take these facts into consideration, we shall be able to realize, in some measure, how utterly the teaching of Mohammed, on the subject of the future life, was opposed to the habits of thought which prevailed among his fellow countrymen. In speaking of the future, Mohammed emphasized, above all things, the idea of the resurrection of the body, and the idea of retribution. How these ideas shaped themselves in the Prophet's mind and to what influences they were due, is a matter about which we have no trustworthy information. No one can suppose that he arrived at them independently, but how much he borrowed from Judaism, how much from Christianity, and how much from other sources, we can scarcely hope to determine.

Let us first consider the idea of the resurrection. This doctrine appears distinctly in some chapters of the Koran which admittedly belong to the earliest period of Mohammed's prophetic career. Now at that time, near the beginning of the seventh century of our era, the idea of the resurrection was familiar, not only to Christians, but also to Jews and Zoroastrians, and accordingly it cannot be denied that Mohammed may possibly have derived the doctrine in question from any one of these three religions. But there are reasons which seem, on the whole, to indicate that the prophet's doctrine of the resurrection was mainly based upon Christian beliefs. In the first place, it is to be observed that the ordinary word for the resurrection (*kīyāma*), which occurs no less than seventy times in the Koran, is evidently of Christian origin, since it is identical with the Syriac *kēyāmtā*, the usual word for the resurrection in the writings of the Syrian Christians. The

¹ C. M. Doughty *Arabia Deserta* vol. i p. 240.

Jews, on the other hand, do not seem to have used this term, but employed some other phrase, especially *tēhīyyath hammēthīm* 'the quickening of the dead', or simply *tēhīyyāh* 'quickenings'. It is also to be considered that the doctrine of the resurrection, for obvious reasons, occupied a much more important place in the theology of the Christians than it did in that of the Jews. As Mohammed's acquaintance both with Christianity and Judaism was extremely superficial, it is in itself more likely that he borrowed his notions of the resurrection from the religion in which this subject was most prominent. Of Zoroastrianism Mohammed knew even less than he knew of Judaism and Christianity. In the Ḥijāz, the part of Arabia where Mohammed spent his life, there were many Jews and some Christians, but, so far as we are aware, no Zoroastrians. Whatever Mohammed heard of Zoroastrianism, at least during the earlier part of his career, he must have heard indirectly. We know, for example, that one of Mohammed's fellow townsmen, an-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith, who had visited the Persian provinces on the Euphrates, used to entertain the people of Mecca with tales about the ancient Persian heroes. But it is scarcely probable that an-Naḍr, or other travellers of the same kind, had any clear ideas about Zoroastrian theology. And when we come to examine the passages in the Koran which relate to the resurrection, it is impossible to discover in them any trace of the very peculiar ideas with which the resurrection is associated in Zoroastrian writings. According to the Zoroastrian theologians, the resurrection is not to be brought about by the direct action of God; it is to be 'produced', as they say, by certain holy men, some of whom lived in the remote past, while others are to appear in the future. The virtuous acts performed by these men gradually effect an improvement in the religious and physical condition of the world, so that finally the resurrection of the dead will become 'possible'. Thus we read, in the Zoroastrian treatise known as the *Mainyō-i-Khard*, that unless Kai-Khusrau had destroyed the idol-temples the power of evil would have increased to such an extent that 'it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection of the dead and the final body'. Of these strange notions the Koran contains nothing. Mohammed, like the Christian theologians, always represents the resurrection as due to the direct and sudden intervention of God,

and he never holds out any hope of a gradual improvement in the state of the world, such as that which the optimistic disciples of Zoroaster so confidently expected. But if we are justified in concluding that Mohammed's doctrine of the resurrection was mainly derived from Christianity, it does not, of course, follow that he derived it from the orthodox Christianity of the period, or from any official source whatsoever. His Christian informants were, so far as we can judge, wandering ascetics who belonged to no church in particular, or else belonged to small sects of whom we know next to nothing. Hence it comes about that in one very important point the resurrection described in the Koran differs from the resurrection in which the great majority of Christians have always believed. According to the New Testament and the teaching of the various Christian churches, the future resurrection of the dead is the consequence of the past Resurrection of Christ, 'the first-fruits of them that slept', in other words, the resurrection to eternal life is represented as a process which has already begun. According to the Koran, on the other hand, Christ never rose from the dead, for the simple reason that He never died; when the Jews sought to slay Him, God removed Him from the earth, and a phantom was crucified in His stead (Koran iii 48, iv 156). It is true that in one passage of the Koran (xix 34) Christ is represented as speaking of His Death and Resurrection, but this seems to mean only that He will die and come to life again at the end of the world. Unlike the New Testament, which teaches that 'we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,' the Koran repeatedly declares that 'every soul is to taste death' (ix 182; xxi 36; xxix 57). That every one, whether he be righteous or wicked, is to be raised to life, appears from many passages, and it is clearly implied that the resurrection of all classes will be simultaneous. A distinction between a first and a second resurrection, such as we find in the New Testament Apocalypse, is an idea foreign to Islam.

We now pass on to Mohammed's doctrine of retribution. In the Koran, as in most Christian systems of theology, the resurrection is inseparably connected with the judgement; 'the day of the resurrection' 'and the day of judgement' are used by Mohammed as terms virtually synonymous. The phrase 'the

day of judgement' (*yaum-ad-dīn*) was evidently borrowed either from the Jews or from the Christians, for *dīn* 'judgement' is not an Arabic but an Aramaic word¹. Another name for the day of judgement is *as-Sā'a* 'the hour', which at once recalls to us the phrase in the New Testament 'that day and hour'. But the use of 'the hour' absolutely, in this technical sense, seems to be peculiar to Islam; the frequency with which it occurs in the Koran is especially remarkable. Of the other terms applied to the day of judgement and of the manner in which it is described in the Koran, there is no need to speak here in detail, since the Koran is one of the few Arabic books which are easily accessible to European readers. My object is rather to investigate the relation in which Mohammed's doctrine of retribution stands to previous and to subsequent beliefs.

The first thing to be noticed is that the elaborate descriptions of the judgement, of Paradise and of Hell, which we find in the Koran, are almost entirely confined to the older portions of the book, to those chapters which Mohammed produced at Mecca, while his disciples were as yet few in number and generally regarded with contempt. To the great mass of his fellow townsmen, the prophet's teaching, and in particular his doctrine of the future judgement, appeared not only incredible but ludicrous. Over and over again we find him complaining of the derision with which his announcements on this subject were received. 'When we are dead', said the Meccans, 'and when we have become dust and bones, shall we then be called to judgement?' (Koran xxxvii 51). If Mohammed's object was to gain disciples, it is strange that he should have put forward so frequently and so emphatically ideas which brought upon him nothing but ridicule. But it is clear that the very fact of his isolation and the apparent impossibility of bringing about the triumph of his cause by worldly means made the idea of a sudden divine interposition all the more attractive to him. How near he supposed the day of judgement to be we cannot say, for when questioned on this

¹ It happens that in Persian there is a word *dīn* meaning 'religion', which has no connexion with the Aramaic *dīn*; as the Persian *dīn* was also borrowed by the Arabs at an early period, Mohammedan theologians naturally confused the two expressions, and sometimes explain *yaum-ad-dīn* as meaning 'the day of religion'. This is merely one of the numerous cases in which ignorance of Hebrew and Aramaic has affected Mohammedan exegesis.

subject by his opponents he invariably disclaimed all definite knowledge, but it would seem that during the earlier part of his prophetic career he had no notion of founding a religion, still less of founding a political organization; he was, as he repeatedly said, merely a warner, sent to announce the great catastrophe which might take place at any moment and put an end to all earthly institutions. In this respect, it cannot be denied, the convictions of Mohammed bore a great resemblance to those of the early Christians. How then are we to account for the profound difference between the Koran and early Christian literature, as regards the manner in which the future retribution is described? The minute and, to our minds, grotesque accounts of Paradise and Hell, which abound in the older parts of the Koran, are commonly explained by Europeans as due to the idiosyncrasies of the prophet's mind, or else to the coarseness of of the Arabian national character. This theory seems to me inadequate, since it ignores the fact that the later chapters of the Koran offer, in this respect, a marked contrast to the older ones; after Mohammed established himself at Medina, the allusions to this subject in the Koran become much rarer and seldom differ from those which are found in popular Christian writings. The real explanation seems to be that at first the idea of a future retribution was absolutely new, both to Mohammed himself and to the public which he addressed. Paradise and Hell had no traditional associations, and the Arabic language furnished no religious terminology for the expression of such ideas; if they were to be made comprehensible at all, it could only be done by means of precise descriptions, of imagery borrowed from earthly affairs. At Medina, on the contrary, where there was a large and powerful Jewish colony, the notion of a future state of rewards and punishments was evidently not unfamiliar, and accordingly the prophet could content himself with general references to the subject.

As to how far the descriptions of the judgement, of Paradise and of Hell, are intended to be taken literally, there has been much controversy among Mohammedans, as we shall presently see. But nowhere in the Koran itself is there anything to suggest that the language used on these subjects is allegorical. Many of the details are common to the Koran and the New Testament; all

these resemblances must be due to oral information, for Mohammed never cites any Christian writing *verbatim*. Many other details are borrowed from the heathen Arabian poets, and this is all the more remarkable, since Mohammed professed a great contempt for poets and poetry. But the prophet was not possessed of a creative imagination, and, as he had no literary models except the poets of his own people, he could not fail to be influenced by them, however much he might disapprove of their general spirit. It has lately been remarked by a well-known Orientalist, Dr. Georg Jacob¹, that the descriptions of Paradise in the Koran bear a startling resemblance to the descriptions of drinking-parties, which occur repeatedly in the heathen poets. The reason is not far to seek. It must be remembered that in Mohammed's country the conditions of life were extremely simple; art and luxury of any kind were things of which the Arabs caught only occasional glimpses, when the foreign wine-merchant—the wine-merchant is always a foreigner in old Arabian poetry—came across the desert with his wares, and pitched his gaily decorated tents in some sheltered spot, on the bank of a stream or under the shade of a grove of palm-trees. Thither all the neighbouring tribes would repair, to taste the foreign drink and listen to the foreign musicians. That such scenes furnished much of the imagery employed to describe the joys of Paradise can hardly be doubted when we compare the following passage of the Koran with some verses which I will quote from a heathen poet.

In the Koran (xxxvii 40 seq.) we read:—

‘They [i. e. the righteous] shall enjoy a stated provision,
 Fruits shall they have, and they shall dwell in honour
 Among the gardens of delight,
 Upon couches, face to face,
 A cup shall be passed round to them from a fountain,
 Clear, delicious to them that drink,
 It shall not overwhelm them, nor shall they be robbed of their
 strength,
 And with them shall be consorts with bashful glances, large of
 eyes,
 Fair as eggs hidden in a nest.’

¹ *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* 2nd ed. 1897 p. 107.

A little before the time of Mohammed, the poet al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur composed an ode, in which he says ¹ :—

'There was a time when I would betake me in the evening to the wine-merchants, with my hair well combed, lavish of my substance, before my neck had been stiffened by age :

'And there I delighted myself—for youth is keen to enjoy—with choicest wine mingled with water that fell from the morning clouds,

'Wine furnished by one adorned with ear-rings, sweet-voiced, and wearing a girdle, wine which he brought for silver coins :

'It is carried round by an attendant having a pearl on each ear, clad in a tunic, the tips of his fingers stained with red dye :

'And the fair women walk past, resembling full moons or graven images, while gentle maidens bear the goblets :

'And the hearts are smitten by the fair ones, who are even as the eggs of the ostrich ² lying between a belt of sand and a stony ridge.'

Another point of interest, in this connexion, is that the word *hūr* ³, which occurs several times in the Koran as an epithet of the female inhabitants of Paradise, is one of the ordinary epithets of women in the old poets. Many other instances might be cited to show how largely Mohammed's conception of the future life was affected by the poetry of the heathen Arabs. But it must be remembered that these resemblances are confined to matters of detail ; the idea of the future life itself, as a state of retribution, was essentially non-Arabian, and hence it must always be regarded as one of the most astonishing facts in religious history that so large a proportion of the Arabs should have been led, in the course of a few years, to adopt a belief which at first appeared to them the height of absurdity.

When we consider the conditions under which the Prophet lived, his total ignorance of philosophy and of systematic theological speculation, we cannot wonder that his teaching on the subject of the future existence remained to the last somewhat vague and incoherent. There are two principal questions to which the Koran gives no definite answer, namely the question of the state of the departed between the moment of death and the Resurrection, and the question whether the sentence pro-

¹ *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* ed. Thorbecke, No. 37, verse 20 seq.

² Women are compared to eggs on account of the whiteness of their skin.

³ Hence the European *hourī*, which is used as a singular, although the Arabic form is a plural.

nounced on the day of Judgement is in all cases to be final. With regard to the former question, Mohammed seems to have held that the state of the departed, until the Resurrection, was something resembling unconsciousness, for in the Koran it is placed on a level with sleep (xxxix 43). 'God receives to Himself the souls when they die, and those which have not died (He receives) in their sleep; so He retains those on whom He has pronounced sentence of death, and sends forth the others for an appointed time.' That this passage leaves many points unsettled is obvious. A similar uncertainty exists as to the much more important question of the finality of the Judgement. It is true that the Koran often says of those who enter Paradise or Hell, as the case may be, 'They shall abide therein' (*hum fiḥā khālidūn*). But though this phrase suggests the idea of eternal blessedness or misery, it can scarcely be said to affirm it in a definite form¹. Moreover, it requires very little ingenuity to prove that besides those who 'abide' in Hell there may be some who remain there only for a short time, in other words, that repentance and pardon are possible after the Judgement. That such interpretations soon became popular even among the most orthodox Mohammedans we shall presently see.

In passing from the Koran itself to other sources of information respecting the doctrines of the Prophet, we pass into a region where there is almost boundless scope for conjecture. It is natural to suppose that of the many thousands of sayings ascribed to the Prophet by tradition some at least must be genuine. But unfortunately nothing is more difficult than to determine which are genuine, for in the early days of Islam the manufacture of false traditions was practised on an enormous scale. This has been conclusively proved by recent investigations, in particular by those of Professor Goldziher, but it is not in itself a new discovery. Some of the most learned of the Mohammedan writers on the Sacred Tradition perpetually complain of the mass of spurious traditions which were current in their time, and one of these critics, a certain Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, who lived in the second century after the Prophet, goes so far as

¹ The verb *khalada* and its derivatives do not convey the notion of eternity in an absolute sense, as may be seen, for instance, in the case of the passive participles *mukhallad* and *mukhlad*, 'one who still retains the vigour of youth'.

to say: 'There is nothing in which we have found respectable persons to be more mendacious than in the matter of the Sacred Tradition'¹. Thus if we wish to ascertain what the Prophet taught on any subject, such as that which we are now considering, the Sacred Tradition must be regarded as a very unsafe guide, especially when its testimony diverges in essential points from that of the Koran. But though it is seldom possible to use the books of tradition with confidence, in order to settle what was the teaching of Mohammed, there can be no doubt that these traditions are of inestimable value as records of what was believed and taught in the various sections of the Mohammedan world during the first two centuries after the Prophet. It is for this purpose that I shall now appeal to them, nor shall I attempt to decide the difficult question as to the precise origin of each tradition.

In comparing the Koran with tradition we at once perceive that a whole series of questions, about which the Koran says nothing, or next to nothing, are treated in the books of tradition with remarkable fullness. This applies especially to the subject which we are now investigating. It is astonishing to see how much more was known about the mysteries of the future life by Mohammedan theologians of the Middle Ages than is to be found in the Koran, and nearly all this mass of additional information is traced back to the Prophet, on the authority of such august persons as 'Ā'isha, Ibn 'Abbās or Abū Huraira.

Many of these accretions are of no interest to us, since they consist only in absurd attempts to embellish the statements of the Koran by supplying names, measurements, or other details; as, for instance, when we are told precisely how long the Day of Judgement will last, how tall the various classes of mankind will be when they are raised from the dead, and how much they will perspire while sentence is being passed upon them. But these puerilities are not in any way specially characteristic of Islam, as it would be easy to find innumerable parallels for them in Jewish and Christian writings; they merely illustrate the general tendency of popular theology to conceal by means of statistics its essential poverty of thought and imagination. I will therefore confine myself to matters of more importance.

¹ Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. of A. H. 1290) i p. 8.

There were two principal influences which gradually modified the beliefs of the early Mohammedans respecting a future life—the influence of primitive superstition and the influence of rationalism. Both of these have left numerous traces in the Sacred Tradition.

I have already remarked that the Koran contains very little information as to the state of the departed between the moment of death and the Resurrection, and accordingly on this question many ideas wholly foreign to the teaching of the Prophet easily found their way into Mohammedan society, and soon came to be regarded as essential elements of orthodoxy. The belief that the soul of the departed dwells in or near the grave and is partly conscious of what takes place in the neighbourhood, was, as we have seen, not unknown to the heathen Arabs. In Syria and other countries which were conquered by the early Mohammedans such ideas were still more prevalent, as is proved by the literature of the Syrian Christians. No one, for example, who studies the descriptions of the cult practised at the tombs of Saints, can doubt that the Saint was supposed to be actually present on the spot. Or again, when we read such books as the *Carmina Nisibena* of Ephraim Syrus, it is impossible not to be struck by the manner in which the other world is constantly identified with the material sepulchre. We cannot therefore wonder that a few generations after the Prophet, when vast numbers of foreign converts had been admitted into the Mohammedan community, the primitive conception of the future state, as a sojourn of the soul in the grave, should have become more and more prominent in Mohammedan theology. The conception was essentially a popular one, not the product of theological speculation, but, when once it had established itself, the theologians were compelled to reconcile it, as best they could, with the doctrine of the Koran. The general term applied to this department of theology is *ahwāl-al-kubūr* 'the states of the graves', which corresponds to the Christian phrase 'the doctrine of the intermediate state'. The simplest form which the doctrine assumed was merely that the dead are conscious of what is occurring in the place where their corpses happen to be. Thus it was related that the Prophet, after the battle of Badr, turned to some of his slain enemies and said, 'You have found that what your Lord promised was true'.

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Whereupon some of the bystanders exclaimed, 'Those whom you address are dead'. To which the Prophet answered, 'They can hear as well as you, but they cannot reply'¹.

A further developement of this doctrine is seen in what the theologians call '*adhāb-al-ḡabr* or *fitnat-al-kabr* 'the suffering which takes place in the grave', which may be illustrated by the following words ascribed to the Prophet: 'When a man has been laid in his grave and his friends take their departure, he hears the sound of their footsteps; then two angels come to him and cause him to sit up, saying to him, "What belief did you profess concerning this man (i. e. Mohammed)?" If the dead is a true believer, he answers, "I bear witness that he is the Servant and the Messenger of God". Then the two angels say, "Behold the place which you were to occupy in Hell, instead of which God has assigned to you a place in Paradise". But if the dead is a hypocrite or an unbeliever, on being asked, "What belief did you profess concerning this man?" he answers, "I know not, I used to profess what other people professed". Thereupon he is beaten with bars of iron, and utters a shriek which all beings in the neighbourhood can hear, except men and *jinn*'². If this passage stood by itself we might imagine it to imply that the soul of the true believer at least will not remain in the grave but will be transferred to Paradise, as soon as the question put by the two angels has been satisfactorily answered. This, however, does not seem to have been the general opinion of those theologians who held the doctrine of the examination in the grave, for according to another tradition the Prophet said—'Each one of you, after death, will be made to see his abode'³ every morning and evening, whether he be destined to Paradise or to Hell, and he will be told, "This is thine abode", (and so thou shalt continue) until God shall raise thee up on the day of the Resurrection'⁴. Here it is evidently assumed that the souls both of the righteous and the wicked remain in the grave till the Resurrection. In later times this view was abandoned, at least as regards the righteous, by some theologians who maintained

¹ Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ* (vocalized ed. of A. H. 1296) ii p. 93 (= i p. 345 in Krehl's ed.), Muslim ii p. 359.

² Bukhārī *ibid.* (= i p. 346 in Krehl's ed.).

³ Literally, 'his abode (i. e. his future abode) will be presented to him'.

⁴ Bukhārī ii p. 94 (= i p. 347 in Krehl's ed.).

that the souls of true believers would be deposited in the crops (*hawāṣil*) of certain birds which were supposed to dwell in the shadow of the throne of God¹. According to another view, the birds in question perch on the trees in Paradise². But it was commonly held that neither Paradise nor Hell could be entered before the Resurrection, and hence a certain Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm argued that Paradise and Hell were not yet created, 'for', as he remarked, 'there is at present no use for them'³. It is true that this Abū Bakr was considered heretical, but his argument 'there is at present no use for them' could not have been brought forward if it had been generally thought that Paradise and Hell were inhabited by disembodied spirits. The theory that Paradise and Hell were not yet in existence seems to have been especially common among the Mu'tazila, i. e. the rationalistic theologians of early Mohammedan times.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the opinions which were current about the experiences of the dead in their graves, but one tradition on this subject deserves special notice, because it furnishes an instructive example of an ancient heathen superstition grafted upon Islam. The Prophet, we are told, passed one day by two graves and perceived—it is not said by what means—that the persons buried there were suffering for their sins. So he took a fresh palm-branch, broke it in two, and stuck a piece into each grave. When his companions asked, 'O Messenger of God, why hast thou done this?' he answered, '*Perhaps their sufferings may be relieved, so long as these sticks remain moist*'⁴. We see here the close connexion between the doctrine of the punishment of sinners in the grave and the heathen idea of the *hāma*, or thirsty ghost.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in proportion as the belief in the consciousness of disembodied spirits is developed the doctrine of the Resurrection naturally tends to fall into the background. That this was the case among Mohammedans may be seen from a saying ascribed to the Prophet by one of the

¹ Ghazālī *Iḥyā* iv p. 428, line 26.

² Ghazālī *Ad-Durra* (ed. Gautier) p. 33 of the Arabic text. From this there was only a step to the belief that the soul itself became a bird, as the above passage shews.

³ Shahrastānī (ed. Cureton) i p. 51.

⁴ Bukhārī ii p. 90 (= i p. 342 in Krehl's ed.).

most revered of the later theological authorities, al-Ghazālī—'Death is resurrection, and when a man dies his resurrection has already taken place'¹.

The tendency indicated in this last tradition appears still more clearly in the speculations of the rationalistic theologians. Even in very early times some Mohammedans felt a repugnance to interpreting the promises and threats of the Koran in a literal sense. Hence in one tradition Mohammed is represented as saying, in the very words of St Paul, 'God has declared, I have made ready for my righteous servants what eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man'². A similar attempt to spiritualize the idea of Paradise appears in another saying, also ascribed to the Prophet. 'God will say to the inmates of Paradise, "Are ye content?" and they will answer, "How should we not be content, O Lord, seeing that Thou hast given to us what Thou hast given to none other of Thy creatures?" Then He will say, "I will give you something better than this". And they will answer, "O Lord, what can be better than this?" He will say, "I will cause my favour to rest upon you, and I will never be wroth with you again"³.

Sentiments such as these could cause the orthodox theologians no alarm. But some of the rationalists went much further and naturally aroused violent opposition. One of the most eminent rationalists, 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, maintained that those who were condemned to Hell would not suffer eternally, but would be transformed into the nature of fire⁴. A still bolder speculator, Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, who was put to death as a heretic rather more than a century after the Prophet, taught that both Paradise and Hell would cease to exist after a while, and that all kinds of activity (*ḥarakāt*) would come to an end, giving as his reason that every kind of activity must have an end, just as it must have a beginning. The phrase of the Koran 'They shall abide therein', Jahm explained as a hyperbole⁵.

One important point, about which the later representatives of orthodoxy abandoned the original orthodox position, is the

¹ *Iḥyā* iv p. 427, line 10—*al-mawtā 'l-ḥayātun fannā mawtā fannā ḥayāt* *ḥayātun mawtā*.

² Muslim ii p. 348.

³ *Shahrestānī* i p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii p. 349.

⁵ *Ibid.* i p. 62.

relation between works and the future recompense. In the Koran it is repeatedly stated that Paradise is the reward of good works. When the righteous enter Paradise, it will be said to them, 'Lo! this is Paradise, ye have been put in possession of it by reason of that which ye have done'¹. But, a few generations later, the controversies between the orthodox and the rationalists naturally led the former party to emphasize the importance of faith, as contrasted both with works and with reason. The more difficulty there was in defending a dogma by argument, the more meritorious it seemed to accept that dogma blindly and unreservedly. Hence it came to be maintained that works have no part in procuring entrance to Paradise, and this doctrine was, of course, put into the mouth of the Prophet himself, who had taught the precise opposite. Thus, according to a tradition, Abū Huraira related—'I heard the Messenger of God say, "No one shall enter Paradise in virtue of his works", at which they exclaimed, "Not even thou, O Messenger of God?"' "Not even I", said the Prophet, "save by a special exercise of divine favour and mercy".'² The same idea, with certain modifications, appears in another tradition, of which the following is an abstract. The Prophet first describes how the Jews and the Christians are to be cast into Hell, and then goes on to explain what will be the fate of those who worship the True God, be they righteous or wicked. According to the well-known Mohammedan belief, a bridge is to be erected, which passes through the midst of Hell into Paradise. Some persons will succeed in crossing the bridge, while others are detained midway. Those who have escaped intercede with God on behalf of their less fortunate brethren—'our brethren who used to pray with us, to fast with us, and to labour with us'. Then God will say to them, 'Depart, and if ye find any one in whose heart is faith of the weight of a gold coin, fetch him out'. The righteous thereupon return into Hell, under special divine protection, and fetch out a number of sinners. The process is repeated several times, and on each occasion the quantity of faith demanded is reduced, until it amounts only to the weight of a grain of dust. Finally God stretches forth His hand, and draws out a number of persons

¹ Koran vii 41—cf. xvi 34, xliii 72.

² Bukhārī vii p. 10 (not in Krehl's ed.).

whose faith falls short even of this last standard. When they have been bathed in a river called the Water of Life, they are admitted to Paradise, and the inmates of Paradise exclaim, 'These are they whom the Merciful has set free and has brought into Paradise apart from any work that they have performed or any merit that they have acquired'¹.

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¹ Bukhārī viii p. 170.

of its main instruments the formula which expresses feeling, in a word, the statement of belief, the creed. But I want a more general category, and one less subject to misleading implications than this word 'creed'. Unfortunately the term which suggests itself, namely *tradition*, also carries with it partisan implications. Still, it will serve the purpose.

Now the inspiration and the tradition with which we are occupied, are something more than merely individual possessions. And it is because they reach beyond the individual that they are fitted in a special way to form the foundation of a common life. Here a warning is necessary. We must speak of inspiration in some sense when we are dealing with any of the great religions of the world. It is not, therefore, the *fact* of inspiration which distinguishes Christianity from Buddhism, or from Islam. It is the *object* to which the inspiration is directed, that is all important. Hence we must qualify these terms inspiration and tradition by something further. What they reach towards is the person of Jesus. It is the peculiar character of this person, therefore, that must be borne in mind when we set out to explain the peculiar character of the Christian experience. For the person of Jesus is not to be reduced to the ordinary categories of human nature. At least I shall assume this for the purpose of my argument. And here I will set up a distinction which is ultimate, and which, I fear, will prevent any general agreement being reached as to the psychology of the Christian life. *The Christian experience is only possible in its characteristic forms so long as men act and think as if the person of Jesus were human and something more.* That is to say we have a regulative idea, an idea, therefore, which is as incapable of proof as, say, the existence of God, for the simple reason that any proof can only proceed by begging the question. Hence there must always be a radical difference in the treatment of the history of the Christian experience, according as we do, or do not, apply this regulative idea. Nor can I expect that my treatment of the topic will satisfy those who fail to apply this regulative idea. At the same time, in marking out the area of difference, we also mark out the area of agreement. The Christian experience will conform to the general conditions of experience, although it will not be entirely accounted for by them.

There are many other instances of the same kind. For example, the chemist will try to satisfy in his investigations the principles of molecular physics, although chemistry is molecular physics and something more. In just the same way the student of the Christian experience will try to shew that his descriptions are not inconsistent with the ordinary canons of the human experience, although he will bear in mind the further implications of his subject. And so in the following pages I will try to set forth what I have to say, as far as possible, in such terms as may befit a purely historical treatment without bringing in the terms of a specially theological belief.

And yet such an attempt can only be partially successful. For the mere assumption that there is an objective element in the Christian experience will conduct us at once into the sphere of theology. It is this same objective element that has already led us to anticipate a theory of the person of Christ. And I fear that the attempt to explain the Christian experience, will be but a transparent veil for implications of a distinctly theological character.

Let us proceed now, however, to set out our subject in terms which shall take for granted as little as may be. In the first place, the Person of Jesus impressed His immediate followers in such a way that they formed themselves into a society animated and sustained by a common love and enthusiasm for Him. This enthusiasm and love has persisted in the Christian society from the beginning until the present, and it has manifested itself in certain special ways which are important for us now, because they concern the self-revelation of the Christian spirit as it spreads from the community to the individual. We will try to interpret the New Testament and the liturgy considered as the conscious utterance of the Christian spirit. For, as a matter of fact, the liturgy and then at a later date the sacred writings were the first things to present themselves to the external observer or the new convert. And his is the point of view from which we are starting.

In the next place, the consciousness of the Christian community, as we might expect, sets its object, the Person of Jesus, in a high and clear light. 'I know whom I have believed.' The watchword, or symbol of the Christian society consisted in

a series of definite propositions about the Person of Jesus. 'Tradition', says Harnack¹, 'in the strictest sense of the word consisted in the contents of the symbol for the time being.' And this is the sense in which we shall speak of tradition. It is the term which Paul uses of what his converts received from him. And the contrasted employment in the New Testament of the phrases 'traditions of the elders', 'traditions of men', ought not to discredit the proper use of the term.

II.

We will now proceed to consider the inspiration of the Christian society as disclosed most especially in the composition of the New Testament and of the liturgy. I do not say the inspiration of the New Testament. For the term inspiration, of course, can only be used of the writers of the books of the New Testament, and, as we shall see, the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament was something which they shared with the Christian society as a whole. Hence it is proper to speak of the inspiration of the Christian society as disclosed in the New Testament.

Jesus Himself left no written memorials. In view of the large part which the New Testament has played in the life of the Church and in the history of the world, it is also a striking circumstance that no saying of Jesus has been recorded which deals directly with the use of the New Testament. Hence it seems probable that the popular religion of to-day, so far as it consists in each man making up his own religion out of the New Testament, is unlike the Christianity of the lifetime of Jesus, and of the century which followed upon the death of Jesus. The convert, upon joining the rising young community, was admitted into a new order of life, and upon his baptism received a brief summary of the belief of the Church concerning her Founder. He had but little written guidance. The oral communication of the teacher took precedence of every other means of communication. 'Hold fast', says Paul, 'the traditions which you were taught through our word of mouth or our letters.' In this way the Church, speaking through her teachers, acted as the channel by which the life and example of Jesus became the possession

¹ *History of Dogma* (tr.) iii 209.

first of her immediate neighbours and contemporaries, and then of after ages. But at first there was nothing answering to the modern use of the New Testament.

Now this seems a plain statement of an obvious fact. But the full meaning of this fact is far from being obvious, and requires to be sought further. How was it that the life and the example of Jesus so captivated the imaginations and governed the wills of his contemporaries and the succeeding generations that their characters were re-created and, in a spiritual sense, they were born again? Our answer must take account of the context into which, so to speak, they were woven, of the past from which they sprang, of the future into which they were moving. The use of the Old Testament by the Church to shew how Jesus was the clue to the history of the Jewish race, was a parable of the way in which also He answered to the inherited impulses of the other parts of the ancient world. Jesus brought in a new era of the spirit; He did not bring in a temporal revolution. The antique world continued still for many generations to furnish the mould into which the life of the Church was cast. Overbeck's suggestive essay upon the attitude of the ancient Church to slavery may be called in to illustrate this fact¹. The Christian Church has never interfered in politics without going outside her proper domain, and so those popular writers who, like Dean Farrar, dwell upon the social and political deficiencies of ancient civilization, as though it was the first business of the Church to remedy them, fall into error as to the meaning of the early history of the Church. So far was the Christian Church from being in any sense a revolutionary organization, that it actually gave to the ancient world a fresh and crowning lease of life, and the world-dreams of an Alexander and a Julius received their profoundest fulfilment in the spiritual cosmopolitanism of the Nazarene. It was scarcely an accident that the inscription upon the cross was written in the three great languages of the ancient world. The break between the old and the new did not affect the more noble elements in Greek and Roman life, and, indeed, the Church has acted as the intermediary by which the invaluable legacy of ancient culture—its philosophy and art—has entered into the possessions of the modern world. Jesus came not to

¹ *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche* i 185.

destroy but to fulfil; and the example of Jesus included in itself, and gave permanence to, what was most valuable in the heritage of the past. But it did more. It also furnished a prophecy of what was best in the future. Just as we have traced in the Christian ideal the nobler elements of Greek and Roman and Jewish antiquity, so in the rich complexity of the mind of Jesus there are foreshadowed—like the petals of the flower as yet enfolded in the bud—the successive chapters of the history of the Christian Church.

Now it was this spirit, that looked to the past and the future alike, which Jesus breathed upon his immediate disciples, and through them upon the after-world. Such a spirit has proved itself capable of absorbing into itself the most varied national and racial tendencies, and thereby of entering into and determining the succeeding stages of national and racial history. We see the spirit of Jesus permeating, first, the Jewish mind, and then, in a still more eminent degree, the Greek and the Roman mind. It spreads among the Egyptians, the Celts, the Teutons, the Slavs, in a manner which has only ceased to seem miraculous because it has become familiar. How strong such an impulse must have been in its origin! How all differences must have been fused at first into one burning flood of enthusiasm! Now when the intensity of the spiritual experience rises above a certain pitch, it is accompanied by certain phenomena, certain modes of self-expression. And these attain a unique character by which they are marked off from the expressions of those spiritual experiences which are of lesser degrees of intensity. Hence they are not always understood if they are measured by the ordinary standards. It is on these lines that we ought to approach the question of the inspiration of the New Testament. And for the sake of clearness I will try to state the principle in definite terms:—

At times of intellectual and spiritual exaltation not only do large ideas become the common possession of the multitude, but the power of expressing those ideas is also widely possessed, and thus the question of authorship can scarcely be solved in the same way as when inspiration is more sporadic in its distribution.

Since, as we have seen, the Christian experience is marked off from other experiences not by the *fact* of inspiration, but by the

object to which the inspired feelings are directed, we must expect to be able to illustrate the Christian experience by the closest parallels from other quarters, and, in particular, we will try to explain the origin of the New Testament. For here again we have a fact the familiarity of which blinds us to its special character. And this special character we may understand better in the light of some recent lucubrations about the Elizabethan literature. The attempt which has been made to shew that Shakespeare's plays and poems were written by another hand, rests simply on the ground of certain general resemblances of thought and expression. But these general resemblances of thought and expression are just the common characteristics of the age and country in which Shakespeare lived; and if instead of confining ourselves to Shakespeare, we continue our reading of the Elizabethan writers a little further, we shall still meet with similar turns of thought and expression. In order to be consistent, therefore, we shall be compelled to attribute to the hand which penned the works attributed to Shakespeare, the whole of the literature of the time. And there have not been wanting those who were bold enough to draw this perfectly logical and fantastic conclusion. Spenser, Marlowe, and the rest are thus, along with Shakespeare, the masks through which a single face looks down upon us.

The most illuminating discussion of Shakespeare's genius which has come under my notice, is contained in *The Mind of Man* by Mr. Gustav Spiller, who shews how largely Shakespeare drew upon what was a common stock of feelings, ideas, phrases. And there is one sentence in his book which I will borrow, and use it again for our special purpose. 'Shakespeare', says Mr. Spiller, 'stands for the genius of the Elizabethan era much more than for his own superiority.' In the same way we will say that the writers of the New Testament stand for the spirit common to the Christian Church much more than for their own superiority. Hence it is that so much of the early Christian literature is anonymous, or as good as anonymous. *The Epistle to the Hebrews* may serve to shew how high a level could be attained by writers who failed to leave even a name behind them. The strange belief that the writers of the New Testament were like clerks taking down from dictation the verbal utterances of

Another, is curiously revived in the fantastic theory of the Elizabethan literature that we have already noticed. If Lord Bacon were permitted for once to speak in his own person, he would perhaps use this popular theorizing as an illustration of 'idols'. 'We observe', he says, 'that idols are the deepest fallacies of the human mind: for they do not deceive in particulars as the rest by clouding and ensnaring the judgement; but from a corrupt predisposition or bad complexion of the mind, which distorts and infects all the anticipations of the understanding.' Such popular theories, however, do not gain wide acceptance without the admixture of an element of truth. Let us try to rescue this element of truth, and apply it to the origin of the New Testament, that is to say, to the conditions amid which the New Testament arose. In so doing we shall make a start towards the better understanding not only of the New Testament, but of the prophetic impulse generally. May we say that the New Testament is inspired so far as its writers shared in the common enthusiasm, and in the gifts which that enthusiasm conferred; the gifts of tongues, of prophecy, of exposition, in a word, the spiritual gifts?

Here then we meet with a very striking incidental confirmation of the principle which we established a short time since. We are not only enabled to understand better the prevalent tone of feeling and language which reigns throughout the New Testament: we can solve a problem which has always exercised the interpreters of the New Testament, although they do not say much about it. The gift of tongues and those other gifts belong to the general state of excitement which gave birth to the New Testament. To use a physiological expression, there was an abnormal excitation of the speech centres, which accompanied the general disturbance of consciousness. Similar conditions are clearly manifested in those Elizabethan gifts of utterance which are scarcely less wonderful than those of the early church. And so it seems reasonable to regard the strange behaviour of Paul and his correspondents, as a particular instance of the general excitement which accompanied the rise of the Church, and therefore as a strict corollary to the rise of the early Christian literature.

Now so far as this excitement was confined strictly within the

limits of the common life, it expressed itself in the growth of the *liturgy*; so far as it was more individual in character it took the form of *apocalyptic compositions*. Hence we must regard the New Testament as holding a middle place between the vast mass of apocalyptic compositions on the one hand, and the liturgical forms on the other. Thus we gain not only a theory of the growth of the canonical scriptures, but also a partial explanation of these other scarcely less important products of the Christian spirit.

To take the apocalyptic literature first, Harnack scarcely does justice to the general sincerity of the earliest times when he says that the first Christian century was distinguished, among other things 'by a quite unique literature in which were manufactured facts for the past and the future, and which did not submit to the usual literary rules and forms but came forward with the loftiest pretensions'¹. So far is this from being the case, that, wonderful to relate, the *Apocalypse of John* is the only representative of this kind which found its way into the canon, and this only after a prolonged struggle. It is one of the many tokens of the sober judgement of the authorities of the early church that it should be so, and I know of no circumstance which may more properly incline us towards a high estimate of their historical sense. For the amount of the apocalyptic literature and its popularity was enormous. It revived with each fresh persecution. Each succeeding attack roused the enthusiasm of the martyr Church to fresh expressions. The persecution of Diocletian—the final baptism of blood and fire—was only like its predecessors when it drove the persecuted to revive and to imitate those Jewish stories of *Bel and the Dragon*, of the *Three Children*, which had supported Jewish faith centuries before under the oppression of Antiochus. It is a perverse understatement to compare these and similar compositions with the modern religious novel. They are in great part the cries of anguish and yet of triumph which were wrung from the Christian society as it passed through the last moments of stress on to the crowning victory. The churches of Rome and Alexandria sealed their confessions with the seal of martyrdom. It is therefore a fit ending for the New Testament that the last

¹ *History of Dogma* (tr.) i 142.

book in it should be a manual for martyrs. *These are they which came out of great tribulation.*

The other gift was not less wonderful. It produced the liturgy. The importance of this circumstance for the history of the Church can scarcely be exaggerated. For, as we shall see, it was for a long time through the liturgy rather than through the New Testament that the traditional estimate of the Person of Christ was guarded. The New Testament itself, indeed, contains some traces of the prayers, hymns, and confessions of faith which formed the substance of the stated worship. And to that extent it takes for granted a certain liturgical developement. I do not understand, however, why in this connexion reference should be made only to the one or two incidental remarks contained in St Paul's letters, and why the canticles which are preserved in St Luke's gospel should not also be quoted. They may very well proceed in part from the persons to whom they are attributed. The art of writing psalms was still alive among the Jews down to the Christian era. And I find no difficulty in supposing that the mother of Jesus, who hid so many things in her heart, was a poetess and the authoress of the *Magnificat*. The composition of prayers and 'spiritual songs' at the beginning of the Christian history, was repeated at the German Reformation in the hymns of Luther and of the *Lyra Germanica*; the Elizabethan age furnished the beautiful forms of the collects of the Anglican liturgy and the incomparable style of the Authorized Version; the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century spoke in the hymns of Wesley; the Oxford Movement of the nineteenth century, in the verses of Newman and the *Christian Year*. But no later compositions can hope to surpass the first hymns and prayers and confessions of faith as the immediate outcome of the Christian spirit.

III.

We have thus attempted to consider the inspiration of the early church as a fact capable of positive statement. We can trace its features and measure its extent; as we can trace and measure other historical events. It is not meant, of course, that we have exhausted the meanings of this inspiration when we have referred it to its historical setting. But this

is a matter for further enquiries which lie beyond our present scope.

Let us now return to the other part of our subject, *tradition*, and consider very briefly the terms in which the Church handed on the standard of belief, which was also in effect the standard of feeling. The Church from time to time became agreed in the main that there were limits beyond which she no longer recognized her own special temperament. It became clear that absolute freedom of speculation and absolute licence of temperament and emotion were inconsistent with the maintenance of definite standards of speculation and of emotion. Hence to upbraid the Church for setting up a canon of right thinking or orthodoxy is beside the mark. The Church was driven to this course by the instinct of self-preservation. The student may lament or accept the necessity of fixed standards. But one thing is quite certain. The controversialists of the early centuries knew what they were talking about, when they declared that there were doctrines by which the Church will stand or fall. This consideration quite explains the hesitation with which changes have been admitted, even in the external circumstances of the life of the Church ; and, at the same time, it has been too much overlooked by those thinkers of each age who have sought to remould Christian tradition in conformity with the standards of each age. Hence the genuine reformation of the Church in doctrine or practice must always come from within, although the impulse to such reformation may very well originate outside her borders. And so it seems to me that the function of the psychologist must be carefully distinguished from that of the critic of dogma. His office will be rather to describe, than to suggest possible changes in the subject-matter of his descriptions.

If then a purely subjective criticism leads to attempts at reconstruction of the Christian ideal, attempts which are doomed to failure beforehand, so, on the other hand, those who take the New Testament out of its context and consider it apart from the institutions of the Church throw the Christian ideal out of its historical perspective. Now this is an error which seems to be current not only among the general public, but also among professed students. There is too exclusive a preoccupation with books, a preoccupation which rises in some quarters to a positive

prejudice against any other source of information. The evidence of liturgical usage, of custom, of Christian art, is in the main ignored. For example, the earliest monuments of the Roman catacombs, the inscriptions, the paintings, go back to the first century, that is to the lifetime of some of the apostles. And the slightness of such archaeological evidence is balanced by the certainty with which it records a contemporary utterance. Critics like Strauss may dissolve the figure of Jesus into myth, or with Schmiedel leave Him almost speechless, but the catacombs take us into the presence, or at least the handiwork, of the first generation of his followers, and we find ourselves in a religious atmosphere, apparently continuous with that of the Gospels. Yet it has taken thirty years for the work of de Rossi to obtain recognition in England, and even still to repeat his statements is to incur the reproach of Roman partisanship. If then the evidence of Christian art is to be weighed, so also must the evidence which is furnished by the liturgy. The arrangement of the liturgy is curiously dominated by dogmatic presuppositions, a fact of which Pliny's famous sentence is a striking symbol. 'To sing hymns in antiphon to Christ as though to God' may well stand for a general account of the liturgy. Just as Roman and Greek history have been interpreted anew in the light of archaeological and other extra-literary evidence, so the history of the Christian Church is to be interpreted anew in the light of liturgical and archaeological evidence. And just as the critical methods which at first seemed to throw grave doubts upon the Troy and Mycenae of Agamemnon and Priam, and the Rome of Romulus, have in the end re-established the old traditions, if not in detail yet in substance; so in a more eminent degree has it been with the apostolic age. Purely literary speculation dissolved into air the presence and martyrdom of Peter at Rome, but the archaeologist can almost trace his footsteps side by side with those of Paul. We can look now upon the facts of the past in a stereoscopic manner, combining in one focus the double insight which is given by the Christian literature on the one hand, and by Christian institutions and art on the other. Perhaps you say, 'What has this to do with psychological study?' I answer, very little so long as psychology confines itself to a bare description of the individual Christian life. But when it steps

outside that limit, it must proceed not less scientifically than when it attempts to portray the character of any other social organism.

And now to bring this paper to a conclusion; I will try to shew that we have been really in touch with the actual current of the life of the early church. There are two salient circumstances of which every theory must take some account. There is the primacy of the Roman Church on the one hand, and on the other the pre-eminent place occupied by the Eucharist. Unless we can exhibit these two facts in some sort of relation to what has already been advanced, our attempt to formulate the history of the Christian experience in psychological terms must be considered a failure.

And first as to the Roman Church. The *de facto* primacy of the Roman Church was based not only upon the political primacy of the ancient capital, but also upon a certain sobriety of judgement and upon the high degree of practical wisdom which characterized the Roman mind. As Harnack has pointed out, the recognition of this *de facto* primacy of the Roman Church in the early centuries is not necessarily implicated with the recognition of the *de iure* primacy of the Roman bishop. And what I am going to say is not calculated to serve the purposes of Roman controversialists. Here again I will draw upon Harnack. Whether it be Dionysius of Rome writing about Dionysius of Alexandria, or Leo I attempting to compose the monophysite controversy, or Agatho writing to the emperor—'We are astonished', he says¹, 'at the close affinity of the three manifestoes. The three popes did not trouble themselves about proofs or arguments, but fixed their attention solely on the consequences of disputed doctrines. Starting with these doctrines they refuted doctrines of the right and left, and simply fixed a middle theory which existed merely in words, for it was self-contradictory. This they grounded formally on their ancient creed without even attempting to argue out the connexion: one God, Father, Son, and Spirit; one person, perfect God and perfect man; one person, two wills. . . . Their religious interest centred in the God Jesus, who had assumed the *substantia humana*.'

¹ *History of Dogma* (tr.) iii 94.

In these sentences Harnack furnishes us with a principle which we may lay down as follows:—*The policy of the Roman bishops in doctrinal matters was not to originate but to regulate. Jesus was to be regarded as perfect God and perfect man. And no inference was to be permitted which conflicted with either of these propositions.*

That is to say, the guidance of Rome in matters of doctrine was purely a negative one at first. And we can mark it off with the utmost clearness from that later and positive procedure which has led to the elaborate creed of Pope Pius V, and to the decrees of 1854 and 1870. The earliest inspiration of the Church and its teachers in this respect seems to resemble the daemon of Socrates; it interferes to restrain from error, but not to suggest positive action. Hence the authority of the Roman Church was recognized at first in so far as it confined itself to guarding the tradition in the sense of which we have spoken. But Harnack scarcely does justice to the spirit of compromise which he traces at Rome. It is not the mere fact of compromise that explains its occasional success as a policy. Where two opposing parties are absolutely divided, the result of a conflict must be in the end the complete victory of the one side, and the complete defeat of the other. A compromise succeeds so far as there is a great central body of feeling and opinion to which expression is given. The Roman policy satisfied the needs of the great mass of the Church. Let us try to find a more definite expression for this fact.

The life and example of Jesus communicated to the young community an enthusiasm and an inspiration which was passed on from the first to the second generation of believers, not in the form of Christian scriptures, but by word of mouth. 'The baptismal confession was imparted to the catechumens by word of mouth, and this procedure was confirmed by the subsequent conception of the *disciplina arcani*: hence written records are not found till pretty late.'¹ Thus the earliest doctrines about the person of Jesus could not have been deduced from the New Testament. On the other hand, these doctrines, already existing and formulated in the earliest creeds, determined the Church in selecting those writings which should be regarded as canonical.

¹ Möller *History of the Christian Church* (tr.) i 257.

But the creed must not be separated from the common worship of the Church, and especially from the most important part of the common worship, the Eucharist. Through possession of the creed the catechumen was initiated into the full privileges of the Christian society, that is to say, into participation of the body and blood of Christ¹. And the high estimate of the person of Jesus which was declared in the creed, must not be separated from the worship of Him which was implied in the whole form of the ceremonial. The arrangement of the liturgy represented the mysterious approach of a divine presence to the worshipper. A very large proportion of the earliest monuments of Christian art, many of them not later than the second century, bear testimony both to the large place occupied in the life of the Church by the Eucharist, and to the mystical interpretation of the meal². Hence when we ask, What was the reason why the traditional interpretation of the person of Jesus was maintained so persistently? we are bound to take account of the influence of the forms of worship. *Lex orandi lex credendi*. The law of prayer is also the law of belief. Hence we arrive at our concluding principle. *The idea of the person of Jesus as of perfect God and perfect man, was nourished upon the liturgy in general and the Eucharist in particular.*

Thus the Roman primacy and the high doctrine of the Eucharist have a meaning for the history of the whole Christian Church, in so far as the declarations of the Roman bishops secured the twofold view of the person of Jesus, and the Eucharistic symbolism maintained the feeling of the incorporation of the Church in a divine body. In the light of this, I do not feel much confidence in any attempt to restate the Christian ideal which leaves out of account the functions which the leading doctrines of the Church have actually fulfilled in the past. No textual or higher criticism of the New Testament really affects the authority of the most ancient creed. On the other hand, it seems to be generally admitted now that the form of the New Testament books, as we have them, was not attained until a certain amount of editing had been undergone. In other words, the men who gave us the books of the New Testament in their

¹ 1 Cor. xi 29.

² Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* 223 ff.

present form, were members of the society which had already elaborated Christian doctrine to the point at which we have traced it. Hence it seems doubtful whether any historical criticism of the New Testament, can ever get behind the standpoint of the Church of the second century. We may accept, or we may reject, tradition ; we cannot hope to remould it to any private interpretation.¹

FRANK GRANGER.

¹ 2 Peter i 20.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

MUCH interest attaches to the new translation of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, the last part of which has just been placed in the hands of subscribers. It is in the main the work of the late Sir P. le Page Renouf and is the most scholarly and best approved translation that has yet appeared. Begun in 1892, it was planned to be completed in eight parts; and the work proceeded. But Renouf died when only six parts had been issued; and the translation and commentary have been completed from his notes, by M. Edouard Naville, Professor at Geneva, to whom also we owe the present Introduction.

The Introduction is valuable as giving the chief facts known about the history of the text; and it is no fault of M. Naville's that it contains a confession of ignorance as to its meaning. The very reason of that ignorance excites further curiosity. In the first place some of the early chapters of this collection date from the earliest times, and language was in a primitive stage. The rubrics attribute them to a king of the first dynasty, and they may really be older than the pyramids. Undoubtedly they go back to the Old Empire; and we are forced to admit that their origin is not much later than the beginning of Egyptian civilization. The texts of the Middle Empire shew already that there were various editions. Words once well understood had become obsolete; ancient usages had fallen into desuetude, many allusions were now uncertain in their reference. Comment and explanation became necessary. Later copyists incorporated the commentary with the text, and sometimes included inconsistent readings. By the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty the Book was hardly intelligible even to its editors. Renouf says,—‘I have no doubt whatever that some chapters of the Book of the Dead were as obscure to Egyptians living under the eleventh dynasty [say about 3000 B.C.] as they are to ourselves.’ And as to the

present obscurity, in some of the sentences the meaning often seems to us childish, or even 'outrageous nonsense'. We may be sure however that it was not so to the devout Egyptian who paid for a copy of the sacred word and placed it in the tomb with his deceased relative. The difficulty now is not in literally translating the text, but in understanding the meaning which lies concealed beneath familiar words. For this portion of the task the translator of hieroglyphics is not necessarily well equipped. It is confessed that 'the most accurate knowledge of the Egyptian vocabulary and grammar will not suffice to pierce the obscurity arising from what M. de Rougé called symbols or allegories, which are in fact simple mythological allusions'. Naville speaks of 'the Egyptian mythology which plays such an important part in the Book', and confesses that 'we have not yet unravelled all its intricacies'.

It is certain that in Egypt six thousand years ago, there was a mythology which served as a background of religious belief. It was so important and so cherished that temples were built to the gods it recognized, and priests were supported to perform rites and celebrate festivals. It was so generally known and accepted, that the sacred writings of that time assume the theology instead of setting it forth didactically. There is no *Book of the Dead*, properly speaking. What we have is separate chapters or compositions, of various date and authorship, and as independent of one another as the Psalms in the Hebrew Scriptures. They are given in the present edition as 186 in number. In the course of centuries they underwent revision and enlargement; and new chapters were added. It was late in the day before they were collected and issued in what might be called an authorized edition. They are found in tombs, because the deceased person was supplied with one or more chapters as a *trunk mummy*. His day of life was over, he was buried in the west, and he would have to pass through the dark Underworld. In order that he might find true guides, baffle deceivers, and escape all perils, he was to con his book and recite its verses. Champollion called the collected chapters a ritual; but they are not that: they are not for the priest in the temple, but for the deceased himself to repeat in the Netherworld. Legasis found the best collection to be that embodied in the

long papyrus in the Turin Museum. He published it and called it the *Todtenbuch*—the Book of the Dead: but that again, is not a translation of the Egyptian title. That title, as rendered by Renouf, is 'Coming forth by day'; but Renouf felt a difficulty in explaining the phrase. Naville would translate the title,— 'Coming out of the day', the day being, in his opinion, 'the period of a man's life, having its morning and its evening'. This explanation hardly commends itself to us. Surely a man in his grave does not require chapters to help him to come out of his earthly life. He had left that behind. He was believed to be passing through the darkness of the Netherworld, and it was hoped that after this night of death, there would be a morning of resurrection. Literally, if he went down in the west and followed the course of the sun, he would by and by rise up in the east, into the light of heaven. He would come forth into Day! Is not this the meaning? May we not call these old chapters the Book of Resurrection?

Renouf's idea as to the purpose and sense of the chapters amounts to this,—that they relate to the blessedness of the dead, regarded in three aspects;—(1) Renewed existence 'as upon earth'. The deceased eats and drinks, and satisfies all his physical wants. He particularly enjoys the activities of agricultural life. (2) He can transform himself, and range through the universe. (3) He becomes assimilated to the god Osiris, and triumphs over his enemies. Osiris is the sun in his underworld aspect. In the Egyptian mythology there is a very close relation between Osiris and Ra, and sometimes they are declared to become interfused, one and inseparable. Ra is the sun-god, the seat of whose worship was Heliopolis, a city connected with the oldest religious traditions of the country. The bulk of the *Book of the Dead* came from Heliopolis. It is not disputed that a leading feature in Egyptian religion was the worship of Ra, and that Heliopolis may rightly be called the religious capital of Egypt. Next to the *Book of the Dead*, the longest of the sacred writings of the Egyptians is the *Litany of Ra*; and in this the Supreme Power is adored in all his numerous manifestations. Of another composition, in honour of Ra-Harmachis, Mr. W. R. Cooper says,—'This beautiful hymn . . . resembles those sublime outpourings of adoration, of which in sacred

literature Psalm civ is so characteristic a type.' Now the king of Egypt was declared to be the Son of Ra, his living image; and when he died he went the way of the Sun, as Osiris had done.

Rameses II says of his deceased father,—'Thou dost rest in the depth like Osiris, while I rule like Ra among men.' As early as the fourth dynasty the monarchs were honoured with the appellation of 'Osiris' on their funeral tablets. In later time all good men of all ranks were assimilated to Osiris; they were addressed as 'the Osiris N. N.', and the body was bound up to resemble Osiris. The survivors trusted that the deceased would rise to new life, as it was believed that Osiris had done. The royal sepulchres in the valley of *Biban el Meluk*, at Thebes, have their walls adorned with pictures which generally represent the course of the sun through the Underworld. The deceased is supposed to follow the god in his journey. In other words, the Sun represents the Deity, and the good man goes to be with his god. The way out of the Underworld, and up to Heaven, was by a staircase [or Jacob's ladder] of seven steps: and in chapter xxii Osiris says,—'I am the Lord of Restau, the same who is at the head of the Staircase.' Renouf here bids us compare the picture of Osiris at the head of the Staircase, which is represented on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I in the Soane Museum. The good man, having thus ascended from the nether deep to the gate of Heaven, counted upon being assisted over the threshold. The deceased king Pepi I, as early as his pyramid—say 3300 B.C.—exclaims, 'Hail to thee, O ladder of God . . . Stand up, O Ladder of God!' and 'every god stretcheth out his hand unto this Pepi when he cometh forth into heaven by the Ladder of God!'

It ought to be clear that the basis of ancient Egyptian theology was largely astronomical. As we ourselves say that we are led, through nature to nature's God, so they; and the region of nature they regarded most was the sky. It may be admitted, of course, that astronomy was not everything in their system, and still less were they simply and exclusively sun-worshippers; but certainly their ritual gave prominence to the sun as a symbol. The netherworld journey of the deceased, however, can hardly have been simply from the place of sunset to the place of sunrise,

for that should have been plain sailing for the sun's 'boat', and for the souls in the wake of it. Instead of this, it seems, the deceased might miss his way: he met with deceivers and encountered many perils. We are surprised at the multiform dangers, and often baffled in trying to guess their meaning. The deceased passes through the chine of Apepi the Serpent, at the risk of being devoured; he meets with crocodiles, and through them, strangely, may be robbed of his Words of Power. There are Merta goddesses, and the Apshait, and the Eater of the Ass, all requiring to be kept back. At a place called Sutenhenen a great slaughter is perpetrated, and at another place there is a divine block of Execution. The unwary soul may be imprisoned, or be taken in the net of the catchers of fish. The deceased may even die a second time, and see corruption. It is possible that some of these dreadful things are survivals of the more primitive fancies which terrified mankind before they became civilized enough to study the sun and stars and measure the return of the seasons. It is possible that some of the descriptions are symbolical of facts of the astronomic system itself. What is that Stairway at the end of the journey? and how comes it to have seven steps? Egyptian religion was not sun-worship pure and simple. In an astronomic system the moon may be of some importance; certain stars may have a place; equinoxes and solstices may be taken into account.

There were many divinities besides Ra, and some of them so closely associated with him that they too must be supposed to have been celestial. Isis and Nephthys were his sisters; Set was his murderous brother; Horus was his son, who avenged him. Osiris, who reigns in the Underworld, becomes inseparable from Ra; and Thoth is continually to the fore as Ra's favourite. It should be an object of the student to identify these divinities astronomically, with the same certainty that Ra is identified with the sun. Who is Thoth? In chapter clxxxii he is the perfect scribe, the writing-reed of the Inviolable God: he writes justice and execrates wrong, and his words have dominion over the two earths. The Greeks recognized Thoth as their own Hermes, the god of number and calculation, of letters and learning. Of course, therefore, he corresponds to Mercury and to Nebo in other systems. We shall perhaps find that the Pantheon

included nearly the same circle of divinities in all the ancient nations. And why? Surely because they all had the same heavens above them, the same succession of seasons, the same need of measuring months and years; and the same practice of celebrating the festivals of each divinity as the day came round. Hermes or Thoth was associated with the renewal of the years. He was supposed to measure their length and to record their passage; and thus he became the god of number and of letters. He supplied all the data for a correct calendar. When the time and place of the equinox were accurately fixed, the right adjustment made between the summer and winter halves of the year, Thoth was said to appease the two gods, to reconcile the two brothers. It was this exact balancing of the hemispheres that made him the lord of justice. It was the need of bringing the calendar into accord with the astronomic facts which gave men their sense of obligation to divine law, the decrees of heaven. The concrete fact is ever the parent of the abstract idea.

It would be easy to enlarge the proof of an astronomic element in Egyptian religion. It would be fatuous to deny its existence. No doubt some French and English writers of the past were too easily satisfied with a simple solar explanation: they so had the sun in their eyes that they could see nothing else. But on the other hand, the writers who now refer everything to the fancies of savages are no less wide of the truth. The early Egyptians were not savages when they established the worship of Ra the Sun-god; nor were those of later centuries degenerate barbarians when they built more temples and added more chapters to the sacred book. The continuity of the teaching is wonderful, and only to be understood when we recognize that the standard was ever present to men in the sun and stars. If the priests kept themselves abreast of science, then, as the equinox receded on the ecliptic and the stars altered in declination, they would have to modify the teaching and the ritual. This would be one reason for writing new chapters; while another would be the general advance of culture. When modification had been too long neglected, the readjustment would come sometimes with the shock and inconvenience of a revolution.

M. Naville refrains from attempting to explain the chapters

he translates, because 'we have not yet unravelled all the intricacies of the Egyptian mythology'. I do not mean to say that Egyptologists, either foreign or English, attribute any part of the development of Egyptian teaching to the need of keeping in accord with the changing heavens. They are not convinced that the basis of the teaching was astronomic. That an element of astronomy is there, is confessed by Renouf and Maspero and other masters among them; but with the remembrance of Dupuis and Volney and other sun-god theorists to daunt them, they hold back too much. With scientific caution they refuse to go an inch beyond their facts; and since they have no scientific imagination they make no progress. Like M. de Rougé they cry out piteously that the most accurate knowledge of the vocabulary and grammar will not enable them to pierce to the meaning of symbols and allegories; yet they will not lend countenance to any other method. This obscurantism of the Egyptologist is as intolerant as ever was that of the Hebraist. To us it is also intolerable.

Religion is what it is, whatever its historical and outward origin. Just as man is man, even if his ancestor was an ape, so we are Christians now, whatever the hole of the pit from which we were digged. But we are naturally curious about origins; and as it has seemed worth while to probe into natural evolution, so is it to inquire into spiritual. Christianity, it is recognized, came out of Judaism: but whence came Judaism itself? Did Israel sojourn in Egypt and learn nothing about Ra the Sun-god? We have satisfied ourselves that the theology of the Egyptians had an astronomic basis, and the worship of the Sun, as a symbol of Deity, was a prominent feature in it. An astronomical system prevailed also in Babylonia and Assyria, where Anu corresponds to Ra, Nebo to Thoth, and the pantheon in general is similar. Even the Hebrew system—by the evidence of the sacred books—must at first have had an admixture of the same. With Babylon on one side of them and Egypt on the other, the Hebrews could hardly escape it. As there was nothing original in their architecture, so there was little that was peculiar in their religion. The Babylonians had their temples and festivals, their priests and sacrifices, their psalms, and their revelations by dreams. The Hebrews built their Temple to face the East, and

offered sacrifices at sunrise and sunset. They paid regard to new-moon days ; they held high festival of Passover and Atonement at the season of the equinoxes. The seven lights of their temple candlestick, Josephus tells us, represented the planets. Either in Egypt or in Chaldea we should be able to uncover the roots and the trunk of the tree whose branches have overshadowed the nations.

GEO. ST. CLAIR.

DOCUMENTS

AN UNKNOWN FRAGMENT OF THE PSEUDO-AUGUSTINIAN *QUAESTIONES VETERIS ET NOVI TESTAMENTI*.

In the collection of *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII* there are contained three commentaries or homilies on the first, twenty-third, and fiftieth psalms respectively. They follow immediately on a tractate DE MELCHISEDECH, which is numbered CVIII in the collection. The text of this Question is given entire by most of the editors, but a note of the Benedictine editor, P. Coustant, informs us that about two-thirds are lacking in the Colbertine manuscript and also in the editio Ratisponensis¹.

To this can now be added the information that Colbertinus, now Parisiacus *Biblioth. Nat. lat.* 2709 (s. IX), by no means stands alone in this respect. Five other manuscripts of the ninth century, two of the tenth, and a number of later copies, in fact all existing MSS of which the writer has any knowledge, with one exception, lack these two-thirds. This exception is Scaff. X. N. 191 of the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua, and is of the thirteenth century. It is absolutely certain that none of the editors, who have printed the entire Question, had ever seen this manuscript, and it is highly probable that the MS or MSS, from which the complete Question was printed, existed among the manuscripts in Paris destroyed at the Revolution. If we could trust Coustant's silence, we should conclude that the other manuscripts named by him, all of late date, contained the document complete. We cannot, however, trust him, and a study of his text leads to the conclusion that he seldom opened any MS to which he had access except Colbertinus, and that

¹ This is a name for the *editio princeps*, edited by an Austin Friar of Paris, who was a native of Ratispona (Ratisbon, Regensburg), and published by Jean Trechsel at Lyon in 1497. Of this book ten copies are known to exist in France (see Mademoiselle Pellechet's *Catalogue Général des Incunables des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, vol. i Paris, 1897); the British Museum has one, the Bodleian has two, Cambridge University Library has one, Jena has one, and the Biblioteca Antoniana at Padua one. Quaritch had a copy for sale in 1877, which had belonged to Pirckheimer, the friend of Erasmus.

rarely and to little purpose. My own belief is that there existed during the sixteenth century, perhaps also during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, either in France or Belgium, one copy of the *Quaestiones*, which had Question 109 in its complete form.

If we compare qu. CX *DE PSALMO PRIMO*, CXI *DE PSALMO VIGENSIMO TERTIO* and CXII *DE PSALMO QVINQVAGENSIMO*, in their printed form, we shall see that, while the commentaries on the twenty-third and fiftieth psalms are each provided with an introduction concerning its title and historical setting, the commentary on the first psalm, which might be expected *a fortiori* to have such an introduction, is without it. The writer plunges at once *in medias res* by citing the first words of the psalm and proceeding to comment on them. He has thus encouraged his few modern readers to adopt a patronizing tone which he ill deserves. Never was modest writer more cruelly treated, first by the misfortunes to which early manuscripts of his works were subjected, and second by the ignorance and carelessness of his first editor and his followers. No one who has read the prefaces to the work in the various editions and compared their text with that provided by any manuscript of the ninth or tenth century, will think these words too strong.

For the writer did compose an introduction to his commentary on the first psalm; and the same misfortune, which nearly lost us the greater part of the 109th Question, involved the first third or so of the 110th. Why the old editor, who first printed CVIII entire, did not also print the first part of CX, I cannot say. The problem would be further complicated if we could suppose that his MS, while it had CVIII complete, lacked the first part of the next Question. This I do not believe was the case, and I can only suppose that he omitted this part through oversight, or because it seemed to contain very much the same thoughts as are expressed later in the document.

Before going on to describe the MS which contains this missing part of qu. CX, and to give the text of it, let us look at the situation as it appears in all the other MSS. After they have given the first third of qu. CVIII quite correctly down to *quia natura quae potest* (p. 2326, 58), there follow immediately and without any warning the words *dicente Salomone quia spes impiorum peribit*, which have no sort of connexion with what has preceded, and conclude the *Quaestio*. Then is given the title CX *DE PSALMO PRIMO*, followed by the Question as we have it in the printed editions. In meditating on the problem of the words *dicente Salomone quia spes impiorum peribit* and their origin, I had observed that the same words recur near the end of qu. CX, but had been unable to draw the correct inference from the fact. The examination and collation of the Padua codex have solved the problem entirely.

The mysterious words are really part of qu. CX, and the concluding words of the lost first part of it. The ancient archetype to which all other copies go back had lost several leaves¹. At the right foot corner of the verso of the last leaf before the gap were the words *quia natura quae potest* (p. 2326, 58): at the left top corner of the recto of the first leaf after the lost leaves were the words *dicente Salomone quia spes impiorum peribit*. The title of qu. CX had been lost with the rest, but any person, however ignorant, could supply it from the sentence which stared him in the face after the word *peribit*.

The manuscript (Scaff. X. N. 191) of the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua is of the thirteenth century, and now consists of 116 leaves of very fine vellum, measuring 30 x 21 centimetres. The writing is in double columns, and is most careful and beautiful. The coloured initials, though not very elaborately decorated, are of exquisite form and beauty. There are catch-words at the end of each gathering. Quaternions in the strict sense there are none, at least in the part dealing with the *Quaestiones*. The gatherings there consist respectively of ten (of which the latter seven alone belong to the *Quaestiones* part), twelve [then the loss, presently to be described], twelve, twelve, twelve, and fourteen leaves. As the last leaf is empty, our work occupies sixty-eight leaves in all.

The codex now contains the thirteen books of the Confessions, the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII* less qu. 46 (from the words *et uiginti quattuor classes institutae sunt*, p. 2247, 24) down to qu. 101 (the words *ut obsequium praebeat ordinando*, p. 2303, 9), and the latter part of qu. 127 from *renasci enim renouari est* (p. 2382, 44), the *Retractations*, the *De Consensu Euangelistarum*, and the beginning of the *De Quaestionibus Octoginta Tribus* (down as far as the words *suasor ille a quo damnatus sit. Non eius*). From an entry on the flyleaf, erased at an early date, it appears that the manuscript at one time contained, or was intended to contain, the whole of the *De Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, the *De Vera Religione*, and other works, in addition to those above mentioned. It is improbable that it ever contained these, because in the valuable fourteenth and fifteenth-century Inventories of manuscripts, preserved in the library, only the four works which are (more or less) complete are indicated. Further, the library possesses no MS containing the works, whose titles are erased, in the order of these titles, nor indeed any MS answering to the description given by them.

It is worth while to transcribe those entries:—

Inuentarium (dated 1396) f. 14 r.

(libri extra armariū cū catena sunt infra subscripti.)

¹ The 'stemma codicum' is printed in the *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Kl. der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Bd. cxlix (1904), Abth. i p. 21.

Item libri confessionum Augustini in quo uolumine sunt centum XXXVII (*sic*) questionum Augustini et retractorum (*sic*) cum tabulis copertis corio rubeo et cathena [*opposite a contemporary hand has written* deficiunt aliquanta].

The chain has perished, but the codex still shews clearly where it was fastened. Part of the 'corium rubeum' still exists, and the board which is on one's right, when the codex lies open before one, still retains a slip on which the titles of works in the MS were written and can be partially read.

Inuentarium (dated 1449) f. 20 u.

(Sexta Banca Sinistra.)

Liber confessionū beati augustini et aliorum diuersorum tractantium eiusdem copertus coreo albo per totum et clauiculis de metallo. Cuius principium est confessionū ipsa columpna cum uno C de azuro et principium 2^o columpne ē Magnus ē domine cū uno M de azuro et cenaprio. Incipit etiam quinternus (?) me intanta (?) flagrantia. Finis nō ultimus nō enim.

On the flyleaf is a note to the following effect: 'Contuli haec quatuor opuscula cum editione veneta A. 1709 Ego Reinhardus Fischer Viennensis 2 Feb. 1751.' It is unlikely that the said Fischer was one of the Fratres Minores Conventuales at Padua, but as the lists are contained in the Archivio Pubblico, which was not open at the time of my visit to Padua, it was not possible to investigate the matter. Nor have I thought it necessary to enquire whether the collation of Fischer was committed to writing and still survives, or not.

I have to thank Father Girolamo Mileta, Librarian of the Biblioteca Antoniana, for his very great kindness to me during my stay at Padua.

[The Text.]

DE PSALMO PRIMO CX.

Cum propheta Daud per speciem carnalium spiritalem rationem significaret, diuersi generis ac meriti psalmos ad dei laudem et sacramentum alacri mente pronuntians, primum psalmum nullo uelamine textit, neque alicui assignauit, sed generalem instituit, ut horum sit qui,
5 a malis segregati, bonorum se societate munierint. Nec debuit enim principium et maxime huius gratiae in obscuritate cantari (ante enim lux quam tenebrae, et caput uniuscuiusque rei in manifesto est), nec inde fit quaestio, sed de subiectis. Unde sic orsus est dicens:—

BEATUS VIR QUI <NON> ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORUM.

10 'Consilium impiorum' est conspiratio malignorum multifarie intellegenda. Idcirco impii a peccatoribus distant. Impietas enim

4 qui a] quia

grauissimum peccatum est, quia omnis impietas peccatum, non tamen omne peccatum impietas. Quo modo ergo quis 'abit in consilio impiorum'? Cum a se uocatur certe. Hoc enim dicens ostendit quia, quamdiu quis a natura non exit, non incurrit peccatum. Propter hoc 'beatus', inquit, 'qui non abiit in consilio impiorum'. Impietas 5 enim a diabolo coepta, adsentientibus satell(it)ibus eius, illicit homines ut participes eos suae impietatis efficiat. Ipse enim prior in deum peccans, dum uult sibi principatum per tyrannidem usurpare, deiectus de sacris sedibus, hoc solacium aestimauit, si perditioni suae acquireret plurimos socios. Ideoque 'beatus', inquit, 'uir qui non abiit in con- 10 silio impiorum'. Illi enim semper illiciti homines, qui sub hoc principe agentes nobis inimici sunt, dicente apostolo; NON EST ENIM, ait, CONLUCTATIO VOBIS ADVERSUS CARNEM ET SANGUINEM, SED ADVERSUS PRINCIPES ET POTESTATES, et in altera epistula de tyranno eorum ait inter cetera ITA UT IN TEMPLO DEI SEDEAT, OSTENDENS SE 15 QUASI SIT DEUS. Quia enim peccare dulce uidetur, et non sentitur malum nisi fuerit factum, ac per hoc fallentes non apparent quamdiu capiant, sed, cum deceperint, tunc cognoscuntur, propterea beatum dicit illum qui inlectus non fuerit in consilium impiorum, ut eat in contubernium impietatis illorum. Prima ergo impietatis causa haec est, qua 20 rebelles in deum maligna conspiratione esse coeperunt, qua imitatione coepit idolatria. In supernis enim coepta praeuaricatio descendit ad terras. Dum (enim) contenti non sunt uni deo et creatori esse subiecti, impii extiterunt, maiestatem eius aliis partiendo, ut spreto eo alios sibi ad culturam eligerent. Haec est enim prima causa offensionis humani 25 generis ex qua, neglecti a deo, diuersis inlecebris et passionibus inludendi traduntur secundum fidem apostoli Pauli. Quid enim inuiolatum opus manet, quod non agnouit auctorem? Inde iam seminatum malum consuetudinem renuit, et in multas partes uelut propago palmites tendit, ut qui deo non pepercerant, in parentum contumeliam et necem 30 facilius prosilirent, quia,—ut de ceteris taceam, dicente apostolo, QVO ENIM MIHI DE HIS QVI FORIS SVNT IVDICARE?—Ruben in contumeliam patris stuprum in concubinam eius admisit; et Absalon contra fas regnum praesumpsit, ut patrem suum imperio et uita priuaret. Habet adhuc et alias partes impietas quia et in periculo despicere rogantem 35 cum prodesse possit impietas est, et in re aspera et maligna, ut impleri possit, consilium dare † tam huius rei nec ad praesens euasit, et talia

2 consilium 5 consilium (*ex consilio*) 8 deiectis 9 acquireret
 10 consilium 12 Eph. vi 12 15 2 Thess. ii 4 17 factura 18 capient
 (*corr.*) 19 intellectus 21 ceperunt 22 cepta 23 contempti
 27 cf. Rom. i 24. 26 28 manent 31 1 Cor. v 12 36 prope
 37-8 fortasse et talia...reperiri transponenda sunt ante tam, et uersus perit ut haud ita
 raro in hoc codice

quae in hunc sensum poterant reperiri †. Non inmerito ergo 'beatus uir est qui non abiit in consilio impiorum'. Magna enim perniciēs est homini et incurabile uulnus post cognitionem dei his erroribus sociari. Deterius enim tractetur necesse est qui post uerum conuertitur
5 ad falsum, et beatus uir est qui, ueri cognitione percepta, impiorum fugit consilia; quia caput erroris impietas est.

Et sequitur ET IN UIA PECCATORUM NON STETIT, quoniam impossibile est non peccare, sicut possibile impium non esse, quia grauissimum peccatum potest euitari, cetera autem de non est qua subrepant. Ipsa
10 enim humana conuersatio frequenter, dum peccare non cogitat, ex inprouiso incurrit ut peccet. Ac per hoc beatus est qui in consilio impiorum non uadit. Hoc est nec incipere malum. Peccatum autem quia non potest non incipi, sicut dixi, beatum dixit qui non permanet in eo. Hoc est 'in uia peccatorum non stare'. 'Via' enim 'peccato-
15 rum' est conuersatio in peccatis. Male enim ambulare dicitur, qui ad hoc procedit, ut quaerat peccare. Dum enim mens eius non stat in dei lege sed euagatur, 'in uia peccatorum' dicitur ambulare, quia euagatio haec quaerit peccare. Ideoque 'beatus est qui non stat in uia peccatorum', id est, qui, paenitentia subsequente, circumuentum se dolet
20 et recedit (ab) aspiratione hominum peccatorum. Igitur sicut 'beatus est qui non abiit in consilio impiorum', sic inemendabilis erit si abit, dicente Salomone quia SPES IMPIORVM PERIBIT.

A. SOUTER.

2 consilium
x 28

11 consilium

18 hoc

21 consilium

22 Prov.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR
PROPHETS. V.JOEL¹.

1. 1, 2¹ Verbum dñi quod factum est ad Ioel filium Bathuel. ² Audite *Cod. Weing.*
haec seniores et praebeate aures omnes qui habitatis in terram si facta
sunt talia in diebus vestris aut in diebus patrum vestrorum super
3 eos. ³ Filiis vestris narrate et filii vestri filiis suis et filii eorum
4 nationibus aliis. ⁴ Residuum uru residuum
lucustae comedit bruchus, et residuum bruchi comedit erysibee.
5 ⁵ Evigilate qui ebrii estis a vino vestro, plorate et ululate omnes qui
bibitis vinum in ebrietatem, quia ablata est ex ore vestro iucunditas
6 et gaudium. ⁶ Quia ascendit gens super terram meam, gens fortis
et innu ut dentes sunt leonis, et molares eius
7 sicut catuli leonis, ⁷ posuit vineam meam in exterminium, et ficulneas
meas in confractionem scrutans er scrutavit et proiecit, exaltavit vites
8 suas. ⁸ Lugeat me super sponsam praecinctam cilicium, super virum
9 eius virginium. ⁹ Ablata est hostia et libatio de do
10 tes qui deservitis altario. ¹⁰ Quia miseri facti sunt
campi, lugeat terra quia miserum factum est frumentum, arefactum
11 est vinum, diminuit oleum, ¹¹ arefacti sunt agricolae; lugete posses-

1 5 *Spec.* lii 1 6, 7 *Spec.* cxii

1. 2. talia] ταυτας N* (-τα N¹) vestris] ημων Γ^B (υμων Bab N A) Q^{mo} aut]
eas Q* (η Q^{mo}) vestrorum] ημων N* υμων N^{c.} a super eos] περι αυτων Ι
(υπερ αυτων Γ^B) 3. nationibus aliis] εις γεγενεσθαι Γ^B 4. bruchus]
βουχος N* (βρουχος N¹ fort c. b) βροχος Q* erysibee] εριουβη Α 5. evigilate]
sobrii estote S vestro 1^o] αυτων Γ^B των sup ras Bab ebrietatem] -te S
ablata est] εληφθη BN^{c.} a vid εληχθη N* εληπται N^{c.} b A Q ex] de S 6. quia]
om S gens 1^o] om S gens 2^o] om Γ^B fortis et innu] valida et
innumerabilis S ut] om Γ^B dentes] + eius S + αυτου Γ^B sunt] sicut S
leonis 1^o] pr dentes S pr οδοντες Γ^B sicut] om Γ^B leonis 2^o] leonum S
αυτου Ι om Γ^B 7. ficulneas] ficus S scrutans] ερπων N* (-ων N^{c.} a, c. b)
er scrutavit] scrutinavit S + αυτην Γ^B Q^{mo} (om Q*) exaltavit] pr et S
8. lugeat] θρηνησον Γ^B (θρηνησει Ι N^{c.} b vid postea ras) me] pr προς Γ^B Ι (exc
35) Q 9. altario] pr τιμι Q^{mo} + κυριου in charact. minore A 11. arefacti
sunt] εληφανθησαν BA Q N^{c.} e, b κατασχυθησαν N^{c.} a

¹ Inadvertently omitted from an earlier Number.

- siones super tritico et hordeo quia perit vindemia ex agro, quoniam
 12 lignum non attulit fructum. 12 Vitis arefacta . . .
 . . . granata et palmae et malae omnia ligna agri, arefacta sunt
 13 quia confuderunt gaudium filii hominum. 13 Praecingite vos et
 plangite sacerdotes, lugete qui deservitis altario, intrate dormite in
 ciliciis, deservientes dñō quia ablata est ex domo dñi vestri hostia
Speculum 14 et libatio. 14 Sanctific [*Speculum*] (Sanctificate) ieiunium, praedicate
 deservitionem, convocate seniores et omnes inhabitantes terram in
 domum domini dei nostri, et clamate ad dominum vehementer.
 15 15 Vae mihi, vae mihi, vae mihi, in diem domini! quia prope est
 dies domini . . .
 II. 2 2 Dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nubis et nebulae . . .
Cod. Weing. 3 3 . . . et posteriora eius campi exter-
 4 minii, et qui resalvetur non erit ex eis. 4 Sicut aspectus equorum
 5 aspectus eorum, et sicut equites sic persequentur, 5 et sicut vox
 quadrigarum supra cacumina montium exilient, et sicut vox flammae
 consumentis stipulam, et sicut populus multus et fortis prae . . .
Speculum 10 10 Ante conspectum eius turbabitur terra et movebitur caelum, et sol
 et luna contenebrabuntur, et sidera decident, nec dabunt lumen
 11 suum. 11 Et dominus dabit vocem suam ante conspectum exercitus
 sui, quia multus est nimium exercitus illius, et quia valida sunt opera
 sermonum eius, et magnus est dies domini, magnus et manifestus
Cyprian 12 nimium, et quis erit sufficiens illi? 12 [*Cyprian*] Et nunc haec dicit
 Dominus Deus vester: revertimini ad me ex toto corde vestro,
 13 simulque et ieiunio, et fletu et planctu. 13 Et discindite corda vestra
 et non vestimenta vestra, et revertimi ad Dominum Deum vestrum,
 I 13, 14, 15 *Spec.* xxvi II 2 *Spec.* xxvi II 10, 11 *Spec.* xxvi II 12, 13
Cypr. De lapsis xxix, xxxvi; *De bon. pat.* iv; *Spec.* xxiii; *Lucif. Cal. De reg. apostat.*
 xi, xii II 13 *Cypr. Epist.* lv 22; *Ad Nov.* ix
 I. 11. quoniam lignum non attulit fructum] omi *Ex* 12. ligna agri] τα ξυλων
 αγρον *Ex*^B (τα ξυλα του αγρον *Bab* NA *U* *U*) 13. praecingite] praecingimini S
 vos] omi S *Ex* plangite] + vos S qui deservitis] deservientes S intrate]
 introite S dñō] deo S *Θεω* *Ex* ablata est ex] cessavit de S dei] κὺ θῷ Q
 vestri] ἡμῶν Q* (ὑμῶν Q³) hostia] sacrificium S libatio] elibatio S 14. et 1°]
 omi *Ex* domini dei nostri] Θεου ὑμῶν *Ex* κὺ N^{o. a} κὺ θῷ N^{c. b} A vehementer]
 adnot θ' *μονος* τον οβελ[ισκον] ειπεν ομ[aws] τ[oi]s ο' Q^{ms} 15. domini 1°] omi *Ex*
 II. 3. campi] πεδια *Ex* (πεδια *Compl*) erit] εστιν A ex eis] αυτω *Ex* omi A
 4. sicut 2°] οι A ουτω N* (-τως N^{c. a}) 5. et 1°] omi *Ex* (exc 26) flammae] + πυρο-
Ex (A = *Cod*) 10. eius] αυτων N* (-του N^{c. b}) A Q nec dabunt] omi *Ex* (ο
 δωσανσι Q^a) 11. et 3°] omi *Ex* magnus 2°] omi A erit] εστιν N* A (εσται N^{c. b})
 12. L = C haec] sic S omi *Ex* (ταδε 106) revertimini] al et convertimini C
 pr και 36 ex] al in C vestro] + et ex tota anima vestra S simulque et] al
 om C S et 2°] omi A fletu] al ploratione C 13. discindite] al scindite C
 disrumpite S vestra 2°] al om C revertimi] al revertimini CL al convertimini C S

quia misericors et pius est, et patiens, et multae miserationis, et qui sententiam flectat adversus malitias irrogatas

15 ¹⁵ Canite tuba in Sion, sanctificate ieiunium et indicite curationem,

16 ¹⁶ adgregate populum, sanctificate ecclesiam, excipite maiores natu, colligite parvulos lactantes, procedat sponsus de cubiculo suo, et

20 sponsa de thalamo suo ²⁰ Illum ab Aquilone *Tyconius*

persequar a vobis, et expellam illum in terram sine aqua, et exterminabo faciem eius in mare primum, et posteriora eius in mare

22 novissimum ²² Et lignum *Tertullian*

28 attulit fructum suum ²⁸ Et erit post haec *Speculum*

effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem et prophetabunt filii

29 et filiae eorum ²⁹ Et super servos *Tertullian*

31 et ancillas meas de meo spiritu effundam ³¹ Sol

convertetur in tenebras, et in sanguinem luna, priusquam advenit dies magnus et illustris Domini

III. 2. ² [Iosa]fat, et adiudicabor ad eos ibi *Cod. Weing.*

pro plebe mea et pro hereditate mea Istrahel, qui dispersi sunt in

3 gentibus, et terram meam perdiviserunt, ³ et super populum meum

miserunt sortes et dederunt pueros meretricibus, et puellas vendide-

4 runt pro vino et biberunt. ⁴ Et adhuc vos mihi Tyrus et Sidon

15 ¹⁵ et stellae occident luminaria

16 eorum. ¹⁶ dñs autem ex Sion clamavit et de Hierusalem dabit

vocem suam, et movebitur caelum et terra, dñs autem parcat populo

17 suo, et confortabit dñs filios Istrahel, ¹⁷ et cognoscetis quia ego sum

dñs dñs vester qui inhabito in Sion in monte sancto meo

II 15 16 *Cypr. Testim.* ii 19 II 20 *Tycon. Reg. Sept.* II 22 *Tert. Adv. Iud.*

xiii II 28 *Spec. iii*; *Tert. Adv. Marc.* v 11 II 29 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* (Sabatier,

p. 790) II 31 *Tert. Adv. Marc.* (Sabatier, p. 732) III 17 *Tycon. Reg. Sept.*

quia] *al* quoniam *CL* quia misericors *ad fin com*] deus misericors et miserator et

misericaordiae plurimus *Tert* misericors] *al* miserator *C* et pius est et patiens

et] *al om C* pius est *ad fin com*] et patiens est et magnanimus et multum

misericors et patiens in malignitatibus *S* malitias] *al* iniurias *C* malitias

irrogatas] malitiam inrogatam *L* irrogatas] *om* *Ex* 15. et] *om* *Ex* 16. suo

16] *om Q** (*hab Q^{ms} avrns Q** (de *Q** non liq) 20. illum] *kai ton* *Ex* terram]

την *N** (*γγν N!*) et posteriora *ad fin com*] in mgg et sup ras *A^a* 28. et erit post

haec] in novissimis diebus *Tert* effundam] *pr* et *B Q^a* super] in *Tert* filii] +

υμων *Ex* et filiae] filiaeque *Tert* eorum] *υμων* *Ex* *L* (*exc 153*) *W* 29. servos]

+ *μou* *Ex* (*om μou Compl*) meas] *om* *Ex^B* de meo] *pr* *en tais ημεραις εκειναις* *Ex*

III. 2. pro 20] *om* *Ex* (*vntep 42*) 4. et adhuc] *kai ti* *Ex* *kai ti* *kai A Q^a* Sidon]

Σιδων *Ex* Σιδων *B^b N Q* 15. luminaria] *φεγγος* *Ex* 16. clamavit] *ακραφεσαι*

N^a.^a *A Q* dñs autem 10 . . . vocem suam] *om N** (*hab N^c.^b*) et movebitur

. . . terra] *om N^c.^b* (postea revoc) confortabit dñs] *om dñs* *Ex^B* *A N* (*hab Q*)

17 et] *om T* quia] quoniam *T* sum] *om* *Ex* (*hab 61 130 311*) qui inhabito]

habitans *T* in 20] *om T A*

Speculum

18. . . . ¹⁸ Et erit in illa die destillabunt montes dulcedinem,
et colles fluent lactem et fons de
domo exiet et adauavit agmen

OBADIAH.

Tyconius

3. . . . ³ exaltans habitationem suam, dicens in corde suo:
4 Quis me deducet ad terram? ⁴ Si exaltatus fueris sicut aquila et
inter stellas ponas nidum tuum, inde detraham te, dicit Dominus .
18 ¹⁸ Erit domus Iacob ignis, domus autem Ioseph flamma, domus vero
Esau stipula; et exardescant in illos et comedent eos, et non erit
ignifer in domo Esau, quoniam Dominus locutus est

III 18 *Spec.* cxx, cxliv*Obadiah.* 3, 4, 18 Tycon. *Reg. Sept.*

18. domo] + Κυρίου Ε

4. inter] *pr eav ava* Ε^B *ℒ* (*exc* 22 62 147) *ℋ* (*exc* 49 106) (*om* *N A Q** *hab Q**)

18. *al* Domus Iacob ignis domus autem Esau stipula; et exardescant in eos et
comedent illos, et non erit ignifer in domo Esau *T* erit 1^o] *pr kai* Ε domus autem]
καὶ ὁ οἶκος Q^{mp} (ὁ δὲ οἶκος Ε Q)* stipula] *pr eis* Ε^B (*om* *N*) exardescant]
εκκαυθησεται A Q 49 106 233 et 2^o] *om* *N** (*hab N^{e. a}*) comedent] *ναπα-*
φαγεται Q in domo] *om* in Ε^B *ℒ* (*exc* 233) *ℋ* (*exc* 106) (*hab A Q*)

THE LETTERS OF SAINT ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM¹.

ST ISIDORE of Pelusium was one of the most interesting figures in a generation which produced many interesting men; and it is strange that more attention has not been devoted to him in recent times. His correspondence, remarkable from many points of view, is unique in the patristic period for the large number of his letters—two thousand—which have been preserved. Few of the fathers continue to be read in so imperfect a form: in the absence of a critical text there may therefore be sufficient excuse for an attempt to present in summary form a conspectus of the present position of Isidorian criticism.

¹ The following paper grew out of an article on Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, contributed to the supplementary volume of Dr Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. In investigating the exegetical work of Isidore, I found that the absence of any modern edition made it necessary to probe further into the history of his letters than I should otherwise have done: but the material soon swelled beyond the limits proper to a dictionary, and it seemed therefore best to print my results in full in the *JOURNAL*, and to abstract them briefly in the article.

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION.

In the middle of the sixth century, a hundred years after the death of Isidore, a collection of 2000 of his letters is mentioned by Facundus of Hermiana as widely known, *pro defensione trium capitulorum* ii 4: 'vir etiam sanctissimus et magnae in ecclesia Christi gloriae, Isidorus presbyter Aegyptius Pelusiotae, quem duo millia epistolarum ad aedificationem ecclesiae multi scripsisse noverunt', &c. The editor of Facundus, Jacques Sirmond—perhaps the greatest of all patristic scholars—called attention in a note on this passage to a statement which he remembered having seen in some ancient Latin MS to the following effect: 'has omnes B. Isidori presbyteri et abbatis Pelusiotae recensui et transtuli ex epistolis eius duobus millibus, quae sunt per quingentas distributae in Acoemetensis monasterii codicibus vetustissimis quatuor'.

Sirmond gave no indication at all as to the locality or character of the MS to which he referred: nor was it till fifty years later (Sirmond's edition appeared in 1629) that new light was thrown upon it. But in 1682 there appeared at Louvain two small volumes edited by a professor in the university of that city, Christianus Lupus of Ypres, under the titles *Ad Ephesinum concilium variorum patrum epistolae ex manuscripto Cassinensis bibliothecae codice desumptae*, and *Scholia et notae ad variorum patrum epistolas*. Lupus had in fact discovered in a MS of Monte Cassino¹ a most important collection of documents relating to the early years of the Nestorian controversy, based mainly on the *Tragoedia* of the Nestorian writer Irenaeus², but containing also nearly fifty letters of Isidore of Pelusium. Lupus did not publish the letters themselves: but what he did publish, namely the words with which the compiler of the collection introduced them, is enough to shew that we have here the source of Sirmond's statement—'has omnes beati Isidori presbyteri et abbatis Pelusiotae excerpti et transtuli ex epistolis eius duobus millibus, quae sunt per quingentenas distributae in Acoemetensis monasterii codicibus vetustissimis quatuor; ubi etiam per ordinem singularum numerus continetur, et ultima est quam ego quoque ultimam posui. Deo gratias.' In this very definite statement the only point that is not quite clear is whether the letters were numbered independently in each volume, from 1 to 500, or whether a continuous numeration from 1 to 2000 ran through the whole: but the reference to the 'last' of the series seems to make the latter alternative much the more probable.

Baluze did his best to obtain more detailed information about the Cassino MS than Lupus had given, and in particular about the letters

¹ The press-mark of the MS is Casinensis 2.

² On this work and its author see for instance *Bright Age of the Fathers* ii 387, 430.

of Isidore: but not succeeding in this, he was reduced to reprinting in his *Nova Collectio* the documents already published¹. From the *Nova Collectio* they passed into the *Concilia* of Labbe-Coleti, iv 235.

A fuller but still not yet a complete text was produced by Mansi, the last editor of the *Concilia*. He did not see the Cassino MS itself but a transcript of it by cardinal Tamburini, and also used a second (imperfect) copy of the same collection which he found in MS Vat. 1319². Out of the Isidorian letters he selected for printing those only which seemed to have some bearing on the history of the Ephesine council, ten in number (*Concilia* v 758-762).

Finally, in 1873, exhaustive information was supplied in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* (vol. i pp. 56 sqq., and appendix pp. 7-24) as to the contents and arrangement of the Cassino MS, together with the text of all still unprinted documents, such as the remaining letters of Isidore of Pelusium: and with this help it has been possible to draw up a list of the forty-nine letters contained in the collection, for comparison with the editions (hereafter to be described) of the Greek Isidore.

	Addressee	Incipit	No. in the Editions
1.	Cyril Alex.	Quid proficit	i 25
2.	Timotheus lector	Sicut hamum	102
3.	Cyril Alex.	Assentatio quidem	310
4.	Theodosius Imp.	Siquidem tu ipse	311
5.	Cyril Alex.	Multa quidem scripturarum	323
6.	„	Oportet te, o	324
7.	„	Terrent me	370
8.	Theodosius diac.	Sicut dum virgo	404
9.	„	Non est sanum	405
10.	Hermogenes episc.	Virga arundinea	419
11.	Hierax presb.	Non mediocriter	iii 223
12.	Dionysius corrector	Qui nec gratia	315
13.	Macarius presb.	Quando pessimi	329
14.	Herminius comes	Multi quidem	370
15.	Theon	Non virtus	317
16.	Isidorus diac.	Animi virtute	318
17.	Zeno navarcus	Quoniam quidem	408

¹ See Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande* 1870, pp. 733, 734.

² This very interesting MS, which I examined in some detail in May 1903, was written by several hands in the first half of the thirteenth century, and, according to Dr Mercati, probably in France. Like a good many MSS of that date it is of vast bulk, and contains a more complete collection of the earlier general councils than any other MS I have seen. A list of its contents is sufficiently interesting to justify an appendix to the present paper: see below, p. 85. Dr Mercati has been kind enough to verify (and, where necessary, to revise) my notes about it.

Addressee	<i>Incipit</i>	No. in the Editions
18. [anonymous]	Bene mihi	iv 174
19. Archibius presb.	Hoc quod apostolo ¹	166
20. Leontius episc.	Veracissime ut	v 21
21. "	Si aliquos eorum	37
22. Isidorus episc.	Quoniam scripsisti	iv 100
23. Philatrius	Ego quidem	v 126
24. Paulus presb. et ana- chorita	Ipsi qui gloriantur	131
25. Theon episc.	Si omnibus manifestum	160
26. "	Tibi quidem	161
27. Alphius episc.	Nimia librorum	201
28. Harpocrates sophista	Novi quoniam	223
29. Petrus scholasticus	Aut ex principatus	iv 56
30. Nilus scholasticus	Caecus quidem	v 240
31. "	Quoniam per hoc	iv 108
32. Paufus	Nihil optime	v 244
33. Adamantius	Quoniam mens	iv 211
34. Lampetius diac.	Valde admiror	v 255
35. Cyril Alex.	Olim quidem	268
36. 'a certain' Nilus	Audax quidem	272
37. Hermius comes ²	Et qui vendunt	276
38. Herminius comes	Miror quomodo	299
39. "	Si Paulo idcirco	300
40. Nilus	Nullum credo	iv 179
41. Dorotheus lector	Forsan eo quod	46
42. Hermius comes	Non mireris	v 400
43. Zeno	Quod volo	448
44. Isidorus episc.	Ultra universam	iv 126
45. Eutonium diac.	Terribile quid et	v 481
46. Zosimus presb.	Qui vivunt	491
47. Petrus	Quoniam putasti	iv 217
48. Leontius episc.	Quoniam lectio	133
49. Alphius	Scito, o optime	47 ³

We learn then that the unknown⁴ translator, like Facundus, knew

¹ The Vatican MS reads 'Hoc quod ab apostolo.'

² The Vatican MS rightly gives Herminius, but conversely substitutes Hermius for the Herminius of the Cassino MS in the next letter.

³ For the explanation of the fact that the order in the Cassino MS corresponds to the order of the printed editions in the earlier but not in the later books of the editions, see below, p. 79. The last letter of the MS is iv 47 of the editions, but it is expressly said to be the final letter of the collection as it lay before the Latin translator (p. 71 *supra*).

⁴ Dr Mercati suggests (and the suggestion is an extremely attractive one) that

Isidore in the form of a collection of 2000 letters: and we learn further that this collection was divided into four parts of 500 letters each, and that it owed its existence to the monks of the 'Sleepless' monastery at Constantinople. This monastery, founded about 440 by a certain Alexander for the maintenance of a perpetual service of praise, became the stronghold of the Chalcedonian party in the capital during the long struggle with Monophysitism: and it was no doubt because Isidore, Egyptian and friend of Cyril as he was, had spoken with no uncertain sound about the doctrine which was to be so long in dispute, that his letters were collected with such scrupulous care and given to the world. The two letters quoted by Facundus represent the same Greek originals—though in independent Latin versions—as Nos. 3 and 7 (i 310, 370) of the Cassino MS, and were no doubt equally derived from the collection of the Acoemetæ. We shall next see that that collection is in fact the source of our existing Greek MSS of the letters.

II. THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF ST ISIDORE'S LETTERS.

1. By far the oldest and most important MS of St Isidore is one which is preserved in the Greek monastery of Grotta Ferrata, under the press-mark B a 1: see Rocchi *Codices Cryptenses* (Tusculum 1883) p. 55. It was written in the year 985 by the scribe Paul at the command of Nilus. Since the monastery of Grotta Ferrata was not founded till the year 1004, it is clear that the manuscript must have been written elsewhere: but as Nilus was the name of the founder of the monastery, and Paul of its second abbot, there is every reason to connect it with the history and traditions of the monastery, even if it was actually brought to Grotta Ferrata from some library of southern Italy at a much later date. A specimen of the MS is published in the Palaeographical Society's facsimiles (ii 86), which leaves no doubt (so my friend Professor Lake informs me) of its Italian origin. The MS is divided into two parts (both however bound up in the same volume), of which the first contains 600, and the second 1000 letters: but the letters of the second begin with No. 1001¹, so that it is clear that 400 letters are missing in between; and in fact a note on the last page of the first part records (apparently in the original hand) the absence of 400 letters at that point. There is therefore no room for doubt that the immediate

the translation of Isidore is due to the same hand as the revised translation of the Acts of Chalcedon, namely to Rusticus, deacon and nephew of pope Vigilius, who is known in the latter case to have used MSS of the Acoemetæ: 'nunc incipiunt gesta prima concilii Calcedonensis. Rusticus ex latinis et grecis exemplaribus maxime Acoemit(ensis) monasterii emendauit.'

¹ This is happily made clear by the published facsimile, though the editors have misinterpreted the symbol aa = 1001 (which occurs in a somewhat unusual form), as equivalent to the central letters of [κεφά]λα[iov].

or ultimate archetype of the Grotta Ferrata MS corresponded exactly to the 2000 letters of the edition of the Acoemetæ.

Any future text of Isidore must be based primarily on this manuscript: but no editor up to the present has made any use of it. It is mentioned by hearsay in the preface to the *editio princeps* of 1585 (see below, p. 79); cardinal Carafa, it is there said, had reported the existence at Grotta Ferrata of a manuscript containing 1500 [a mistake for 1600] letters of Isidore. Montfaucon examined it personally, and laid stress on it as by far the oldest MS known (*Diarium Italicum*, Paris 1702, p. 336). Further details about it, and about the relation of its text to that of some other MSS, are given by N. Capo in the *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* ix (Florence 1901) p. 452¹.

2. Next in age among the MSS which preserve, as far as they go, the order of the original series², comes a Paris MS, gr. 832 (= Medic. Reg. 2357), of the thirteenth century, containing the first 1213 letters. This is the manuscript from which the *editio princeps* (see p. 79, below) was taken, and from that edition we can see that this MS corresponds, as far as it goes, with the archetype of the Grotta Ferrata MS: its first 600 letters tally with Grotta Ferrata, part i, its last 213 tally with the first 213 of Grotta Ferrata part ii. The 400 letters missing in the Grotta Ferrata MS are happily preserved in the Paris MS, which is therefore for them our earliest authority.

3, 4. On the joint testimony of these two MSS we could without rashness argue to the existence of an original tradition of a continuous series of 2000 letters, the whole of which is preserved in one or other of them. Such a continuous series is, however, actually extant complete in two pairs of MSS, both of them now in the Vatican, Vat. gr. 649-650 and Vat. Ottob. gr. 341-383. The former set have been in the Vatican ever since they were written in 1552-4 at the order of cardinal Marcello Cervino (afterwards pope Marcellus II) by 'Iohannes Honorius Malliae oppidi Hydruntini civis', and they have been known by the same press-mark at least since the middle of the seventeenth century: the first volume contains the full 1000 letters, the second tallies with the second volume of the Grotta Ferrata MS. The second or Ottobonian pair, also written in the sixteenth century and also containing the same complete series of the letters as the pair just mentioned, passed into the Ottoboni collection from that of the Altemps family³. From the second of the Vatican pair of MSS was probably derived

¹ According to Capo, the exact number of letters in the second part is only 997.

² Two MSS of the other class belong to the eleventh century, see p. 78.

³ Giovanni Angelo, prince of Altemps, died 1620. For the further history of the Altemps MSS see Prof. Lake's concluding article on *Greek Monasteries in South Italy* (*J. T. S.* v 198).

the printed text by Schott of the so-called fifth book of the letters (see below, p. 80): both Vatican and Altemps MSS were collated with the editions in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the collations were published by Possinus (pp. 80, 81).

The mutual relationship of the Grotta Ferrata, Ottoboni-Altemps, and Vatican MSS is discussed by Capo, *loc. cit.* The later MSS are not likely of course to be descended from the Grotta Ferrata MS, since they possess the 400 letters which it lacks: but there is also an omission by *homoeoteleuton* in the Grotta Ferrata MS, from which the other two are free. On the other hand the Vatican and Altemps have common mistakes from which the Grotta Ferrata MS is free: while all three are not infrequently agreed against the printed text, both where that is right and where it is wrong. Thus the three MSS form, as far as can be seen, a distinct family, of which the Grotta Ferrata MS is naturally the best representative, while the Ottoboni-Altemps is decidedly less incorrect than the Vatican MS.

Of the remaining MSS most contain selections from the *corpus* of the letters, made on grounds more or less arbitrary. But mention should first be made of the one or two other MSS which give, as far as they go, a continuous series of letters¹.

5. Vienna cod. gr. cexci [225], 'antiquus chartaceus' (which may be taken to mean fourteenth or fifteenth century) according to Lambecius, contains the 1000 letters of the first volume.

6. Vienna cod. gr. suppl. civ [hist. 68]—see the supplementary volume of the catalogue p. 644—saec. xv ineunt.: contains (on foll. 281–316) 414 letters of Isidore: apparently the first 414 of the continuous series.

7. Vatic. Pii II gr. 127, saec. xv exeunt.: 360 letters, equivalent to 11–341 and 701–731 of the continuous series, or i 11–341, ii 201–231 of the editions.

8. Paris gr. 949, written in 1581 by Pantaleon Mamouka and bought for the Royal library in 1687, contains (on foll. 127–193) 229 letters numbered 1542–1770. Attention is directed to this MS, and details about its contents supplied, by E. L. A. Bouvy *De S. Isidoro Pelusiotae libri tres* (Nîmes, 1884: see below, p. 83): in the result it is clear that we have here an extract from the continuous series, but as Bouvy was in error about the date of the MS to the extent of 200 years it may very probably turn out to be less important than he supposed².

¹ The notices of the MSS which follow, where not otherwise attributed, come either from Niemeyer's dissertation *De Isidori Pelusiotae vita scriptis et doctrina* (Halle, 1825: reprinted in Migne, see p. 82 below) or from Capo *loc. cit.*

² Bouvy supplies a complete index of the numbers of these 229 letters in the order of the printed texts of books iv and v, which will be of great help, so far as it goes, to a future editor.

The above are the only MSS of which at present it is possible to say confidently that the letters they contain are extracted without break or alteration of order from the original collection of 2000 letters. Of those that now follow all may, and the more important certainly do, represent selections dictated by special purposes or drawn up on new principles of arrangement. Among them is one which, whether for the number of letters it contains, or for the influence it has exerted on the history of the printed text, exceeds all the rest in importance: and of this it will be natural to speak first.

9. Venetus Marcianus 126, saec. xiv: 1148 letters. This MS was known to Sixtus Senensis, and is mentioned on his authority in the preface to the *editio princeps* (p. 79, below). Neither in that edition however, nor in the next—on which the codex was actually named on the title-page (p. 79)—was any direct use made of it: but the latter edition was, as we shall see, actually derived from a Munich copy of the Venice MS. Cardinal Barbarigo, so Montfaucon tells us in his *Diarium Italicum* p. 42, had intended to publish it: but dying in 1697 'alteri provinciam reliquit'. The 1148 letters are made up of three parts—484 on exegesis of scripture, 175 on miscellaneous subjects, and 489 which are devoid of titles altogether. Montfaucon states that the exegetical letters are here arranged in the order of the books of the Bible with which they deal; there is some reason also to suspect that partial use at least was made of alphabetical arrangement according to the opening words of each letter: what is in any case certain is that the order of the continuous series of 2000—from which there is not the least reason to doubt that the 1148 letters of the Venice MS were derived—is replaced entirely by some different system or systems. One authority tells us that the 489 letters of the third section of this MS are nearly all to be found in the first 800 of the continuous series: but a detailed table of correspondence between this manuscript and those described above is a desideratum.

10. Munich gr. 49, saec. xvi, contains also 1148 letters, divided into two series of 659 and 489 respectively: the first series thus corresponds to the first and second parts of the Venice MS ($484 + 175 = 659$), and the second to the third part of the Venice MS. The manuscript was written at Venice by Petrus Carneas of Epidaurus. It was obviously copied from the MS last described. Either this or the next MS was the source of Rittershusius' edition of 1605: see below, p. 79.

11. Munich gr. 50, also saec. xvi, contains the same 1148 letters, divided into the same series of 659 and 489 as the last MS, and was no doubt copied from it.

12. Florence Laurent. plut. lxxxvi 8, saec. xv: 411 letters, not in the order of the continuous series. Bandini in his catalogue of the Greek

MSS of the Laurentian library (iii 298) gives a complete list of the titles of all these letters, as well as an alphabetical index of their opening words: he notes too that the MS is extraordinarily difficult to read.

13. Upsala gr. 5, olim Escorialensis, saec. xi: 131 letters on foll. 145-184 (109 of book i, 7 of book ii, 15 of book iii). These details are given by V. Lundström in *Eranos: Acta Philologica Suecana*, ii, 1897; see below, p. 83.

A few more manuscripts may be cursorily enumerated.

Vat. gr. 742, saec. xiii-xiv: 127 letters (from books i and ii).

Vienna gr. ccxcii [203], 'antiquus chartaceus': ninety-three letters, not in the order of the editions; including, according to Lambecius, one unpublished letter, *Θαλελαίφ μοναχῶ *Αν τῇ σκηνῇ*.

Munich gr. 551, saec. xv: sixty-three letters.

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 13 (c. 4. 14), saec. xi: 50 letters on foll. 169 sqq. (33 of book i, 15 of book ii, 2 of book iii): to this MS, as well as to the Athens MSS next mentioned, attention is directed by Lundström, *op. cit.*

Athens; MSS 468 [477], 1120, 1121, contain letters of Isidore, but whether few or many the catalogue does not state.

Paris coislin 112, A.D. 1329: epp. aliquot (foll. 457-472).

Bodl. Laud. gr. 42, saec. xii: thirty-eight letters on the Psalms, arranged according to the order of the Psalms, but each letter has its number in the continuous series prefixed.

Vat. gr. 711, saec. xv: thirty-six letters (with one exception, all from book i).

Munich gr. 490, saec. xv: twenty-seven letters.

Vat. Ottob. gr. 90, saec. xvi: twenty-seven letters (from books i and ii).

Vat. gr. 712, 713, saec. xiv: letters *πρὸς διαφόρους*.

This list exhausts the MSS known to me as containing some twenty-five or more letters: but the number of MSS which contain a few, often only two or three, of the letters is a very large one.

III. THE HISTORY OF THE EDITIONS OF ST ISIDORE'S LETTERS.

i. The *editio princeps* was published at Paris in 1585 under the title *Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλονσιώτου. S. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolarum amplius mille ducentarum libri tres nunc primum graece editi; quibus e regione accessit latina clariss. viri Iacobi Billii Prunaei, S. Michaelis in Eremito quondam coenobiarchae, interpretatio*. Parisiis apud Guilhelmum Chaudiere. The preface to the letters, which were only published after Billi's death, is addressed to Billi's brother Godefroi by Jean Chatard (Ioannes Chatardus): no details are given as to the sources of the edition, and the only two MSS mentioned are one at

Venice containing 1148 epistles and one at Grotta Ferrata containing 1500—the former on the testimony of Sixtus Senensis, the latter on that of cardinal Carafa. The edition itself contains 1213 epistles (divided into three books, containing respectively 500, 300, and 413) and therefore cannot be derived from the Grotta Ferrata MS, which contains too many, nor exclusively from the Venice MS, which contains too few: and as there is still at Paris a MS containing the exact number of 1213 epistles, there is no doubt that that was the main, and little doubt that it was the only, authority employed¹.

ii. Twenty years later a revised and enlarged edition appeared at Heidelberg: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐπιστολῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα. *S. Isidori Pelusiotae de interpretatione divinae scripturae epistolarum libri iv: quorum tres priores cum latina interpretatione cl. v. Iac. Billii Prunaei primum ante annos xx Parisiis prodire, iam vero sub prelum revocati Msc. cod. Bavar. ope plurimis in locis insigniter aucti suppleti correcti sunt; quartus nunc primum exit novus ex eodem cod. Bavar., cui Venetus in bibl. S. Marci respondet, descriptus et latinus factus a Cunrado Rittershusio I. C.* Ex officina Commeliniana, 1605. Of the two MSS here mentioned, the 'Venetus' is no doubt the same as that seen by Sixtus of Siena, cod. Marcianus 126, No. 9 above: the Bavarian codex is either Monac. gr. 49 or Monac. gr. 50, No. 10 or No. 11 above. In either case the explanation of the 'correspondence' between the Munich and Venice MSS, as noted on Rittershusius' title-page, is simply that the latter is the source, mediate or immediate, of the former. The number of letters in the new or fourth book (the first three with 1213 letters are repeated from the Paris edition) is 230, so that the total was now raised to 1443. We are not told how it was that the Munich MS of 1148 letters produced only a book of 230: but the obvious conclusion is that the remaining 918 had already found a place among the 1213 of Billi. In either case, it is clear that the whole arrangement of the Munich MS was different from that of the Paris MS: the fourth book of the edition does not appear as such in the MS, but is only a convenient designation by Rittershusius of those letters which he was publishing for the first time, in the form of an appendix to the three books of the Paris edition.

iii. A similar interval of about twenty years had elapsed when a further reinforcement was added to the printed correspondence of St Isidore: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι. *S. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolae hactenus ineditae de locis sacrae scripturae moribusque formandis, ex Vaticana pontificis bibliotheca nunc*

¹ The Venice MS=No. 9 above, p. 77: the Grotta Ferrata MS=No. 1, p. 74: the Paris MS=No. 2, p. 75.

primum erutae notisque et argumentis illustratae ab Andrea Schotto societatis Iesu presbytero. Antwerpiae, A.D. 1623. In the next year Schott published at Rome a Latin translation of the Greek volume, and at Frankfort in 1629 a combination of the two: *Sanct. Isidori Pelusiotae presbyteri epistolarum quas in Billii et Rittershusii editionibus desiderantur volumen reliquum, quas ex Vaticana summi pontificis bibliotheca nuper erutas nunc primum graece et latine coniunxit . . . R. P. Andreas Schottus societatis Iesu.* In this edition the letters already printed at Paris and Heidelberg were not repeated: it consisted only of 569 new letters, to which the title of 'fifth book' was given for purposes of convenience, but with no more MS authority than the 'fourth book' of Rittershusius. No details are given about the Vatican MS: but it is reasonable to identify it with Vat. Gr. 650 mentioned above, p. 75.

iv. The editions of Rittershusius and Schott were combined in a second Paris edition, that of Morel, in 1638: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πηλουσιώτου ἐπιστολῶν βιβλία πέντε εἰς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῆς θέας γραφῆς. *Sancti Isidori Pelusiotae de interpretatione divinae scripturae epistularum libri v: quorum tres priores ex interpretatione cl. v. Jac. Billii Prunaei, quartus autem a Cunrado Rittershusio I. C., qui et notas uberiores et summas et indices prioribus libris adiecit, et quintus ab Andrea Schotto, societatis Iesu presbytero, nunc primum in Gallia prodeunt; cum indicibus necessariis.* Parisiis, sumptibus Aegidii Morelli. This, the first complete edition with 2012 letters, has remained the standard edition ever since: but being only a compilation, it added nothing to the criticism of Isidore, and its excessive faults of typography and the imperfection of its indices (whether of the names of Isidore's correspondents or of the passages from Scripture) are serious drawbacks even to its convenience.

v. Thus the first three books rested, so far, on the authority of the Paris MS qualified (but probably not very seriously qualified) by the Munich MS, and the fourth book on the latter MS alone. Neither Schott nor Morel had helped at all to strengthen the manuscript testimony for these books: but almost immediately after the appearance of Morel's edition, steps were taken at the instigation of cardinal Francesco Barberini (died 1679), nephew of pope Urban VIII, to remedy the defect. One of his friends, a certain 'Franciscus Arcudius graecus calaber,' bishop of Nusco in the kingdom of Naples (died about 1640), made or caused to be made, on the margin of a copy of the 1638 edition, collations of two Vatican and two Altemps MSS, besides one MS of the Sforza¹ and one MS of the Barberini library.

¹ Cardinal Federico Sforza, bishop of Rimini, died 1676. [Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, Paris, 1739, pp. 693-708, gives a catalogue of the Sforza

The copy thus enriched fell later on into the hands of the Jesuit Petrus Possinus, who published the variants—with a preface, from which the details just given are drawn, dedicated to cardinal Carlo Barberini, nephew of Francesco—under the title *Isidorianae collationes, quibus S. Isidori Pelusiotae epistolae omnes hactenus editae cum multis antiquis optimaе notae manuscriptis codicibus comparantur et inde circiter bis mille locis suppleantur aut emendantur*: Romae, 1670. The details given by Possinus prove (if proof were necessary) that these *manuscripti codices* are identical with Nos. 3 and 4, p. 75 *supra*. Compared with the edition of 1638 the first MS of each pair is found to contain books i and ii, and 200 letters of book iii, the other MS of each pair containing book iii 201–413, with books iv and v. Thus the first volumes contain 1000 letters, and the second volumes the remaining 1012 letters, of the edition of Morel. That the 2000 letters of the MSS which preserve the continuous series have swollen to 2012 in the printed text, is only due to errors on the part of Rittershusius and Schott, as will be further seen below, p. 84.

Strangely enough, the Bodleian library possesses a copy of the edition of 1638¹ with marginal collations of the same manuscripts and of the same date as those just described: moreover, it is found on examination to tally so closely with the printed material of Possinus that it is clear that the two cannot be independent of one another. The book came to the Bodleian in the collection of the Dutch professor J. P. d'Orville (which was bought by the University in 1804), and as he had travelled in Italy at intervals during the years 1723–1729, it was probably then that he managed to get hold of it. According to a note by his secretary, Strackhovius, the collations are in the handwriting of Leo Allatius and Lucas Holstenius: nor would there be in this anything inconsistent with an intimate relation of cardinal Francesco Barberini to the work, since both Allatius and Holsten were members of his household². As regards the latter, the statement of Strackhovius is borne out by the similarity of the principal collating hand to other undoubted specimens in the Bodleian of Holsten's writing. Where then does Arcudius come in? The Bodleian volume cannot well be a copy of the Arcudius-Possinus volume, since, as the collations are in more than one hand, it must certainly be an

library from cod. Chigi 1555, and among the MSS is one (p. 699 D) containing fifty-eight letters of Isidore, which is probably the one here meant.]

¹ It has no less than three separate press-marks: in the catalogue of printed books it is Auct. X 2. 1. 7, among the MSS it is d'Orville 310 or in the continuous series MS Bodl. 17188.

² Both were at a later period connected with the Vatican library: Holsten was in charge of it at the date of his death in 1661, and Allatius succeeded to the position for a few years, dying in 1667.

original. Nor can Possinus well have used a copy of the Bodleian volume made by Arcudius, since the edition was only published in 1638, and there is perhaps hardly room for the work of more than one scholar and the collation of several MSS, besides the transcript of the whole result by Arcudius, if the latter died in 1640. It seems most likely that the Bodleian volume is actually the same as was in the hands of Possinus: and with regard to Arcudius we must suppose that the cardinal entrusted him with the new edition, that he employed Holsten and Allatius to make collations for him—which from the relation of all three to the cardinal would be natural enough—and that his death forbade his making the use that he had intended of their labours.

The collations of the Vatican MS (gr. 649, 650) run right through the five books of the letters: and the same is approximately true of the Altemps MS, though there are gaps in the continuous use of it. On the other hand the Sforza and Barberini MSS appear (I think) only in book i, and even there only occasionally¹: they belong doubtless to the numerous class of MSS which contain only excerpts from the complete collection.

vi. A Göttingen dissertation of the year 1737 deserves passing mention as containing a useful bibliography of the editions. Its historical worth may be guessed from its title, *Dissertatio Inauguralis de Isidoro Pelusiota et eius epistolis, quas maximam partem esse fictitias demonstratur in Academia Georgia Augusta publico examini permissa d. x Aug. MDCCXXXVII ab hora ix usque ad xii, praeside C. A. Heumanno . . . a candidato magisterii philosophici Ernesto Augusto Pezoldo Hannoverano S. Theol. Cult.*²

vii. The Venice edition of 1745 reproduces Possinus' notes, but of the epistles themselves it gives only a Latin version.

viii. Migne's *Patrologia graeca* vol. 78 is apparently reprinted from the Paris edition, but incorporates Possinus at the foot of the page. But the value of the edition for the purposes of this paper³ is that it reprints, what would otherwise have been inaccessible to me (for there is no copy of it in the Bodleian), the valuable dissertation of H. A. Niemeyer (Halle, 1825) *De Isidori Pelusiotae vita scriptis et doctrina commentatio historica theologica*. Niemeyer was the first to attempt a catalogue of existing manuscripts of the letters: and the

¹ I have noticed citations of the Sforza MS on twenty-one letters, viz. i 3, 4, 6, 31, 49, 58, 70, 77, 93, 111, 134, 140, 142, 152, 156, 175, 190, 202, 216, 295, 311; of the Barberini MS only on seven letters, i 19, 40, 41, 54, 66, 79, 84.

² Both the Bodleian catalogue and the dissertations of Niemeyer and Capo, of which I shall be speaking next, attribute the dissertation to Heumann instead of to Pezold. Perhaps the professor wrote the dissertation for the pupil.

³ It ought also to be added that the index is much improved in Migne.

notice of the Vienna and Florence MSS, in the list given pp. 76, 77 *supra*, is taken from him.

ix. A very useful summary of all that relates to Isidore will be found in E. L. A. Bouvy *De S. Isidoro Pelusiota libri tres* (Nîmes, 1884). The first book is entitled 'Isidorus': the second 'Pelusium': the third, which alone concerns us here, 'Bibliotheca Isidoriana', and I find in it many of my conclusions anticipated. It is an excellent piece of work, and I should have been saved a good deal of labour if I had come across it at an earlier period in my researches: but Bouvy gives details of only two MSS, Paris gr. 832 and 949 (Nos. 2 and 8, pp. 75, 76 *supra*).

x. To Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*, ed. 2, p. 335, I am indebted for reference to an article by a Swedish scholar, V. Lundström, in *Eranos: Acta Philologica Suecana*, vol. ii (1897) pp. 68-80. Besides giving a list of the MSS of Isidore known to him (of which use has been made already, p. 78 *supra*), Lundström prints, as specimens of the advantage that might be expected from a new and critical edition, three letters, *ad Theognostum* Δίαν θαυμάζω [*Epp.* ii 212], *ad Nilum monachum* Οἱ μὲν ἄγιοι [*Epp.* i 1], *ad Dorotheum monachum* Ἀνθρακες ἀνήφθησαν [*Epp.* i 2].

xi. The last item in the list is also one of which mention has been made above in connexion with our knowledge of the manuscripts. In the *Studi Italiani di filologia classica*, vol. ix (Florence, 1901) pp. 449-466, N. Capo gives information, in greater detail than had been done before, about the Italian MSS of Isidore, and especially about the three leading MSS, those of Grotta Ferrata, Ottoboni-Altemps, and the Vatican. From these he prints three letters that had escaped the notice of Schott, and re-edits two that had appeared on the authority of the Munich MS in the edition of Rittershusius [*Epp.* iv 58, 125]. Capo has also developed the idea of a complete catalogue of MSS, including those that contain even one or two only of the Isidorian letters. Such of these as are important for the number of letters they give have been enumerated above, pp. 76, 78: but there are others which, though in a general sketch like the present they may be left out of account, are of too early a date to be safely neglected in a critical edition. Reference for these must be made to Capo's article, which (it may be added) is written not in Italian but in Latin.

It has been shewn in the first portion of the present paper that between 450 and 550 A.D. a collection of 2000 of St Isidore's letters was formed at Constantinople, and that two Latin scholars of the sixth century, Facundus of Hermiana and an unknown editor of councils, had independent access to it. It has been shewn further, in the second

portion, that both our earliest MS and our fullest MSS represent exactly the same collection of 2000 letters, and that those MSS which do not, as they stand, correspond with that collection, were without doubt ultimately derived from it. And from the last section it results (*a*) that the first 1213 letters (improperly divided into three books) of the editions are also the first 1213 letters of the Constantinopolitan collection; (*b*) that the next 230 letters, or fourth book, are formed from the Munich MS used by Rittershusius, by subtracting such letters as had already been published among the 1213 of the *editio princeps*, and that the order of the new letters in Rittershusius bears no ascertainable relation to the order of the collection of the 2000 letters; (*c*) that the 569 letters of Schott's fifth book are the residue of the original collection of 2000, and that, as the first 1213 of the printed text are identical with the first 1213 of the 2000, all Schott's 569 belong in consequence to the last 787 of the 2000.

If we ask why in this case the printed letters are not 2000 but 2012 in number—or if we add Capo's three new letters 2015—the main answer is simply that Rittershusius printed several letters in book iv which had already been printed in the original edition of books i–iii, and that Schott similarly repeated in book v several that had already appeared in Rittershusius—the explanation in each case being of course that Rittershusius' MS gave the letters in a different order to that of the *editio princeps*, and that Schott's MS (which had the same order as the *editio princeps*, as far as that went) gave the letters in a different order to that of Rittershusius. Thus iv 156 = i 249; iv 180 = ii 285; iv 188 = i 29; iv 195 = i 4; iv 197 = i 430; iv 229 = i 436; and v 43 = iv 199; v 91 = iv 147; v 138 = iv 190; v 139 = iv 122; v 187 = iv 124; v 239 = iv 56. Besides this, Rittershusius' book iv entirely jumps over the numbers 79 and 131, so that he really published not 230 letters but 228. Altogether then there are twelve doublets of the editors and two missing numbers, which reduce the total from 2015 to 2001. How the figure 2001 is to be reconciled with the figure which Capo gives for the archetype of the Grotta Ferrata-Ottoboni-Vatican MSS, it is not possible to say until the MSS have been further examined. But that both figures point back to an original collection of exactly 2000, no more and no less, it would be unreasonable to doubt.

A new critical edition of the letters of Isidore appears to be one of the real *desiderata* of patristic literature. We should gain by it, since the Grotta Ferrata MS has never been collated, a vastly improved text: we should gain the restoration of the latter part of the letters to their original order: we should gain, too, it may reasonably be hoped, more assistance to the student in the way of enlarged and improved indices. Even if a complete edition is at present out of the question, it may not

be too much to hope for a re-issue at least of the letters that relate to the exegesis of the New Testament. These occur more frequently in the fourth book than elsewhere—of the letters on the Pauline epistles, for instance, about forty are contained among the 230 letters of that book, as against a somewhat smaller number in the 1780 letters of the other books—and the fourth is still read on the authority only of a Munich MS of the sixteenth century.

C. H. TURNER.

[A Note by Professor K. Lake on the Grotta Ferrata MS of Isidore, with an index to the numbers of the letters of Books iv and v, will be published in the next number of the JOURNAL.]

APPENDIX.

NOTE ON THE CONTENTS OF VATIC. LAT. 1319 (see p. 72 *supra*).

1. Foll. 1-91. 'Synodicon Casinense': see Maassen pp. 733-737, and above, p. 71. The contents coincide exactly, as far as they go, with the Cassino MS, but they only extend as far as about p. 116 of the latter; fol. 91 *b* of the Vatican MS breaks off after the words 'constituti sed quoniam' in the middle of the documents printed in *Bibliotheca Casinensis* i. appendix p. 26. The text of the Vatican appeared, on a superficial examination, to be decidedly superior to the text of the Cassino MS. All the forty-nine letters of Isidore are common to both MSS.

2. Fol. 92 [92 *b* should precede 92 *a*: i.e. the outer edge of the leaf has been bound in instead of the inner]. Titles of the canons of Chalcedon, and the canons themselves as far as can. 17: the version is that of Dionysius Exiguus, as on fol. 238 below. The hand is a different one to the preceding collection.

3. Foll. 93-98. Fragment of a collection of pope Leo's letters, including the following documents [I give the numbers of the Ballerini edition], arranged apparently according to correspondents: to the emperor Marcian, xciv *Sanctum clementiae*, lxxviii *Litteras pietatis*, cxi *Quam excellenti*; to the emperor Leo, clvi *Litteras clementiae*, clxiv *Multis manifestisque*, cxlviii *Licet proxime*, cxlv *Officiis quae ad*; to the empress Pulcheria, cv *Sanctis et Deo*, lxxxiv *Religiosam pietatis*, cxvi *Quamvis nullas*; to Flavian of Constantinople, xxxviii *Profectis iam nostris*, xxxvi *Litteras tuae dilectionis*, xxxix *Auget sollicitudinem*, xlix *Quae et quanta*; to Anatolius of Constantinople, lxxxvii *Ad declinandam*; to Anastasius of Thessalonica, xlvii *Quantum relatione Hilarii*; to the presbyter Martin, lxxiv *Gratias agimus*; Eutyches to pope Leo, xxi *De mea in Dominum*; 'exemplar epistolae taciti nominis facte ad

quendam scire cupient: quid contrarium catholicae fidei senserit Eutichi[s] *Misit mihi* (see Maassen p. 396: Mansi *Concilia* v 1017). The last document, owing to the mutilation of the MS, breaks off at the end of fol. 98*b* with the words 'completa est apostoli' (Mansi v 1022). Again in a different hand.

4. Foll. 99-238*a*. Acts of Chalcedon according to the version of Rusticus (Maassen pp. 745-751): in two hands, of which the first wrote foll. 99-218, the second foll. 219-238*a*. The thirty-five preliminary pieces (Maassen pp. 746-758) are numbered by Greek letters. The Canons are not contained in the Acts at all: according to Maassen p. 741 we should expect to find them in Actio xv, but they are not there. After the Acts proper occur the two supplementary pieces mentioned by Maassen p. 742, 'Responsio seu allocutio sancti et universalis Chalcedonensis concilii' and the conciliar letter to pope Leo *Repletum est gaudio*.

5. Foll. 238*b*-240*b*. Canons of Chalcedon in the version of Dionysius, together with its 'definitio fidei': not in either of the hands that transcribed the Acts of the council, but possibly in the hand that wrote foll. 1-91.

6. Foll. 241*a*-245*a*. Canons of Nicaea and Sardica; it seemed to me that the titles and text were written respectively by the two hands which transcribed the Acts of Chalcedon, but Dr. Mercati questions the correctness of this view. The version of Nicaea is that known as Caecilian's, and the form of it is nearer to the text of the Ballerini (drawn from cod. Veron. lx) than to that of Maassen (drawn from Monac. lat. 6243 and Wirceb. Mp. th. f. 146). The canons of Sardica are in a hitherto unknown version.

7. Foll. 245*a*-253*a*. St Augustine's catalogue of heresies *ad Quodvultdeum*, containing the spurious ending that includes the Eutychians: see the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine, tom. viii pp. 1-22. In the same hand as No. 6.

8. Foll. 253*a*-260*a*. Five books of 'S. Eusebius' *de Trinitate*: in the same hand as Nos. 6 and 7. This is part of the perplexing group of documents sometimes known as pseudo-Athanasius, but more often as Vigilius, *de Trinitate*. According to Dom Morin (*Revue Bénédictine*, Jan. 1898) books i-vii of 'Vigilius' may well belong to the fourth century, and not impossibly to Eusebius of Vercelli.

C. H. TURNER.

RECENT WORK ON EUTHALIUS.

SOME five or six years ago it was whispered among the few scholars who cared for so remote a subject, that the mysterious Euthalius, Bishop of Sulci, had turned up as a historical personage of the seventh century. More could not then be said, as the publication of the document which fixed his date was reserved for the Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament which was promised by Dr Hermann Freiherr von Soden and of which the first instalment is now in our hands.

In order to estimate the bearing of the new discovery on the Euthalian problem, and to appreciate von Soden's handling of it, it is necessary to summarize the results arrived at in my *Euthaliana* (1895), and to note a further contribution made to the subject by Professor E. von Dobschütz.

In my preface I spoke of the subsidiary matter found in many MSS of the Acts and Epistles as 'descended ultimately from an Edition of these books put out in ancient times by a modest scholar who has not revealed his own personality, but to whom tradition has ascribed the name of Euthalius'. Working with Zacagni's edition of the Euthalian apparatus, and supplementing it by some later discoveries and by occasional reference to MSS, I endeavoured to bring some order into the chaos of materials, to discriminate between earlier and later stages of its accumulation, and so to pave the way for some future editor. I discerned two distinct periods in the early growth of the apparatus:

1. Between 323 and 396: Prologues to the Pauline Epistles, to the Acts and to the Catholic Epistles, followed by full tables of quotations and chapter summaries, and a text written colometrically, or in sense-lines.

2. In 396: the dated *Martyrium Pauli*, compiled out of the Prologue to the Pauline Epistles; the insertion of stichometrical calculations, and of colophons such as that which is preserved in Codex H.

The former of these editions I ascribed to Euthalius, who had hitherto enjoyed the credit of the whole of what I have just enumerated; the latter, with less confidence, to Evagrius whose name is found in connexion with portions of it. A large part of Zacagni's material still remained as the addition of subsequent compilers.

The general position thus reached was accepted with a few modifications in detail both in an elaborate review in the *Guardian* (June 17, 1896), and by von Dobschütz in his article on Euthalius in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie* (vol. v, 1898). The latter writer pointed to a forthcoming study of the evidence afforded by the Syriac versions, which presently appeared under the title 'Euthaliusstudien' in the *Zeitschrift*

für Kirchengeschichte (xix 2). In this article he took the precaution to write the name of Euthalius in inverted commas, thus indicating a readiness to abandon that designation of the original editor, if need should be. His most important point was the proof that the Prologues and some other portions of the apparatus were translated into Syriac in connexion with the Philoxenian version in 508. This result, which might have been only of interest to Syriac scholars, has now become an important element in the discussion of the Euthalian problem. It is unfortunate that this article has been ignored by subsequent writers on the subject both in England and in Germany.

In the same year, 1898, I had occasion in Dom Butler's Introduction to the *Lausiac History of Palladius* (p. 103 f), to call attention to a kind of colophon connecting the Armenian translation of the Life of Evagrius with the works of Evagrius which follow it. I need only repeat here the first lines: 'I have written and set out according to my power three books in ordered and easy and convenient discourses.' These words are almost identical with the beginning of the rendering of the 'Evagrius' colophon in the Armenian biblical manuscripts. After investigating the matter I was obliged to say: 'I can offer no further light upon the coincidence by which a colophon at the close of a life of Evagrius corresponds so closely with a biblical colophon which contains the name of Evagrius. We seem further than ever from an explanation when we note that in the Armenian Bible MSS the latter colophon does not contain the name of Evagrius at all.' I added the following note in regard to the Greek colophon in Codex H: 'I have been inclined to think that εὔαγρις, not εὔαγριος, originally stood in Codex H, and that afterwards εὐθαλιος ἐπισκοπὴ . . . was written over it.' I venture to note these details here, as they may easily escape the observation of students of the Euthalian question. On the latter point a word or two more may be said. Dr Zahn, in an article to be mentioned presently, calls attention to the unusual form of the sentences, Εὐάγριος ἔγραψα καὶ ἐξεθέμην κτλ., and Εὐάγριος διεῖλον καὶ ἐστίχισα κτλ., observing (1) that both are found elsewhere without the proper name Εὐάγριος, and (2) that ἐγὼ Εὐάγριος is the form which would naturally be expected. I think therefore that the possibility that the proper name first came in as a heading in the genitive case deserves consideration; and I would note (1) that the line in which the presumed εὔαγρις stands, seems at first to have contained no more than this one word, and (2) that the symbol 8 occurs in three other places in the fragments of Codex H (see Omont's edition, p. 12¹).

¹ M. Omont suggested the possibility that the ligature may be due to the hand of the reviser who inked over the fading letters of the codex. In the case of θρονῶ (p. 34) this may well be so, but in the other two cases it is less probable.

We must now pass on to speak of the discovery published in von Soden's *Die Schriften des N.T.* (I i 638), and of the use which the editor makes of it. Herr Wobbermin has found in an eleventh-century MS in the Laura on Mt. Athos a Confession entitled: *Εὐθαλίον ἐπισκόπου Σούλης ὁμολογία περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*. Internal evidence shews that it was written between 662 and 680. It contains a reference to Maximus the Confessor. The next piece in the MS is a letter from Athanasius to his 'son Maximus the philosopher'. Von Soden has no hesitation in identifying this Athanasius with the Athanasius mentioned in the Euthalian prologues to the Acts and Catholic Epistles. Thus Euthalius and his prologues are brought down into the seventh century, and all the 'Penelope labours' of former scholars are dismissed at once.

Another interesting discovery is announced on p. 646. Von der Goltz has found the Greek text of a document hitherto known only in the Armenian translation, which finds a place in Armenian Bibles in connexion with the Euthalian apparatus. It is called in Armenian the Prayer of Euthalius. In the Greek it is headed: *πρὸς ἑμμαντόν*. Accordingly we know at last the meaning of the puzzling statement, *καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑμμαντόν, στιχοὶ κζ'*, which occurs in a stichometrical list in certain of the Euthalian MSS.

Von Soden gives free play to his imagination, and writes a fanciful life of Euthalius, grounded upon these new discoveries. Two vigorous protests have already been entered against this offhand treatment of a most complicated problem. Mr F. C. Conybeare, who has the credit of first bringing the Armenian evidence to bear upon the subject, insists¹ that it has been proved that the Prologues are earlier than the *Martyrium Pauli*, which is an abbreviated statement drawn out of one of them in A.D. 396. He further asserts on the ground of Armenian Chronicles and other evidence, that the Euthalian apparatus was already attributed by the Armenians to Euthalius before 700 A.D.; and he claims that 'both the language and internal dating of the Armenian compel us to set the translation back in the fifth century'. His view is that the fourth-century Euthalius was decorated with the title 'Bishop of Sulci' only at a late period when his namesake of the seventh century had come into a certain prominence.

An exhaustive examination of the theory of von Soden is made by Dr Zahn in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* xv 4, 5. He begins by pointing out that a quotation from the newly discovered Confession of Euthalius was printed by F. H. Reusch in 1889, with the heading: *Εὐθάλιος ἐπίσκοπος Σούλης ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως οὕτως λέγει*. After discussing the orthography of the Sardinian See at some

¹ *Zeitschrift f. d. N. T. Wissenschaft* v 1904.

length, he calls attention to the fact that the Letter of Athanasius to Maximus the Philosopher is a genuine letter of the great Athanasius of the year 370 or 371, and so disposes of von Soden's supposition that it was written by a seventh-century Athanasius to Maximus the Confessor. He points out the immense difference in style between the Confession newly discovered, and both the 'Prayer of Euthalius' and the Euthalian Prologues: and he inclines to identify on the ground of style the author of the Prayer with the author of the Prologues. With much learning he reviews the whole situation of the Euthalian problem. He accepts and reinforces the view that the first stage of the Euthalian apparatus must be placed some time before 396, the date of the *Martyrium Pauli*. He thinks it most probable that the original edition, though put out anonymously, was the work of a writer named Euthalius, and that his name was preserved by a true tradition which at length found a place in the titles of the Prologues: and he is confident that the description 'Bishop of Sulci' was an erroneous insertion of a still later period. His two articles are full of illustrative matter, and worthy of his great reputation for the accumulation and masterly handling of a bewildering mass of details¹.

The latest sketch of the Euthalian question which has been given to English students is to be found in Mr Turner's article on 'Patristic Commentaries' in the supplementary volume of Dr Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*. It would seem as though the new material published by von Soden reached the writer too late for proper digestion, and had to be hurriedly combined at the last moment with results which had been attained independently of it. Von Dobschütz's work on the Syriac versions has here also escaped recognition, though a true instinct had led Mr Turner to suggest that some fresh light might have been obtained by a systematic examination of Syriac MSS.

A proper edition of the Euthalian apparatus is now more urgently needed than ever; it is essential as a preliminary to the classification of the cursive MSS of the Acts and Epistles. For the present, and until some new facts are brought to light, we may reasonably continue to assign the origination of this apparatus to a fourth-century Euthalius, and we may be allowed to doubt whether Euthalius, the seventh-century Bishop of Sulci, ever put his hand to such work at all.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

¹ It is only surprising that he does not strengthen his position by a reference to von Dobschütz's proof that the Prologues were rendered into Syriac in 508; for, as a matter of fact, he gives a reference in a footnote to the article in which this is brought out.

THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY.

THE April number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* contained a paper by Professor J. T. Marshall upon remarkable readings found in the *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* of the Epistles, in which the writer attempted to shew from internal evidence that the Lectionary was composed in Egypt, and that it contains a biblical text of a very peculiar type, both from the readings it supports and from the interpretations that it gives to the Greek. The following pages are, alas, almost wholly controversial. I shall try to shew that the arguments which link the rise of the Palestinian Syriac version with Egypt are of very little cogency, and that the proved connexion of a Palestinian Syriac community with Egypt belongs to a late stage in the literature of that dialect. This being the case let me begin by shaking my opponent's hand, as prize-fighters do (so I am told) in the ring. Disagreements in these complicated and difficult questions of language and criticism are inevitable, but it is at any rate a matter for congratulation that both my opponent and myself feel a common interest in this long neglected corner of Christian Literature.

Professor Marshall bases his case on internal evidence. Before examining his reasons let us set down what we know on general grounds about these documents. In the first place we must not forget that the Christian Palestinian Literature is wholly 'Orthodox', i. e. belonging to a body in communion with the Byzantine Church. This consideration should at once render us very sceptical about alleged points of contact with Coptic versions of the Bible, for the Coptic Church was always a stronghold of Monophysite doctrine from the days of Anastasius onwards. The next point is to note the places from whence came the Palestinian MSS that have survived to our days. These are: the Monastery on Mount Sinai, the Monasteries on the Boar's Head Promontory near Antioch (*J. T. S.* ii 177 f), the great Monastery of St Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert, the Cairo Geniza, and unknown places in Egypt. The Nitrian MSS seem to have been bought at the sale of Sultân Bibars's booty by one Surûr, a deacon of Palestinian descent, and the Geniza fragments may very likely have come to the Synagogue at the same time. These last are now all palimpsest with Hebrew writing on the top, so that no doubt they were bought by the Jews as cheap writing-material. Thus the 'Palestinian Syriac' Literature is quite as much connected with orthodox sanctuaries in Palestine as with the Nile Valley.

The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Epistles is known to us from a single codex, of no great antiquity, which was bought in Cairo

by Mrs. Lewis of Cambridge in 1895. No one doubts that the Lectionary is considerably older than this MS; but it is well to bear in mind, before we allow ourselves to draw startling conclusions from minute points of translation, that the text upon which we are working is that of a single MS, a MS copied by a scribe who was possibly ill instructed in the dialect of the Lectionary. The MS certainly contains many blunders: we find *Mişren* (i. e. Egypt) for *Midian* in Isaiah ix 4, p. 27, and at the end of Isaiah lx 3, p. 124, we find *thy Saviour* for *thy Sunrise*. When, therefore, Prof. Marshall speaks of the 'scores of readings not found anywhere else', we may reasonably suspect that not a few of them may be mere mistakes.

Prof. Marshall founds his case for the Egyptian origin of the Lectionary on two considerations. The first is that the Lesson containing Genesis ii agrees almost verbatim with that found in the *Liturgy of the Nile*, as published by G. Margoliouth in 1896. With this no one will quarrel. The *Liturgy of the Nile* was obviously drawn up in Egypt, and the community of Aramaic-speaking Christians who used it must therefore have been settled in Egypt. But the MS in which it is preserved is not exclusively a 'Palestinian' book: parts of it are written in Edessene Syriac, as well as in Carshuni. No Coptic influence is visible in any part of the MS; in fact, the whole book is a translation from the Greek¹. We find *Greek* formulas transcribed in Syriac letters, but the only Egyptian thing in the MS is the Nile Service itself. The *Liturgy of the Nile* proves the existence in Egypt in the thirteenth century of a Christian congregation, which used a Palestinian Syriac ritual, but it leaves the presence of that congregation in Egypt unexplained.

It is when Prof. Marshall goes on to connect the Palestinian Lectionary with the Bohairic version that his work is so unsatisfactory. He attempts to shew that the Lectionary was translated from a Greek text akin to that represented by the Bohairic, i. e. the Coptic version of Lower Egypt. The readings of the Lectionary are grouped in Tables; of these, Tables A and B illustrate the alleged kinship with the Bohairic, while the rest are intended to exemplify the theology of the translator.

¹ Mr Brightman informed me while this Paper was passing through the Press that the Greek of the *Liturgy of the Nile* has been edited in A. Dmitrijewskij's *Euchologia*, pp. 684-691, an important book which I have been able to consult through the kindness of my friend Mr F. C. Conybeare. Dmitrijewskij's text is actually taken from a MS at Sinai, dated 1510 A.D.

It may be of interest to note that the mysterious Response *ἡ ἁγία*, which is said so often by the congregation in the Palestinian rite, turns out to be a corruption of *Ἄνω, Νεῖλε*. The other response, *O holy one of God* (Margoliouth, *J R A S* for 1896, p. 712), is in the Greek *Ἄνω τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ προστάξει τοῦ θεοῦ, Νεῖλε*.

Table A, however, we may leave at once on one side, as it only contains 'Disputed readings in which the Lectionary agrees with the Bohairic, and also with the best Greek MSS'. This Table informs us of the value of the text of the Lectionary, but naturally it cannot demonstrate any special connexion with the Bohairic version. It is otherwise with Table B, which contains 'Readings in which the Lectionary agrees with the Bohairic, in cases where it is *not* generally supported by the best Greek MSS'. Community in error shews community of parentage. If Table B contain a number of agreements with the Bohairic, where the Lectionary and the Bohairic stand alone or almost alone, then Prof. Marshall's case will obtain a ready hearing. But as a matter of fact, out of the thirteen readings in Table B only in one is it alleged that the Lectionary and the Bohairic stand alone. This is Rom. v 6, a passage marked by Westcott and Hort as corrupt on account of the numerous petty variations in the MSS. Substantial agreement between our two 'authorities' in such a passage would doubtless go far to prove a common origin for their text. But their agreement is only partial after all. Westcott and Hort, following B, print

εἰ γε Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν.
For εἰ γε . . . ἔτι the following variants are found :—

ἔτι γὰρ . . . ἔτι NACD* Marcion Syr.hkl

ἔτι γὰρ . . . [om. ἔτι 2^o] 5 etc.

εἰς τὸ γὰρ . . . [om. ἔτι 2^o] D^bG Latt

εἰ γὰρ . . . [om. ἔτι 2^o] 104 (*alias* h^{scr}) fuld

The Peshitta has ܐܝܢ ܕܥܝܢ, i. e. εἰ δὲ . . ., omitting the second ἔτι, and the ancient Arabic text from Sinai, edited by Mrs Gibson, begins with 'if', and joins ἔτι with ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν.

Now a literal English translation of our two authorities is

Lect. 'For if Christ when we are weak, yet on a time on account of wicked men died.'

Boh. 'For if yet when we are weak on a time Christ died on account of wicked men.'

The Lectionary keeps the Greek order, the Bohairic adopts an order of its own and appears to join ἔτι with ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν (like the mass of Greek MSS) rather than with κατὰ καιρὸν (like B and the Lectionary). It would never have occurred to me to cite such a doubtful and imperfect agreement between the Palestinian Lectionary and the Bohairic version in support of any hypothesis. If I had done so, I might have said that the Lectionary shews some contact with the Peshitta as might be expected in a late Aramaic version, and some affinity with the text of B as might be expected in a text which has a geographical connexion with 'Abūd near Caesarea in Palestine. But it is safer to leave such intangible coincidences altogether on one side.

In the remaining twelve passages grouped together by Prof. Marshall, the Palestinian Lectionary and the Bohairic agree in company with other authorities, and these are by no means of a specifically Egyptian character. In Rom. vi 5, Eph. i 20, Col. ii 13, the reading alleged by Prof. Marshall as shewing a special connexion between the Lectionary and the Bohairic is actually that of the English Authorized Version. In Rom. vi 11, where the true text has 'Christ Jesus' and the Bohairic with most Greek documents has 'Christ Jesus our Lord', the Lectionary has 'in the Lord, in Jesus Christ' (*sic*). In Rom. viii 2 the Lectionary and the Bohairic do agree in reading 'hath made *us* free from the law of sin and death', a very natural turn found also in the Ethiopic in Erpenius's Arabic, where for *us* our Greek MSS vary between *me* and *thee*. Rom. viii 11, on the other hand, ought not to have been put in the Table at all, because (i) the better texts of the Bohairic read 'Christ Jesus' not 'Jesus Christ', and (ii) the Palestinian Lectionary, like the Peshitta, always puts 'Jesus' before 'the Messiah'. In Rom. x 5, where both the Lectionary and the Bohairic translate $\delta \text{ ποιήσας } \alpha \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \omicron \varsigma$ by 'the man who doeth *it*', the two authorities differ in that the Lectionary puts $\delta \tau \iota$ immediately before $\delta \text{ ποιήσας}$ while the Bohairic puts it before $\tau \eta \nu \delta \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \omicron \sigma \acute{\upsilon} \nu \eta \nu$, and this difference corresponds to a well-marked textual variation. In Rom. x 8, where the true text has $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \iota$ only, the Lectionary has 'saith the Scripture' with D Latt, while the Bohairic has 'the Scripture saith' with G. In Rom. x 9 the Lectionary and the Bohairic agree with B and the English Revised Version against the mass of copies in reading $\delta \tau \iota \text{ } \text{Κύριος } \text{Ἰησοῦς}$. In Eph. i 11 our two authorities agree in the company of D G and a number of minuscules, in Heb. ix 14 they agree in the company of D* N^o P and some thirty more, in Heb. x 32 they agree with N^o and at least nine more. Where two authorities thus agree as members of considerable groups, little can be inferred as to the nature of their common element.

I venture to think that no one who weighs these thirteen alleged coincidences will consider that Prof. Marshall has even made out a case for his theory. It was indeed hardly to be expected that the Orthodox Palestinian Lectionary should have much affinity with the Monophysite Egyptian version, seeing that the Harclean Syriac, a Monophysite version which we know to have been prepared in Egypt, shews so little kinship with any Coptic text. But mere statements made about these Eastern versions are too often accepted by textual critics who may have no special acquaintance with the obscurer Oriental dialects, so that it seemed worth while to examine Prof. Marshall's examples one by one.

It will scarcely be necessary to treat Prof. Marshall's arguments

about the theological character of the Palestinian Lectionary in any detail. But when he says that the Lectionary has 'a closer resemblance to a Targum than any other New Testament MS has', I must protest. Has Prof. Marshall ever examined the Syriac Vulgate? In turning the Greek of the New Testament into any Semitic language it is often necessary to paraphrase in order to make sense, and had I been asked to characterize the Lectionary I should have spoken rather of slavish neglect of Aramaic idiom than of 'theological bias'. Again, when Prof. Marshall says 'We are disposed to believe that the translator was familiar with the Peshitta, because we think that otherwise he could scarcely have so systematically evaded its readings' he makes a statement which will not, I venture to think, gain much favour among those who read these versions for themselves. Even among the thirteen readings in Table B, chosen by Prof. Marshall in order to exhibit the close union between the Palestinian Lectionary and the Bohairic, in no less than four the Lectionary agrees with the Peshitta entirely and in two more partially. In fact I do not know how to describe the textual facts more accurately or more tersely than in the words of Dr Nestle at the end of his Critical Notes to Mrs Lewis's edition (p. lxxiv). Dr Nestle says: 'There is no Greek or other authority quoted by Tischendorf for the epistles of St Paul, with which this Syro-Greek Lectionary would agree in all passages; but it is worth while to observe how frequently it does so with the Greek-Latin codices D F G on the one hand, and with the Syriac versions on the other'¹.

We may go yet a step further with regard to the origin of the Lectionary. In 1894 Mrs Gibson published part of the Pauline Epistles

¹ Before leaving Prof. Marshall it may be well to point out for the benefit of those who do not read Syriac some of the many inaccuracies of his translation of 1 Cor. xi 23 ff. As the passage was quoted for textual and theological purposes, and as Prof. Marshall himself thought it necessary to add '(it)' in brackets after the rendering of *ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν πίνετε* in v. 25 to indicate the absence of the pronoun from the Syriac, a high standard of exactness was to have been expected.

1 Cor. xi 24, 'and brake it off', *read* 'and brake'. The word used is the ordinary Syriac term for 'to break bread'.

25, 'And so likewise', *read* 'Likewise also'. Prof. Marshall on p. 443 f lays some stress on the occurrence of *also* in certain places.

27, 'Every one', *read* 'So that everyone'. The use of *ἵνα* to render *ὥστε* is curious but well established, e.g. Matt. xxiii 31, 2 Cor. v 16.

27, 'when there is no meetness in him', *read* 'and is not worthy of it'. For this construction see Matt. x 37, 38 and Heb. xi 38.

28, 'Let', *read* 'But (*δέ*) let'.

29, 'and has no meetness', *read* 'and is not worthy'.

30, 'afflicted', *read* 'ill'.

32, 'chastised', *read* 'judged' (same word as in v. 31).

All these errors might have been avoided by consulting Mrs Gibson's really admirable glossary to the Lectionary.

in Arabic (Rom.—Eph. ii 9) from a fragmentary MS at Sinai of the ninth century. As is often the case with MSS of the New Testament some lectionary rubrics are inserted in the text. The system is neither the present Byzantine Lectionary, nor that of the Nestorians, Jacobites, or Maronites, but it is closely akin to what we find in the Palestinian Lectionary. It will be convenient to give a translation of the parallel rubrics in each document. The order is that of the Lectionary, starting with the first Sunday after *Pentecost*. Only beginnings of Lessons are noted, as no clue is given where the Lessons ended in the Arabic.

1. Rom. v 1 *Pal.* First Sunday: to the Galatians (*sic*), from the Epistle(s) of St Paul.
 Ar. Read on the first Sunday. This is the first of the Lessons.
2. Rom. vi 3 *Pal.* For the second Sunday: to the Romans.
 Ar. Read on the second Sunday.
3. Rom. viii 2 *Pal.* For the third Sunday: to the Galatians (*sic*).
 Ar. Read on the third Sunday.
4. Rom. ix 30 *Pal.* For the fourth Sunday: to the Hebrews (*sic*).
 Ar. Read on the fourth Sunday.
5. 2 Cor. v 14 *Pal.* For the fifth Sunday: to the Corinthians.
 Ar. Read on the fifth Sunday.
6. Eph. i 17 *Pal.* For the sixth Sunday: to the Ephesians.
 Ar. Read on the seventh Sunday¹.
7. Eph. ii 4 *Pal.* For the seventh Sunday: to the Galatians (*sic*).
 Ar. Read on the eighth Sunday.
28. Gal. iii 24 *Pal.* For the day of the Nativity of the Messiah to the Galatians is read.
 Ar. Read the day of the Nativity and the day of the Wax-tapers (τὰ φῶτα)².
36. 1 Cor. x 1 *Pal.* Second Lesson, to the Corinthians (at the hallowing of the water [35], on the night of the Kalends in the Mass [34]).
 Ar. Read on the day of the fast of the Kalends in the Mass³.

¹ There is no Lesson in the Arabic for the 'Sixth Sunday', so probably a number has been misread.

² *Ar.* القير, ηγροί. The night of the vigil of the Epiphany (Jan. 5-6) is clearly meant, an opinion with which I am glad to say Mr Brightman agrees.

³ Mr Brightman writes: 'The Fast of the Kalends would at first suggest Jan. 1, which was once kept as a fast as a protest against the pagan orgies. But here the Kalends, for whatever reason, means the vigil of the Epiphany.' He compares the *iunium in Kalendis Ianuarii* of the Mozarabic Breviary (Jan. 3-5), the fifth being also *iunium Epiphaniae*. Further research among orthodox kalendars may possibly bring to light some other instance of this

37. Rom. xiv 14 *Pal.* For the Sunday of the Excommunications¹:
to the Romans.
Ar. Read on the Sunday of the Excommunications¹.
39. 2 Cor. vi 2^b *Pal.* For the second Sunday of the Fast: to the
Corinthians.
Ar. Read on the first Sunday of the Fast.
41. Rom. xii 1 *Pal.* For the third Sunday of the Fast: to the
Romans.
Ar. Read on the second Sunday of the Fast.
44. Rom. xii 6 *Pal.* For the fourth Sunday of the Fast: to the
Romans.
Ar. Read on the third Sunday of the Fast.
48. Rom. xii 16 *Pal.* For the fifth Sunday of the Fast: to the
Romans.
Ar. Read on the fourth Sunday of the Fast.
- []. Rom. xiii 7 *Pal.* [Two leaves missing here.]
Ar. Read on the fifth Sunday of the Fast.
59. Eph. i 3 *Pal.* Lesson from the Epistle that is called of the
Ephesians. (Sunday of the Εὐλογημένος
[58].)
Ar. Read on Palm Sunday (τῶν Βαΐων)².
71. 1 Cor. xi 23 *Pal.* The Apostle, from (Ep.) to the Corinthians.
[on Maundy Thursday.]
Ar. For Great Thursday.
73. Gal. vi 14 *Pal.* The Apostle, from (Ep.) to the Galatians.
[on Good Friday (72).]
Ar. On the day of the Feast of the Cross³.
86. 1 Cor. xv 1 *Pal.* This for Great Saturday: to the Romans.
Ar. Read on the morning of Easter Sunday in the
Mass.

Thus the two systems are practically identical. The only rubrics of the Arabic unrepresented in the Palestinian Lectionary are:—

- Rom. viii 28 for Feasts of Martyrs
1 Cor. xii 27 for Feasts of Apostles and Prophets
1 Cor. xv 12, 18, 51 three Requiem Lessons for the Dead.

nomenclature, but in any case its rarity and obscurity is a strong point of contact between the Palestinian Lectionary and the Arabic MS at Sinai.

¹ *Pal.* ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁ, *Ar.* الخميس. 'The Sunday of the Excommunications', says Mr. Brightman, 'seems obviously to be the κυριακή τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας, i.e. the First Sunday in Lent, when all the heretics are anathematized, a ceremony instituted after the Iconoclastic troubles.'

² The Rubric is put at Eph. i 1, but there is a great star in the text at v. 3.

³ It is not certain that Sep. 14 is meant.

These would naturally have come at the end of the Lectionary, which is now missing. If it were complete, there is every reason to believe that all the rubrics in the Arabic would correspond to Lessons in the Syriac Lectionary. On the other hand, the four following Lessons in the Syriac are unrepresented in the Arabic:—

- 17. Rom. i 1 Sunday before the Nativity
- 18. Rom. iii 19 St Basil
- 77. Rom. v 6 Sixth Lesson for Maundy Thursday
- 79. 1 Cor. i 18. Eighth Lesson for Maundy Thursday.

Against these trifling differences we have to set the many curious agreements, such as the beginning of the year after Pentecost, the mention of the 'Kalends' and the Sunday of the Excommunications. Common usage of this sort points to a common local Use. I venture to think that there can be no further doubt that the locality was the Convent on Mount Sinai, and that Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson were in every way well advised when they published the Lectionary in *Studia Sinaitica*.

Of course it may be many years since the MS was at the Convent; indeed it is conceivable that it never was there, but was made in Cairo for the use of the establishment that the Sinaitic community have long kept up in the capital of Egypt. The Abbot of Sinai habitually lives not on Mount Sinai but in Cairo, so that his household actually needed to use the Nile service, and it seems to me highly probable that the Palestinian Syriac community of Egypt, for whom the *Liturgy of the Nile* was drawn up, consisted of members or dependants of the Sinaitic community. In that case the *Liturgy of the Nile* is older than the ninth century, for no prayer is made in it for the Archbishop of Sinai, a dignity which the Abbot of the great Convent has enjoyed since that period with very few intermissions. However that may be, it does not affect the identity of the Lection system found in the Palestinian *Praxapostolos* and in the ancient Arabic MS at Sinai. This is probably the oldest Byzantine Table of Church Lessons of which we have any detailed information. The Kalendar found in the Palestinian Syriac MSS which have an ultimate connexion with 'Abûd is different and very much nearer to the modern Byzantine arrangement.

It should also be added that the Palestinian Lectionary and the Arabic MS at Sinai are quite different in their textual character. Both are translations from the Greek, but they have very few readings or renderings in common. Thus the preceding investigation cannot claim to throw much direct light upon the first beginnings of the Palestinian version of the Bible.

F. C. BURKITT.

PROEMS OF LITURGICAL LECTIONS AND GOSPELS.

LITURGICAL students are familiar with the fact that excerpts from the Scriptures, read in the course of the Liturgy as Lections, are subject to a somewhat elaborate system of introductory formulae. These formulae may repay some investigation and analysis. They may have had their origin in an intention to identify the position of the selected passage, when the absence of division of Scripture into chapters and verses necessitated some other method of indicating the source of the passage read. They are obviously of great antiquity, since the East and West are in very close accord in their use and application; and with reference to the prophetic introduction, St Chrysostom in his Homilies on the Acts, and on 2 Thessalonians¹ alludes to it as existent in his time.

The formulae themselves are these :

For Prophetical passages,

Haec dicit Dominus

τάδε λέγει Κύριος

For Historical passages of the Old Testament (even if taken from Prophetical Books),

In diebus illis

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις

For Lessons taken from the Acts of the Apostles,

In diebus illis

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις

For Epistles taken from the writings of St Paul,

Fratres

ἀδελφοί

For Epistles taken from the Catholic Epistles,

Carissimi

ἀγαπητοί or ἀδελφοί²

For Epistles taken from the Pastoral Epistles,

Carissime

{ τέκνον Τιμόθεε,
τέκνον Τίτε

For Lessons taken from the Book of Revelation,

In diebus illis

No lections from this Book.

These formulae, it is fairly evident, are all, with the possible exception of 'In diebus illis' in the case of Historical Prophetic readings, derived from expressions freely employed in the various sources of the lections themselves.

¹ Quoted by Bingham *Christian Antiquities* book xiv § 8.

² The Greek use is a little indeterminate in the case of the Epistle of St James, both formulae being employed, without any very apparent reason for the difference.

There is one definite exception, always, to the use of these proems. A lection from the commencement of a book or epistle begins, as in the text, with the Pauline or other salutation. Another exception, the reason for which is not obvious, is that in the Epistle to the Hebrews the lection is not invariably, though it is generally, begun with the word 'Ἀδελφοί.

A tendency is manifest in the Latin Missal to round off endings, as well as to make beginnings: and when it can be conveniently done the words 'per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum' are added to New Testament passages, while 'dicit Dominus Omnipotens' is sometimes appended to Prophetic excerpts. Is this possibly the cue for some response from the congregation, 'Laus Deo', 'Deo gratias', or something of that kind?

There remain still to be examined the formulae employed in introducing the Liturgical Gospels. Here also there is a sufficiently close correspondence between the customs of the East and the West to indicate identity of origin, and yet some minor differences which may point to something more than the idiosyncrasies of the different Church systems.

The opening verses of any of the Four Gospels are announced in the Latin Church as follows:

'Initium sancti evangelii secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam',
or 'Ioannem', as the case may be.

Later passages have the heading

'Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum' etc.

In the Greek Gospel Book, the heading in either case is merely

'Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, etc.

As in the case of the Epistles, an 'Initium' has no proem; a 'Sequentia' almost always has.

The Latin use in all cases where there is a proem is to begin it with the words 'In illo tempore': and when the substance of the pericope so introduced is a parable or discourse there follows 'dixit Iesus', then words descriptive of the persons addressed, e. g. 'Dixit Iesus discipulis suis', with a further addition sometimes of 'parabolam hanc'. Of these latter formulae there are sometimes variants: 'Dicebat Iesus', 'Locutus est Iesus . . . dicens', and 'Loquebatur Iesus . . . dicens'.¹

The only exceptions, however, to the use of the formula 'In illo tempore' are the cases where some specific time-note is given in the text of the Gospel itself:

¹ See Note A at end of article.

e.g. 'Sequentia Sancti Evangelii secundum Lucam'.
 'Anno quinto decimo imperii Tiberii Caesaris', etc.
 or 'Sequentia Sancti Evangelii secundum Matthaeum'.
 'Cum esset desponsata mater Iesu Maria Ioseph, antequam
 convenirent', etc.

The Greek formulae are these:

Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ and Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος.

These, however, are never combined: a περικοπή begins with one or other of them, not both.

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος occurs either absolutely unexpanded, being followed immediately by the passage from the text, or in combination with one of four settings:

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην
 τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς
 πρὸς τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίους
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐληλυθότας πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίους.

The exceptions to the use of the indeterminate time formula are similar to those of the Latin rite. It is not used at the opening verses of the Gospels, and disappears in favour of a specific time-note.

These Greek formulae bring into marked prominence a similarity between the introductions of the Gospel and Prophetic lections, which the Latin use exhibits less forcibly, since for ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις we have τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, and for τάδε λέγει Κύριος we have εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, a more obvious correspondence than in the form 'Iesus dixit'. This seems to point to a deliberate adoption of these 'incipits', and a studied conformity to the method of commencing Prophetic lections¹: and hence suggests that they did not arise, as in the case of the Epistle lections, from characteristic phrases in the text itself. It is also remarkable that the same forms are used in the case of all the four Gospels; although there is no use of the phrase τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, or its equivalents, by St John².

¹ The opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews has an apparent allusion to something of this kind:

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι
 (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις)
 ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέρας ἐν τοῖς
 προφήταις (τάδε λέγει Κύριος)
 ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων
 (τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ)
 ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν Υἱῷ.
 (εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, or ὁ Ἰησοῦς).

² Perhaps few have realized how largely these formulae have left traces in the openings of the Sunday or Holyday Gospels in the Book of Common Prayer. There are ten, to which are prefixed the words 'Jesus said' or 'Jesus said unto

This brings us to the point of asking how, if these are really introductory formulae, they have found their way, either in exact transcription, or in fairly obvious adaptation, into the text of the Synoptic Gospels. Assuming that St Mark's Gospel is the oldest compilation, as is most generally admitted, it is remarkable that it opens with the formula now liturgically employed in announcing the opening passage of any of the four Gospels. Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου—Initium Evangelii (Iesu Christi): and it strikes one on finding the phrase in its own place, that the added words 'secundum Matthaeum', etc., seem forced and strained, as though a phrase already familiar, which had indeed become consecrated to union with the Name of Jesus Christ, must be somewhat awkwardly adapted to connect itself with the name of a compiler. This however is an issue rather apart from the main thesis of this study of the 'indefinite time-note', and its place in the text of the Evangelists. St Mark has it twice in the form ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. In chap. i 9 it introduces the narrative of our Lord's Baptism by St John; and in viii 1 it introduces the miracle of Feeding the Four Thousand. It is interesting to find it here, as, if the theory advanced is accepted, it affords an indication of the way in which two separate traditions of the same incident came to be incorporated in one compilation. Both were current in the Church, and this one is adopted into the text, with its own prefatory words.

In iv 35 the phrase καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁψίας γενομένης, which introduces the miracle of the Stilling of the Tempest, looks like an editorial modification of the formula. The parallel passage in St Luke [viii 22] has another modification, namely ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν.

There is, perhaps, one more passage in this Gospel in which the formula appears, although it is less obvious, and probably more disputable, namely in ii 20, where the days of the Bridegroom's departure are foretold by our Lord with, in St Mark, the phrase τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: St Luke v 35 has τότε νηστεύουσιν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις: but the account in St Matthew terminates with the word νηστεύουσιν. The removal of the full stop, in St Luke, from its place after ἡμέραις to νηστεύουσιν, would leave the formula, naturally enough, at the beginning of the paragraph about the New Cloth and the Old Garment. A similar readjustment would not suffice in St Mark; but it is, perhaps, not unlikely that the words have been brought

His disciples': namely those for St John the Evangelist, Fifth Sunday in Lent, Second Sunday after Easter, Third Sunday after Easter, Fourth Sunday after Easter, Whitsunday, Sixth Sunday after Trinity, Ninth Sunday after Trinity, Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, SS. Philip and James. There are fourteen others in which the Holy Name is substituted for 'He' or 'Him' in the A. V.

into their present place editorially, from the opening of the next passage: some phrase like εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς having been dropped in the process.

The Matthew Gospel contains more numerous instances. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις (iii 1) introduces the narrative of St John Baptist's preaching: Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (xi 25) brings in that passage 'I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent', which produces the impression of the introduction of something from a Johannine source into the stream of the Synoptic story. Here again St Luke, who introduces the same passage (in x 21), uses a variant proem, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ.

Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (xii 1) introduces the incident of the ears of corn on the Sabbath, where St Luke has the mysterious δευτεροπρώτῳ, which can hardly be anything else but an importation from the heading of a pericope.

And the same words preface the account of the martyrdom of St John Baptist (xiv 1).

The group of Parables in xiii has the introductory phrase Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, which also occurs in xxii 23, preluding the question of the Sadducees concerning the Resurrection.

Except for the fact that we find St Luke using the phrase ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (x 21, see above) as the equivalent for ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, it might seem overbold to attribute a similar origin to the two remaining passages; but with that clear link one may perhaps quote Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ (xviii 1), the introductory phrase in the narrative of the dispute as to 'the Greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven', and again Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ (xxvi 55), in the course of the narrative of the Passion, followed by 'Are ye come out as against a thief', &c. This looks like a perfect Liturgical proem, with its 'setting'¹, for the whole passage runs

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ὄχλοις.

'In illo tempore dixit Iesus turbis.'

The preface to St Luke of itself raises the issue whether the compiler does not mean to state that his work is based upon an orderly arrangement of pericopes, with specific time-notes supplied as far as possible from private research and information. If such a conjecture is well founded, we get the first glimpse of its operation in the passage immediately following the introduction, where possibly the usual formula occurs in the words (i 5) ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, and is then broken off to substitute the definite statement Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας for the indefinite ἐκείναις or ταύταις of the authority employed.

In i 39 Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις Mary visits Elizabeth.

¹ See note A, at the close, for examples of these 'settings'.

ii 1 Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus,

vi 12 Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις Jesus, after spending the night in prayer, appoints the Twelve.

v 17 Ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν He heals the sick of the palsy, and

viii 22 Stills the Tempest; while in

xx 1 Ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων He is challenged as to His authority by the Scribes and Pharisees.

And in xxiii 7 the phrase ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις is introduced in the course of the narrative of the transfer of Jesus by Pilate to the jurisdiction of Herod. This passage is peculiar to St Luke, and it might have been expected that it would have been introduced by this formula, if the theory were well founded. But the presence of the words at the end of the sentence is perhaps as strong an indication of origin, though a little veiled; for undoubtedly the editor of St Luke worked over his materials to a considerable extent.

The interpolation contains two instances:

In xiii 1 Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ our Lord receives the report of the massacre of the Galileans, and

xiii 31 Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ is warned by the Pharisees that Herod is seeking to kill him.

But if the interpolation is somewhat poor in examples of the indefinite time-note, it is very difficult to read it and study its connecting-links, without gaining the impression that the matter of it is derived from pericopes, originally introduced by the other Liturgical formula, *Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος*, or possibly a form of it akin to the Western 'Iesus dixit', *Εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς*. There may be a trace of it in the editorial introduction to the delivery of the Lord's Prayer, xi 1-2; but it certainly occurs boldly in xii 42 *Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος* 'Who then is that faithful and wise servant?' Here it occurs apparently as an answer to a question put by St Peter; and in xvii 6, again in answer to words addressed to him, *Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Κύριος*, 'If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed'. Possibly in either case the previous address is introduced by the editor to account for the use of the word *Κύριος* in the formula, which might appear a little strange and unusual if it occurred bluntly in the narrative, without some preparation for it. The two parables in chapter xviii are introduced with phrases which summarize their purport in a manner almost wholly liturgical—*Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς*, that men ought always to pray and not to faint, prefacing the story of the importunate widow; and at verse 9 *Εἶπεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τινὰ τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς*

ὅτι εἰσὶν δίκαιοι καὶ ἐξουθενοῦντας τοὺς λοιποὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην, which introduces the story of the Pharisee and Publican¹. It is, however, clearly less possible to identify this form of proem than the other. For, although paragraph after paragraph of St Luke's interpolation begins with the words εἶπεν δέ, which may indicate an original εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος or ὁ Ἰησοῦς, on the other hand similar connective forms are to be found in the homogeneous Gospel of St John, from which the other formula is absent.

The Acts of the Apostles supplies four instances of the employment of the formula; all in those earlier chapters which must depend upon some documentary basis, if the theory be accepted that the later portion of the book is the result of the personal experiences of a companion of St Paul. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις St Peter stands up to take action as to the election of St Matthias (Acts i 15). Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις the strife arose between the Grecians and the Hebrews, which is the prelude of the martyrdom of St Stephen (Acts vi 1). Ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Prophets came from Jerusalem to Antioch and Agabus foretold the dearth. Κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Herod the king stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the Church (Acts xii 1).

In three of these cases it is noticeable that the formula introduces the history of a saint or a martyrdom, which might well have been topics of liturgical commemoration. The fourth is more difficult to place; but it may be connected with the James martyrdom, which follows hard upon it; or it may have attracted the formula as a definite predictive Christian prophecy, recited on that account during the liturgy.

In the valuable edition of St Luke's Gospel, by Dr Arthur Wright, almost all the passages quoted in support of the theory of a definite liturgical origin for certain portions of the narratives are enclosed in the square brackets [] which indicate editorial notes. So far, therefore, the theory that they are foreign to the general course of the narrative has solid support. But they are Synoptic rather than individual phenomena; and this at once places them on a footing different from that of an idiosyncrasy of personal style. St John's indefinite time-note is generally Μετὰ ταῦτα, a phrase which occurs with sufficient frequency also in the Synoptists to indicate it as a natural and normal conjunctive use.

It is to the sources therefore themselves that we must turn for the origin of a use, common to the Synoptic editors, and absent from St John. It would be improbable, if these were in any large measure liturgical, that the junctions of separate pericopes should be wholly obscured. However excellent workmanship may be, joints and selvages

¹ See note A at end of article.

have a tendency to betray themselves; and it is the belief of the writer of this paper that these selvages, compared with ancient and widespread liturgical custom, do indicate that the sources employed had already, at the time of their embodiment in connected narrative, been cast in liturgical form, and in that form attained ecclesiastical publicity.

The fact that such publicity belonged to the earlier chapters of St Luke would be of more than common interest, and would take back the discussion of them to their substance rather than to their manner of presentment.

The writer hopes that if he has not—as he does not claim to have—proved his theory, he has at least advanced it beyond the stage of mere conjecture.

P. H. DROOSTEN.

NOTE A.

In the Greek Εὐαγγέλιον the formula Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος occurs either absolutely by itself, being immediately followed by the passage from the text, or with one of these four 'settings'—

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην
 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς
 πρὸς τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίους
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐλληνοθότας πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίους.

The Western use is much more varied, and the formula itself is *less* rigid.

Dixit Iesus	discipulis suis
	discipulis suis parabolam hanc
	Pharisaeis
	Sadducaeis
	Pharisaeis et Scribis parabolam istam
	Pharisaeis parabolam hanc
	turbis Iudaeorum
	turbis parabolam hanc
	turbis Iudaeorum et principibus sacerdotum
	parabolam hanc
	Petro
	Simoni Petro
	Nicodemo
Dicebat Iesus	Scribis et Pharisaeis
	turbis hanc similitudinem

Locutus est Iesus ad turbas et ad discipulos suos dicens
 turbis Iudaeorum dicens
 Loquebatur Iesus principibus sacerdotum et Phariseis in para-
 bolis dicens.

But, as stated in the body of the article, these more varied Western forms are all preceded by the invariable 'In illo tempore'.

Compare these with the opening of the Prayer Book Gospel for St Matthias' Day 'At that time Jesus answered and said'. Would it not be almost impossible, without referring to the A. V., to say offhand whether this were an application of the formula, remaining in the Prayer Book, or a direct quotation from the text itself?

BAPTISM BY AFFUSION IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

IN his Note I on the *Didache* in the July number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Dr Bigg has repeated the old arguments from literature in favour of the theory that for the first four or five centuries baptism by submersion was the usual practice. These seem to be based on the assumption that *καταδύειν* and *mergere* must necessarily mean to submerge. If this is assumed, it is of course easy to establish what has already been taken for granted.

He has, it is true, appealed to the witness of archaeology, which at least must be taken into account in considering the question. But he only refers to four out of the nine certain representations of the rite that have been found in the Catacombs, and these he dismisses in a somewhat summary manner. One of the Ravenna mosaics is mentioned, but no allusion is made to symbolic representations, or to the various baptismal scenes, on sarcophagi, ivories, medals, &c. The still more conclusive proof against the theory of submersion, that can be drawn from a consideration of the depth of ancient fonts, is entirely ignored.

I considered, I think, all the points that he mentions, in writing my *Baptism and Christian Archaeology*, published last year as part of *Studia Biblica* by the Clarendon Press, though it was not my object to collect passages which seemed to me from the ambiguity of the language to throw no real light on the question. The passage in Gregory of Nyssa, which Dr Bigg quotes, escaped my notice, but it describes baptism as being administered exactly as it is represented in early Christian art.

May I take this opportunity of correcting some errors, and adding a few points to what I then wrote?

In describing the fresco in the crypt of Lucina (c. 100 A. D.) I had originally written :

'The water flows over the feet of the Saviour. The horizon line of water runs behind His neck, but is not intended to represent water covering His body, as in that case the Baptist would be in the water too ; nor can the water be intended to rise to the Saviour's waist, as in De Rossi's engraving, as then the land on which he stands would be submerged.'

In writing this I had followed De Rossi and Garrucci. I altered it on reading A. de Waal's article in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, to which I referred, and my outline illustration was taken from the half-tone block accompanying his text. Unfortunately owing to its high actinic power, the blue of the water did not come out in the photographic reproduction. The splashes of water round the head of the catechumen in the fresco in the Gallery of the Sacraments also disappeared in his picture, but I had observed them myself in the original, while I failed to see the fresco in the crypt of Lucina. The publication of Mgr. Wilpert's coloured illustration in his recent work *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* shews that Garrucci's engraving was more accurate on this point, and that my words as originally written were substantially correct.

Two entirely new examples from the Catacombs are published in this work. In one the water rises as high as the knees, but otherwise they present no variation of type, though they confirm the accepted interpretation of the fresco in the crypt of Lucina as really picturing our Lord's Baptism. They date from the first half, or the middle, of the third century.

The fresco in St Domitilla mentioned on my p. 245 is also published, as well as the painting in the same place, which, owing to Garrucci's incorrect copy (tav. xxxiii 3), has hitherto passed for a scene of benediction, but is now clearly proved to be a baptismal scene.

Of the other three doubtful representations given by me on p. 255, although interpreted by Wilpert as picturing the miracle of healing the blind, the first two seem to me more probably to be baptismal scenes, as in the healing of the blind the sufferer is represented kneeling (though not on sarcophagi, it is true); while I have no hesitation in adding the third to the list of baptismal scenes, as the fact that the catechumen is clothed is, as I have shewn, no objection to so interpreting it. Mr Bannister, in a notice in the *Historical Review*, July, 1904, p. 565, points out that another such example, in addition to those I have quoted, has been discovered by Mgr. Galante at Naples.

I much regret that my Exx. 11 and 12 from the gold treasure of

Sinigaglia are taken from a forgery. Of this I have no doubt after reading Grisar's *Il tesoro del Cav. Rossi* (Rome, 1895), which had escaped my notice. This, however, is of little importance, as the objects, even if genuine, would have been of the seventh or eighth century, and unique. They would have supplied little evidence as to the custom of the early Church.

In attributing the relief at Monza to c. 700 A.D. I followed, as I thought, Strzygowski's dating in his *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*. I have since had an opportunity of examining it, and see that it is obviously of a later period, probably of the fourteenth century. This brings it into line with many other mediaeval representations where the water rises in a heap, a feature which is possibly connected with the idea that grew up in later times that submersion was the more correct method of administration.

Much fuller information as to African fonts than was available when I wrote, can be found in S. Gsell's *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*. These are mostly of the fifth or sixth centuries, and are eleven in number. The following should be added to my list on p. 349 :

Place.	Shape.	Date.	Diameter.	Depth.
Ain Zirara	circular	c. 525	the bottom made of one block	?
Castiglione	square, with a circular basin	?	1.10 m.	.70 m.
Gouéa	circular	?	0.80 m.	1 m.
Matifou = Rusguniae	square	! c. 400	?	0.65 m.
Megsmefa	circular	?	surrounded by a step 0.40 m. high	?
Morsott	square	?	0.93 m.	0.84 m.
Sidi Ferruch	square, with circular basin	?	1.50 m.	1.75 m.
Sillégue	circular	?	1 m.	?

Cp. also Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Art. Afrique, XXI. Baptistères, p. 702.

Ruined baptisteries of an earlier date are mentioned by Strzygowski in his *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, p. 26, and on p. 14 Mr J. W. Crowfoot speaks of 'a small baptistery with a font and drain', among the ruins of Binbirkilisse, but no exact measurements are given. On p. 33 of Strzygowski's *Der Dom zu Aachen* he publishes a plan of the seventh-century church of St Gregory at Etzschmiadzin in which a small quatrefoil font of, apparently, a diameter of 1 m. lies behind a pillar to the right of the sanctuary.

The researches, of which he has published the results in the two above-mentioned works, seem to point to the fact that in art, as well as

in Church life, the part played by the East was far more important than we are apt to believe, and that the imperial art both of Rome and Byzantium was less primitive and less widespread in its influence. If this was so, it is remarkable that the fonts from Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor should be of the smaller square type, often made out of single blocks of stone, while the larger fonts, modelled on the analogy of the public baths, are found at Rome, Ravenna, and in the later churches of Africa built at the time of the Byzantine domination. Of course, even in these later fonts submersion would be at best awkward, and in most cases impossible.

Since baptism by affusion would seem to have been the universal practice in the early Church, its mention in the *Didache*, or rather the mention of the sufficiency of water poured on the head alone, of course throws no light on the question of its date.

CLEMENT F. ROGERS.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF BARTHOLOMEW.

CONSIDERING the number of monographs on proper names which have appeared within the last ten years or so, one naturally expects to find fresh light on the etymology of Bartholomew in the latest standard Bible Dictionaries. It is hard to understand why only the robber chief *Θολομαῖος* (Joseph. *Ant.* XX i 1) is still cited as an example of the name, when it occurs four times besides in the same author as borne by honest men (XIV viii 1, xv 6, *Bel. Iud.* I xvi 5 *bis*); for the alternative reading *Πτολομαῖος* in all these passages is not better attested than *Θολομαῖος* and is probably due to its greater fame in Hellenic history (see B. Niese's critical text, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*).

The name *ܡܠܬܐ* occurs in three Nabatean inscriptions (Lidzbarski *Handbuch der nordsemit. Epigraphik* p. 386) and the radical letters *ܡܠܬܐ* in the Assyrian compound name *Nabūtālīme* (Delitzsch *Assyr. Handwört.* p. 707). Whatever lexical obscurities may still be left in the language of the Samaritan Targum, it is certain that *ܡܠܬܐ*, fem. *ܡܠܬܐܐ*, is there used sixty-three times to translate the Hebrew *חָמִשׁ* and *חֵמֶשׁ* in cases where the original means half-brother, half-sister, fellow man, clansman, or fellow citizen (Gen. iv 2, 8-11, 21; ix 5; xvi 12; xvii 7; xx 5, 13, &c.). The word has been variously explained. Castello equates it with *ἀδελφός*, because *ܡ* and *ܬ* and *ܠ* and *ܐ* are homorganic; S. Kohn identifies it with Heb. *ܡܠܬܐ*, *furrow*, which the Samaritan uses in

a figurative sense, i. e. the seed in the same human body is like grains in one furrow (*Samaritanische Studien* p. 55, note 4); Petermann, in the Vocabulary of his *Grammatica Samaritana*, translates it *frater uterinus*, a sense which, as the above passages shew, is not comprehensive enough. As far as is at present known, the word occurs only once in the Jonathan and Jerusalem Targums Gen. xlix 5, רמלן in the former, רמלן in the latter, which J. Levy compares with τολμηρός , τολμηρός (*Chaldäisches Wörterb.*); but the Samaritan use of the word suggests that the Jewish paraphrasts wish to convey the meaning that Simeon and Levi are uterine brothers.

All these etymological conjectures, however, are untenable in face of the fact that in Assyrian *talimu* means 'twin', primarily used as an adjective in combination with *aḫu* to designate a *twin brother*, but also having this sense when standing alone (Delitzsch, l. c.). It would seem, then, that the Samaritans gave a wider meaning to a word which they had brought with them from their Assyrian home.

If, then, etymology justifies the assumption that Bartholomew was a Samaritan, and the reasons generally given for identifying him with Nathanael be accepted, the unique phrase in the Gospels, *Behold, an Israelite indeed* (John i 47), may have a new meaning for us. Our Lord tells the disciples that though the Jews denied the Samaritans the right to call themselves Israelites, He knows that Nathanael is one spiritually. Equally significant is the structure of the sentence $\delta\upsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \nu\acute{o}\mu\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\phi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ (i 45). We may infer from it that Philip being a Samaritan at first named the Pentateuch only, but corrected himself when he remembered that he was Christ's disciple, and therefore accepted the Jewish canon of Scripture.

It could hardly be contended that Samaritans would not reside in Galilee; one might as well ask how the illustrious Judaeans, the Virgin Mary and Joseph, came to live in Galilee, or how our Lord who was born in Bethlehem could rightly be called a Galilean, or how a Samaritan should happen to be between Jericho and Jerusalem. We also know that the fertility and productiveness of Galilee and its great fishing industry, both for home consumption and for export, attracted several nationalities (Josephus *B. I.* III iii 2, *Encyc. Bib.* sub voc. *Fish*). As veterans the Samaritans could settle anywhere in Palestine. They served in Apollonius' army in the Maccabean period (1 Mac. iii 10); by their help Herod recovered Jerusalem from the Parthians and the Jewish patriots, and, as king, found more love and fidelity in Samaria than among the people of Israel (Mommsen *Hist. Rom., The Provinces* pt. ii pp. 178, 181, English translation). When Palestine became a Roman province, the garrison stationed at Caesarea consisted mostly of Samaritans and Syrian Greeks (*ib.* p. 186). Pilate was superseded

by Vitellius because he illtreated the Samaritans, the loyal allies of Rome (Hausrath *Hist. New Test. Times* ii p. 9 f, English translation). It is not likely that Herod, his successors, or Rome would interfere with the commercial interests of Samaritans because the Jews hated them.

N. HERZ.

'PONTIUS PILATE' IN THE CREED.

IN 1893 I dictated a note to my pupils in a course of lectures on the Creeds, which I ask permission to reproduce.

'... Rufinus (*in symb. ap.* 16) and Augustine (*de fide et symb.* 11) assert that the name of Pontius Pilate was intended to fix (approximately) the date of the Crucifixion. If this be true, it shews that the original tradition, which formed the base of the Creed, was drawn up very early in Syria, where the name of the Procurator would be used more naturally than that of the Emperor to date an event. Thus the name of Pilate locates the Creed as well as dates the Crucifixion, for the name of the local Roman Governor would be of interest only in the district where he had jurisdiction.'

I did not embody this note in my *Oecumenical Documents*, in 1899, because at the time I was rather enamoured of Zahn's theory that the mention of Pilate was intended to guard against a possible heathen perversion of a historic reality into a mere moral myth. But I was delighted to find, from Dr Sanday's article in the *J. T. S.* iii 20 (Oct. 1901), that the same conclusion had been reached by Marian Morawski in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 1895. It is true that Dr Sanday hesitates to accept this view. But a longer residence in the 'provinces' has only confirmed me in my opinion. Our Colonists always and most naturally date events by the names of their local governors. Thus the hurricane that struck Barbados in 1898 will always be referred to as having occurred in the time of Sir James Hay; and in St Vincent the recent eruptions of the Soufrière will be remembered as happening under the administratorship of Mr Cameron and the governorship of Sir Robert Llewellyn. The name of the reigning sovereign, Queen Victoria or King Edward, would not convey a date half so accurately. Yet, after all, it is probably not so much a matter of date as of inseparable association of an event with a person who was prominently concerned with it. Dr Sanday admits that

it is probable enough that the phrase, which had become a standing formula, assumed this character in Palestine. I would venture to go further, and say that before St Paul set out on his first missionary journey in A. D. 46, there was already a Baptismal Confession more or less definitely formulated in Syria, which St Paul carried with him and taught to his converts at their Baptism.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

THE ORIGEN-CITATIONS IN CRAMER'S CATENA ON I CORINTHIANS.

It has long been recognized that the text of many portions of Cramer's *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum* leaves much to be desired. Since his first volume was published in 1838 large additions have been made to our knowledge of the Catenae themselves; but even where we have still to depend in great measure upon the MSS which Cramer used much can often be done to improve the text, since unfortunately in several cases he did not make his own collations. In the Introduction to his sixth volume (Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess.) he himself expresses a fear that the 'scriba Parisiensis' whom he employed has not always truly represented the reading of the MS (Paris Cois. gr. 204) used for those Epistles. That his suspicion was justified was abundantly shewn by the new edition of Origen's commentary on Ephesians based upon that MS by the Rev. J. A. F. Gregg, and published in this JOURNAL¹.

During a recent visit to the Paris Library the present writer examined the MS upon which the Catena on 1 Corinthians is based with special reference to the Origen-citations. The MS (Paris, grec 227) contains Only the Catena upon this Epistle, and is in excellent preservation. It consists of 213 leaves, of which the last seven are in a different but contemporary hand, and is rightly assigned to the sixteenth century. The spelling is very bad, but the writing is clear and contains no abbreviations of unusual difficulty. The *lemmata* are quite plainly distinguished from the commentary, the several portions of which are each invariably introduced by the name of the author from whom they

¹ *J. T. S.* January-July, 1902.

are taken. These names are written either in full or in a more or less contracted form, the two commonest abbreviations being those for the names of Origen and John Chrysostom. The former appears either as *ὀριγενου*, *ὀριγεν*, *ὀριγ^ε*, *ὀριγ^ς*, or very often in the form of a small *ω* from the centre of which rises a capital *Γ* surmounted almost invariably by a small *ε*: the upright stroke of the *Γ* has a semicircular loop on the right-hand side to represent the *ρ*. The *ε* never appears in Cramer's representation of the sign. The name of Chrysostom is represented either by *Ἰωάννου* or far more frequently by a long vertical stroke surmounted, but never touched, by a small *ω*. It never has the form of contraction printed in Cramer, and there is never the slightest doubt which of the two names was intended by the scribe.

A short examination sufficed to shew that the divergence of Cramer's text from the MS is constant and serious, and for reasons which will appear it is not improbable that the 'scriba Parisiensis' who is responsible for the blunders in the Ephesians essayed his 'prentice hand upon 1 Corinthians, which appeared in Cramer's fifth volume. That volume contains more than eighty quotations nominally from Origen, and more than 150 from Chrysostom. The first 'Origen' extracts given are the two which are printed on p. 7, lines 1 ff, 9 ff¹. But in the MS the first is assigned by its symbol to John (Chrysostom), the second to Origen. Between this page and p. 21, line 14, where the name *Ἰωάννου* is first written in full, every one of the five extracts (pp. 9, 1 ff; 10, 25 ff; 13, 17 ff; 15, 33 ff; 19, 14 ff) prefixed in the MS by the symbol for John is assigned by the transcriber in Cramer to Origen. Further, between p. 21, 14 and p. 38, 11 where the name *Ἰωάννου* is next written in full, no passage is ascribed in Cramer to Chrysostom, since the transcriber, apparently not yet understanding the meaning of the symbol, has transferred the seven intermediate passages to which it is prefixed in the MS (pp. 22, 17 ff; 24, 33 ff; 26, 1 ff; 30, 7 ff (and hence 18 ff); 34, 25 ff; 35, 34 ff) again to Origen. At p. 39, 29 the symbol is for the first time interpreted rightly, although the next two passages in which it occurs (pp. 42, 12 ff; 48, 22 ff) are again assigned to Origen. From p. 50, 10 onwards the sign where it occurs is correctly understood, though at p. 82, 20 and in several subsequent passages the transcriber seems to have hesitated, for he gives (inaccurately) the form of the sign at the foot of the page. It is possible that the true interpretation was suggested to him in turning over the leaves of the MS by the fact that in two passages (Cramer pp. 133, 27; 273, 4) the scribe has written the

¹ Except where otherwise stated the references which follow are all to Cramer's pages.

vertical stroke surmounted by the ω , but altering his mind has crossed out the ω and written 'Ιωάννου in full¹.

We have thus no less than fifteen passages assigned in the MS to Chrysostom, but in Cramer to Origen². The suggestion that the attribution might possibly be justified by internal evidence is disposed of by the fact that, with the exception of the two extracts on p. 30, the writer has traced all of them to their proper context in the printed text of Chrysostom's Homilies on 1 Corinthians³. The loss of fifteen Origen citations is of course a serious one since, as is shewn by the list of passages given below, there are already grave lacunae. The passages which remain contain comments upon the following portions of the Epistle:—i Cor. i 2 b, 4-8, 9, 10, 17 (*bis*), 18, 19, 20-21, 26-29; ii 4-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-15; iii 1-3, 4, 6, 9-13, 15, 16-20, 21-22; iv 1-4, 5, 6-7, 8, 9-10, 15-18, 19-20, 21; v 1-2, 3, 5, 7-8, 9-13; vi 3, 4-10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19-20; vii 1-4, 5-7, 8-11, 12-14, 18-20, 21-24, 25-28; ix 7, 10-11, 16-17, 19-22, 23, 24; x 1-5, 6; xii 3, 28-29; xiii 1-2, 3, 4-5, 8-11, 12; xiv 31, 34-36, 37-38; xv 2, 20-22, 36-37; xvi 10-12, 13-14.

Unfortunately the transcriber's inaccuracy is not confined to the names of authors, but extends to the text. He was inadequately equipped for his task, and a student of Greek palaeography will readily recognize the cause of the following blunders taken from a host of others: Cramer p. 7, 6 κοινών 'Cod'] κοινὸς ὢν Π⁴; 7, 9 προκεῖσθαι 'Cod'] προκεῖσθαι Π; 32, 18 κατορθωσόμενον] κατορθώσομεν Π; 51, 10 ὑπὸ δὲ ἑτέρον 'Cod'] ὑποδεεστέρων Π; 79, 19 ἐναγκράσει 'Cod'] ἐνσυγκρίσει Π; 129, 2 ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτέρους 'Cod'] ὑποδεεστέρους Π; 137, 19 λέξεις] δόξει Π. In fact in a very large number of cases where the reading of the MS is definitely cited at the foot of the page that citation is wrong. On p. 266, 4, not understanding the contraction of λύσις (in opposition to ἀντίθεσις), the transcriber has omitted it altogether. On p. 183, 8, having observed that the scribe has usually represented the ordinary

¹ On p. 151, 26, the transcriber has done Chrysostom a still further injustice by assigning without comment a passage prefixed by his symbol to Oecumenius—no doubt through sheer carelessness. The extract on p. 343, 17 ff to which no name is attached in Cramer is also assigned by the MS to Chrysostom.

² P. 255, 27 ff is marked in the MS as a separate extract, but since like the preceding it is assigned to Origen this is of less importance.

³ It follows therefore that the references in Tischendorf *Novum Testamentum* (ed. viii, major) on i 17 to p. 35, on i 25 to p. 26, on ii 1 to pp. 34, 35, on ii 2 to p. 35 (*ter*), on ii 9 to p. 42 (where a long extract is given), on ii 15 to p. 48 of Cramer's Catena on 1 Cor. can no longer be cited as evidence for the reading of Origen in those passages.

⁴ This symbol is used to denote the true MS reading, transcribed without contractions.

contraction for *καί*, found no doubt in the exemplar, by *κί* and finding the word *σαρκί* divided at the end of a line (*σαρ||κί*) he has ingenuously transcribed it as *σαρ καί*, which is nonsense.

If the Paris MS were an independent authority a careful re-collation of the whole of it would be imperatively necessary: but in view of the fact that it is in all probability a direct descendant of the Vatican Catena, Vat. gr. 762, not known to Cramer, this larger undertaking, which the writer has only carried out so far as Origen is concerned, is for the present superfluous. It is to be hoped that an examination of this Vatican Catena together with such additional information as may be gleaned from further discoveries of Catena MSS or fragments may help to throw some light upon the question—at present, as Professor Harnack confesses¹, an obscure one—as to the character of the work from which the citations on 1 Corinthians are taken.

CLAUDE JENKINS.

THE ΑΣΙΤΙΑ ON ST PAUL'S VOYAGE.

ACTS XXVII.

FOR fourteen days the Alexandrine ship, into which the centurion had transferred his soldiers and prisoners at Myra, was driven by an ENE. gale from Crete to Malta. With regard to the food supply and the condition of those on board, we are told (v. 21) πολλῆς ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης (A. V. 'after long abstinence': R. V. 'when they had been long without food': Vulg. 'cum multa ieiunatio fuisset': Douay Version 'after they had fasted a long time'). Although this expression occurs after an allusion to the 'third day' of the storm and 'more days', the participle implies that this ἀσιτία had already been in existence. In consequence of it St Paul endeavours to keep up their spirits (εὐθυμεῖτε). On the night before the actual wreck, he again addresses them, saying that it was the fourteenth day προσδοκῶντες ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε (A. V. 'ye have tarried and continued fasting': R. V. 'ye wait and continue fasting': Vulg. 'expectantes ieiuni permanetis': D. V. 'ye expect and remain fasting'). In connexion with this state of things the following additional expressions occur—μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, μηδὲν προσλαβόμενοι . . . (v. 33) προσλαβεῖν τροφῆς (v. 34); λαβὼν ἄρτον (v. 35); εὐθυμοί . . . προσελάβοντο τροφῆς (v. 36); κορεσθέντες τροφῆς, ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν σῖτον (v. 38). Let

¹ Harnack *Die Chronologie der altchristl. Litteratur* ii, 1904, p. 46 note 1.

it be noted also that the ordinary word for 'fasting', viz. *νηστεία*, is used of the Jewish autumnal fast in v. 9, as also of 'fasting' in all the other places in the N. T.; and that *ἀστία* and *ἀστικοί* occur in this passage only. Moreover a Jewish fast did not imply eating nothing at all during the day, but nothing until the evening, when a full meal was taken; so that no notable weakness, much less any loss of heart, would ordinarily be the result.

The Greek word *σῖτος* has of course two general meanings, the first being 'grain', i. e. wheat and barley either in a raw state, or as 'bread'; and the second being 'food' of any kind. The compound *ἀστία* has according to Liddell and Scott first the meaning of 'absence of food', and secondly the medical meaning of 'loss of appetite'. Hobart (*Medical Language of St Luke* p. 276) allows the A. V. translation, as above quoted, to stand as if representing its only meaning; but two of his quotations at least distinctly point to 'loss of appetite from illness'; viz. *τήκεται ὁ ἀσθενῶν ἐπὶ ὀδυνῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ ἀστίης καὶ βηχός*, where the 'pains' and 'cough' decide the meaning of the intermediate word (Hipp. *Morb.* 454): and *καὶ κῶμα παρείπετο, ἀστικός, ἄθυμος, ἀγυπνός* (Hipp. *Epid.* 1096), where voluntary abstinence can scarcely be meant. At least two other compounds of *σῖτος* retain the primary meaning of 'wheat', viz. *καλίσσιτος* used in describing countries growing much grain (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 2. 16: *Vect.* 5. 3: Strabo 751, Liddell and Scott); and *εὐσίτος* to which Liddell and Scott give 'with good wheat' (*Schol. Theocr.* 7. 34) as a second meaning, and 'with good appetite' as a first. Whether *ἀστικός* was used colloquially by sailors and others in the Mediterranean basin at this time in the sense of 'without wheat or bread' cannot as yet be absolutely decided, for Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's Papyri give no instance so far as they have been examined.

As to the meaning in the context, the *Exp. Gr. Test.* quotes a few Comm. in favour of a 'disinclination for food' from anxiety, but the majority seem to treat the meaning of 'abstinence from all kinds of food' as the only one possible. At the same time they one and all take it for granted, that some food must have been taken, which substantially gives away this meaning. Smith (*Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul* p. 114) suggests the impossibility of cooking as the most probable cause of this abstinence. A religious motive has also been suggested, viz. the desire on the part of those on board to avert the wrath of heaven by a penitential act, as the people of Nineveh did in Jonah's time. If 'abstinence from all food' were the only available meaning, it is more likely that the necessity of battenning down the hatchways, lest the waves should in washing over the deck get down to the wheat and swell it, and burst open the ship, was the reason. However, St Luke was a physician, and nearly all the circumstances

recorded and the words used point the use of the word in question in the medical sense of 'loss of appetite from illness', which in this case would of course be sea-sickness. As the reasons for adopting this latter meaning at the same time render the former one improbable, it will be best to deal with them both together.

There is a moral certainty that the ship was one of the fleet of corn ships plying between Alexandria and Rome under certain imperial regulations. The same wind, which drove the Adramyttian ship, in which the centurion and his company sailed from Caesarea round the east cape of Cyprus, would have forced the ship from Alexandria to make for Myra on a larboard tack seven points from the wind. Again, when hesitating about wintering at Fair Havens in Crete, it is the centurion who is represented as ultimately deciding the question (v. 11), and not the owner. Anyhow there was plenty of wheat on board, for the very last act before cutting loose their anchors on the Maltese coast was to throw overboard 'the wheat' (τὸν σῖτον, v. 38). Moreover on the last night there was either bread or the means of baking it, for St Paul took 'bread' (ἄρτον). Again, bread is the usual form in which wheat is eaten; yet any traveller in uncivilized countries will testify that most satisfying meals can be made by simply chewing whole grain. Lastly, a few exceptionally constituted men might last out a fourteen days' abstinence from food, yet a chance collection of sailors, soldiers, and passengers would not be able to do so, as a matter of fact: much less would they be able to make a heavy satisfying meal (v. 38) after so long a fast. They had then plenty of food on board, and could have eaten it if they wished and could get access to it.

On the other hand there is evidence to shew that the motion of the ship was a specially trying one. On leaving Clauda we are given to understand that, if they had allowed themselves to drift in a line with the wind, they would have been cast on the African quicksands. Hence they took measures to work up northwards of the direct line of the wind, about three points, as Smith reckons and the position of Clauda and Malta shews. The wind was known as the Euroclydon, or the wind that causes 'wide waves', if we take the reading of the Text. Rec. as a corrupt, or the sailors', form of Εὐρυκλύδων. (Between the Cape of Good Hope and Tasmania are what are called the Roaring Forties, i.e. a stretch of sea in lat. 40° S., where huge 'wide waves', caused by the monsoons up north, in certain months cross the ships' course continuously.) Whether this be the true reading or not, a ship driven in a line with the wind merely pitches and tosses; but if she works out of the direct line she gets a peculiarly trying screwing motion over and above the pitching motion. There is, therefore, ample reason for surmising that most of those on board suffered from ordinary sea-

sickness and its mental effects. Usually this illness passes off in three days or so, but considering the size of the ship, viz. about 500 tons, as is usually reckoned, and the violence of the gale (vv. 14-20), and the difficulty at all events of getting appetizing food, the usual 'loss of appetite' and general collapse may well have lasted in most cases all the fourteen days. If this hypothesis is correct, a certain amount of nourishment would have been regularly taken, but not much; and the physical weakness and misery and despondency of mind would have been at the end very pronounced. There is no reason, however, to suppose, that every one was thus suffering: St Paul and St Luke appear to have been quite well; and the sailors must have constantly been able to attend to the ship day and night to keep her in her course, as is clear also from the quickness with which they discerned the approach of land and took the necessary measures against being wrecked in the darkness of the night. The word *πολλῆς* also may be pressed to mean that this *ἀσπερία*, while general, was not universal.

St Paul's words also point to this same meaning. Sometime after the third day he tries to cheer them up by narrating his vision. This is of course the very thing done nowadays by friends, who are well, to those who are ill, in order to check the disposition to give way to despondency. The use of the word *προσδοκῶντες*, some days after, points to the additional despondency, which must have supervened in consequence of the delay in the fulfilment of St Paul's prophecy. Then he had to urge them to take more to eat than they had been in the habit of taking. Three times is the prep. *πρός* used (T.R.), as if intended to denote the necessity of taking something in addition to the small amount theretofore taken, that they might be strong enough to endure the coming struggle in landing. Again it is stated that they did make the effort to throw off their languor, for they became *εὐθυμοί*, and thereon they were able to make a hearty meal (*κορεσθέντες*, v. 38).

Words of encouragement alone, however, would scarcely have so completely attained the Apostle's object, had he not been aided by external circumstances. First of all, the ship riding at anchor in the bay would have pitched only, and have been freed from the screwing motion above alluded to. Then there are definite reasons for believing that the storm had spent its strength. (i) The sailors saw that they could again at last launch their small boat, which they had with such difficulty got on board fourteen days before (vv. 16, 30). (ii) The wind is described as *πνεύση* (v. 40), i. e. as a breeze, and no longer as a gale. (iii) On landing there was heavy rain, which generally holds off in a violent gale owing to the homogeneousness of the atmosphere due to the agitation of the air, but falls on the fall of the wind. Another reason is suggested below. The fact that on running aground the stern

of the ship was broken up is no proof to the contrary, for long after a continuous gale it takes many hours and even days for the long heavy rollers completely to cease.

We may sum up these considerations then briefly thus. In favour of the medical meaning of 'loss of appetite from illness' for *ἀσντία* is the acknowledged preference of St Luke for using medical terms, especially in cases of illness; the excessively trying motion of the ship even for fairly good sailors; the course taken by St Paul and the expressions he uses; and the result of the partial removal of the cause of the illness on the last night.

There is, however, one point which still awaits a full and satisfactory explanation, and that is why the Apostle did not urge those on board to take a good meal when he addressed them on the first occasion (vv. 21-26), but confined himself to words of encouragement only. Even if *ἀσντος* cannot bear the meaning of 'without farinaceous food', yet one great cause of the want of appetite may have been the inability to get access to the store of wheat and bread or biscuits below deck. To this day in those parts the sailors and working classes live chiefly on (i) onions, leeks, figs, dried grapes, and such like; (ii) wheat and barley bread. Salt and sun-dried fish, as also occasionally flesh meat, are added as accessories, rather than as a substantial part of a meal. There do not seem to have been any very elaborate arrangements for boarding passengers in common in those days; and probably those on board each had with him a supply at least of the first-named kinds of food. When leaving Fair Havens with a gentle south wind the little boat was out, and the hatches were doubtless open to air the wheat below: for it seemed only a pleasant run of some six hours, and they would be safe for the winter in the excellent harbour of Phoenix. When the storm came down upon them and the waves began to break over the bulwarks, the first step to take would be to shut down the hatchways. If the water got in torrents into the wheat, it would swell and burst open the sides of the ship in spite of the undergirding ropes.

On leaving Claudia not only would there have been pooping seas washing over the deck, but also a certain amount of water over the bulwarks, for the course implies that the ship was slightly sideways to the wind. It is true that it is stated that there was an *ἐκβολή* on the second day, but it is quite possible that what was thrown overboard was wares on deck, for later on it is particularly stated that they threw over 'the wheat', in contrast it may be to what they had previously thrown overboard. It may well be that they did not dare to open the hatchways after once the gale had got the ship into its clutches (*συναρπασθέντος*, v. 15). Hence they had to live on what they happened to have on deck. A medical man told the writer that in his opinion an

ordinary passenger could keep alive for fourteen days on fruit and vegetable fare but that he would be very weak, unless it was supplemented with farinaceous food. Hence as long as the wheat could not be got at, it was no use for St Paul to invite the people to take a solid meal; but on the last night, when there are reasons for thinking that the wind had lulled, and the waves were no longer breaking over the deck, and the hatches could be opened, then he could encourage them to make a good meal, represented by the word τροφή. They had access to wheat and bread. There is about 90 per cent. of water in fresh fruit and vegetables, and about 75 per cent. of solid matter in dry bread; and consequently a very satisfactory meaning is given to the words κορεσθέντες τροφῆς (v. 38). If this hypothesis will hold good, it would seem that every difficulty is cleared up, as far as the condition and health of those on board are concerned. There are one or two difficulties with regard to the navigation, which it will be best to deal with separately.

PS. The Rev. Dr Moulton has been so kind as to hunt out an instance of ἀστέω, meaning 'abstinence from food owing to illness' in the Egyptian Papyri, Kenyon's edition, No. 144, a first-century letter.

J. R. MADAN.

MARK THE 'CURT-FINGERED' EVANGELIST.

IN a paper on 'The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels', printed in this JOURNAL (v 330 ff), Mr Burkitt has called special attention to the causes leading to the very subordinate place once occupied by Mark's Gospel, as compared with the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. With his general position that this was due largely to 'the frankly biographical element' predominating in it over the formally didactic element, which is so marked a feature of Matthew in particular, I fully concur. But when he proceeds to explain how it was that, in spite of this drawback to the general acceptance and appreciation of the more purely historical Gospel, it did actually win its way at length to equal honour with its fuller and more didactic fellows, I cannot but think that he overlooks the most important factor of all, viz. the sheer weight of a strong and definite historical tradition connecting that Gospel with the witness of an apostle, to wit Peter. It was not 'an ethical instinct' or 'a historical instinct'; for, as Mr Burkitt points out, the Church at large was not much alive to the historic interest of 'the story of the ministry', while it preferred the explicit ethics embodied in sayings

to the ethical ideal implicit in the concrete Life. It was something else which turned the scale in favour of Mark's narrative, when it became a question of its being coordinated in honour with the other members of the Quaternity of canonical Gospels. The matter is one of considerable interest and importance, and will bear looking into a little, especially as it may lead us to a proper understanding of the strange tradition that Mark the Evangelist was ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος, an epithet variously explained in the Latin prefaces to his Gospel.

We observe, then, that down to the time of Papias' apologetic reference, as we may fairly style it, there is no trace of Mark's Gospel—beyond its early use in Matthew¹ and Luke—outside the Roman Church. There the signs of its presence in Clement's Epistle are disputable, but hardly so the evidence afforded by Hermas (see Swete's *St Mark*, xxiv f). And more interesting still, Justin Martyr, our first explicit witness, and writing probably in Rome, refers to it under the description 'memoirs of Peter' (*Dial.* 106, cf. 88). This shews the light in which the Roman Church regarded a Gospel which early and seemingly trustworthy tradition tells us was compiled by its author specially in response to a local demand in Rome. It also explains, at one and the same time, two facts tending in different directions, namely, the gradualness with which this narrative took its place as a canonical Gospel, and the firmness of its hold on that place, once it had gained it. 'Peter's Memoirs' might not at once be regarded exactly as a Gospel of the type created by Matthew, and to which Luke fairly readily conformed; but once it was classed with these at all, it was bound to occupy its place of honour without dispute, as being virtually the oral Gospel of the great apostle Peter (as Luke was believed to be that of the great apostle Paul). Yet we have evidence that it had to overcome no little prejudice in passing from its original position as the local Gospel book of the Roman Church, to the canonical position of general use throughout the churches of the Empire. When exactly it began to attain wider circulation, such as is involved in Papias' reference to it, is uncertain. If Mr Burkitt's view be correct, that the phenomena of the lost ending point to a time when 'no more than a single mutilated copy was in existence, or at least available' for copying—at the request, it may be, of foreign churches—then it is natural to suppose that it was not earlier than the end of the first century (when the end of the unique copy in the archives of the Roman Church had already perished by frequent use). But in any case, when it

¹ The author of our Matthew may have used Mark's own copy. This Mark would naturally carry back with him to the East, whither he probably returned some time before his death. Luke would have access to the work in Rome, where his Gospel, as well as Acts, was most likely written.

reached Asia Minor it probably found the Matthew Gospel firmly entrenched in general use and regard.

Compared with the full and comprehensive contents of such a Gospel, especially as regards Christ's sayings, Mark's brief and less artificially symmetrical narrative, would naturally awaken a good deal of criticism as an unsatisfying and, as it were, curtailed account of the Lord's words and ministry. To meet this feeling, Papias seems to have inserted (in his preface?) the history of its origin as derived from 'the Elder' whose traditions he largely relies on. That history tended to establish the authentic nature and value of Mark's narrative as far as it goes, on the ground that it was a faithful account of what Peter had actually taught in his hearing, in the course of his practical ministry of the Word. Thus Papias seems to have silenced objection in Asia, where the missing ending soon found a substitute in the present 'longer ending'.

Our next witness to the regretful feeling with which Mark's 'meagre' contents, as they were thought, were regarded even by those who accepted it for the sake of its apostolic origin, comes from Rome itself. Hippolytus, in arguing against Marcion's dualism, writes (*Philos.* vii 30) as follows: 'Whenever, then, Marcion or any one of his dogs barks against the Demiurge, putting forward the doctrines springing from the contraposition of Good and Evil, one must say to them that neither Paul the Apostle nor Mark ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος reported such doctrines—for none of these things are written in the Gospel according to Mark—but Empedocles of Agrigentum.'

As to the conjunction of Mark with Paul as an authority which even a Marcionite must accept as conclusive, the note in the edition of Duncker and Schneidewin is almost certainly right. 'Videtur autem Hippolytus hac appellatione [ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος] ideo usus esse, ut simul alluderet ad mutilatum quo Marcion uteretur evangelium, quod, cum Lucae esset, Hippolytus prave Marco adscribebat. Idem, cum Paulum Marco consociet, Marcionem Novi Foederis canonem complectitur universum.' But even so, it does not seem to have occurred to Duncker, to whom we owe the note, to question the literal meaning of the epithet altogether; he simply treats the metaphorical allusion to the 'curtailed', or more exactly 'curt-fingered', character of Mark's Gospel, as secondary (*ut simul alluderet*). Yet surely, when we reflect on it for a moment, Hippolytus cannot have meant in such a solemn, argumentative context to introduce suddenly and without explanation a reference to 'a personal peculiarity which had impressed itself on the memory of the Roman Church' (Swete, *op. cit.* p. xxii). The very persistence of such a detail in the local tradition down to Hippolytus' day is not very likely; nor would it in any case be introduced in this

passing way into a treatise meant also for circulation beyond Rome. Surely the term is meant in a self-explanatory sense, obvious to all who knew Mark's Gospel, transferring to the Evangelist himself an epithet proper to his work, which seemed but a 'curtailed' account of Christ's ministry, when compared with the fuller Matthew and Luke—curtailed especially at the extremities, the beginning and the end. That this is the true view is further shewn by the divergent stories found in different prefaces to the Vulgate, as to the exact sense in which Mark was literally 'curt-fingered'. Such divergence betrays their nature as glosses upon the simple epithet, the ultimate origin of which may well be the passage in Hippolytus. Thus I think we may bid good-bye to these stories as to Mark's physical peculiarity, while we gain instead fresh evidence as to how hard a fight Mark's Gospel had to wage with religious *praejudicia*. At the same time we are made to realize afresh the strength of the historical tradition which carried it to victory, and the deference paid by the Church of the second century to genuine tradition, even when not quite in a line with its current notions. Mr Burkitt speaks of 'the fine instinct—may we not say *inspiration*?—which prompted the inclusion of the Gospel according to St Mark among the books of the New Testament'. I would rather speak of the fine loyalty to a genuine tradition, and to an apostle's witness, even where its full value and significance were but dimly appreciated.

VERNON BARTLET.

REVIEWS

Acta Pauli, aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1, herausgegeben von CARL SCHMIDT. Pp. viii + 240 + 80, nebst Tafelband. (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1904.)

It is seven years since the announcement was first made that the University of Heidelberg had become the owner of an important Coptic papyrus containing the *Acts of Paul*. News of the discovery of the MS in Egypt had reached London some time before and it is somewhat disheartening to reflect that, were it not that they 'manage these things better in Germany', an English library might now be in possession of what must rank as one of the most interesting of the theological texts recovered within recent years. That more detailed information and the promised edition of the text should have been so slow in appearing will be readily understood and condoned by any one who examines the photographic plates wherein the remnants of a once splendid volume are here reproduced. But one leaf has been preserved in anything approaching completeness (Taf. 21, 22); the majority of the eighty plates shew the results of months of labour, the strain of which is only to be fully realized by those who, like Dr Schmidt, have had to undertake 'joinery' of a similar kind. Some 2000 fragments, many of them of less than an inch in surface, had to be dealt with and, if possible, pieced together and assigned their proper positions. Further study of the text may suggest some rearrangement in the sequence of the disconnected fragments, and a revision of the translation or of the suggested completions of the countless *lacunae*; but what Dr Schmidt has already accomplished will merit the congratulations of all who can appreciate his ingenuity and patience.

The MS dates, in the editor's opinion, from the sixth century or earlier—formerly he inclined to place it a century later. This is a question upon which avowedly no final judgement is at present possible. The uncials in which the text is written shew some peculiarities for which it is difficult to find a parallel. The suggested date can therefore, so far as based on palaeographical grounds, be accepted provisionally. The Coptic dialect which it exhibits is an argument for placing the papyrus (or the original whence it was copied) in a relatively

early period; for it appears to belong to a transitory stage in that development passed through by the ancient idiom of Achmīm on its way to become the dominant classical language of Sa'idic literature. Its phonetic characteristics appear to me to place it in relation to the jargon of the Theban private and legal documents of the seventh and eighth centuries, while it also has points of contact with the similar texts from a more northern district (Hermopolis). Both these groups seem to exemplify a somewhat further stage in a similar evolution.

The final subscription closing the text sufficiently proclaims its contents, though doubts may arise as to the editor's proposed completion of the damaged words (the photograph here, Taf. 58, is among the least successful). The Acts of Paul once held an honourable place among the extracanonical books of the New Testament. Origen, Hippolytus, and Eusebius cite or refer to them with respect; ancient catalogues of Scripture contain them. The Syrian (and so the Armenian) Church appears actually to have received them as canonical, down, at any rate, to the time of Ephraim. Their literary history need not, however, be recapitulated; the importance of Dr Schmidt's publication lies elsewhere. The recovery of this venerable Coptic text has been the means of giving an unlooked-for solution to at least two much discussed problems. For its continuous narrative—the editor successfully demonstrates its unity, in spite of lengthy gaps—embraces not merely the Acts, the story of the Apostle's journeys and adventures, amplified and distorted from the canonical narrative; but it gives, as integral parts of these, the incident hitherto known independently as the 'Acts of Paul and Thecla', then the apocryphal correspondence of Paul with the Corinthian Church, which Zahn (and before him, Lacroze) had guessed to belong to some such narrative; and finally the apostle's Martyrdom, likewise regarded previously as an independent work.

To account for the subsequent disappearance of the Acts as a whole, Dr Schmidt has recourse to the theory which he has already defended in discussing the ancient and eventually superseded versions of other books of the same class (*Die alten Petrusakten*, 1903)¹. He supposes the original forms of such works to have early fallen into disrepute in catholic circles owing to their adoption into the rival canon of the Manichaeans. Favoured by heretics, they could no longer be countenanced in the orthodox communities where they had originated; and hence a revised version was required, from which in time particular incidents were extracted, to be thenceforth employed by the Church in her menology. To this revision, then, we should owe the various secondary forms in which, for instance, the story of Paul and Thecla

¹ *Vide* this JOURNAL vol. v pp. 295, 296.

attained such wide popularity in east and west. The ancient Coptic text, supported by the shortest of the Greek versions, alone survives, Dr Schmidt holds, to represent the original form of the work. This view of origins is in direct opposition to that of Lipsius, for whom such apocryphal Acts were originally the product of Gnostic writers—a theory to which von Dobschütz and Hilgenfeld have lent their support.

Having been able to shew that various stories in which Paul is the central figure are but extracts from these voluminous Acts, Dr Schmidt can apply the traditions as to the authorship and date of the parts to the discussion of the whole. The 'presbyter of Asia', to whom Tertullian ascribes the history of Paul and Thecla, may now be assumed to have composed the whole work. The presbyter was, we are told, speedily condemned for his misdirected zeal; nevertheless an excerpt from his work (the Corinthian letters) was for a long while able to maintain its popularity, owing, Dr Schmidt thinks, to the applicability of its arguments to the doctrinal disputes of a later age.

The date of the Acts had been variously fixed by previous scholars between 120 and 180. Dr Schmidt prefers the latest of these limits; and he suggests that 'Asia', whence the writer is assumed to have come, may, in view of several indications in the text, be further narrowed to the neighbourhood of Smyrna.

In closing, a word may be said as to the translation of the Coptic text. The translation as published was made from a lithographed reproduction of the text which it was afterwards possible to revise and indeed to replace by one in type. The emendations standing below the German rendering may therefore be ignored, as they are embodied in the revised text now printed. The reliability of Dr Schmidt's translation may best be tested in those passages where other versions offer no assistance (*e.g.* pp. 52–74), and an examination of these shews that his rendering fulfils all reasonable demands. In these portions too he has been perforce less ready to fill *lacunae* than in the pages where parallel texts have now and then tempted him to overboldness in this respect¹.

W. E. CRUM.

¹ The rare and obscure expression *sek-toolf* (p. 53 note) occurs in a homily of Chrysostom, Rossi, *Papiri* II ii 36: 'Then God caused Abraham to stay or hold his hand by a voice.' The Greek (*P. G.* 56, 593) omits this phrase. Also Paris MS 131⁸, 27 a: 'But if God stay His hand a little, forthwith we raise our hands in wrath.'

Selections from the Literature of Theism. Edited by ALFRED CALDECOTT and H. R. MACKINTOSH. (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1904.)

ONE has so often to lament the hardihood with which professed teachers of religion are content to approach and even to discuss in an authoritative manner great theological questions for dealing with which they are not qualified by any adequate first-hand acquaintance with the best that has been thought on these subjects by the many great intellects which, from the days of the Greeks downwards, have devoted themselves to such enquiries; so often again to deplore their readiness to treat as of first-rate authority on these matters some book, very often admirable in its way, by some person of distinction in their own church or school of thought, which is for the moment the fashion, but which is only made ridiculous by being elevated to a rank which would never be awarded to a work of similar standing in the world of thought outside; that it is with much satisfaction that one welcomes this selection from acknowledged masters in philosophical theology, representing a great variety of points of view, as likely to prove of the greatest educational value in the training of men who aim at being representative of religion among men of culture. While it is always true that, as the old saying has it, it is not through dialectic that God has been pleased to send salvation to His people, there is no reason to suppose that the instrument of His gracious purpose is to be sought in the reproduction at third hand of imperfectly comprehended results of past dialectic; yet such is much that passes among us as the definite teaching of revealed truth.

The authors from whom Dr Caldecott and Dr Mackintosh have made their selection are the following: St Anselm, St Thomas Aquinas, Descartes, Spinoza, John Smith (the Cambridge Platonist), Berkeley, Kant, Schleiermacher, Cousin, Comte, Mansel, Lotze, Martineau, Janet, and Ritschl. The few notes which the editors have added are for the most part excellent. It is possible to doubt whether they do not assume a more advanced philosophical training than is to be expected from those to whom this book might be of most use. It would have been better, for example, to explain (it could have been done quite briefly) on p. 50 the meaning of 'objective' and 'formal' in Descartes. Every one has not within reach the two dictionaries of philosophical terms (neither of them very satisfactory) to which reference is made; and, if they had, they would not find the accounts there given particularly clear.

It is inevitable that one should feel in respect of a selection of this sort, that, had one made it oneself, the choice would have been slightly different. Thus I should have chosen another passage from the

Kritik der Urtheilskraft; I should have added a piece from George Eliot's translation of the *Essence of Christianity* by Feuerbach, a writer who had much to do with originating a line of thought which has been prominent in recent theology; and to the importance of whom Ritschl bears witness in a passage which is included in the present selection. I should have been inclined to look out something from Pascal and something from Butler; and I should have liked to see both Carlyle and Newman recognized; while it is strange to find Hegelianism quite unrepresented. Hegel perhaps does not lend himself to selections, but, in a book intended for English readers, Green, whose influence on the higher religious thought of this country was very important during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, might well have been given a place among the writers chosen.

Some points in the notes seem to require correction. On p. 21 Dr Caldecott says: 'In determining his position Aquinas mediated between the Neo-Platonism of the pseudo-Dionysius (whose work *De Nominibus* was before him) and such Aristotelianism as was known to him.' This is misleading. The book *De Divinis Nominibus* was not the only work of 'Dionysius' before St Thomas; and the expression 'such Aristotelianism as was known to him' does not suggest that (as was the case) he knew all the principal Aristotelian writings that are known to us, and commented upon most of them. Of course both in the case of Aristotle and in that of 'Dionysius' he used only Latin versions. Would it not be truer to speak of him as mediating between the Averroistic interpretation of Aristotle and the traditional dogma of the Church?

Again, on p. 66, Dr Caldecott seems to assume on the part of Kant a knowledge of Anselm's 'ontological argument as distinct from that of Descartes'. I do not know what evidence there is for this. On p. 223 the precise meaning of *Vernunft* in Kant is perhaps insufficiently grasped. A very extraordinary mistake occurs on p. 313. Cousin is made to speak of 'that Eternal Beauty of which *Deotimus* had glimpses and which *he* thus depicts to Socrates in the Symposium'. The italics are mine; and the metamorphosis of the Mantinean Prophetess into a man is not Cousin's.

There is a misprint of 'in infinity' for 'to infinity' on p. 25; and another of 'eternal' for 'external' on p. 327.

C. C. J. WEBB.

The English Church from the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Anne.
By W. H. HUTTON. (London, Macmillan, 1903. 7s. 6d.)

MR HUTTON has written a most interesting and accurate account of the history of his period, from the point of view of one of the contending parties. It is a remarkable feat of imagination and sympathy that he should have succeeded in throwing himself into the cause of the High Churchmen of the seventeenth century, and in presenting it to us as they would have wished it presented, with much of the charm and distinction that was peculiar to them. We must thank him heartily for setting before us that side of the debate which most needs a competent advocate at the present time. But his work suffers from the inevitable disadvantages of advocacy. He would be defeating his own purpose if he were impartial. He deals out stern justice to the vices of his enemies. Archbishop Williams, for instance, is belaboured unsparingly, and the one grave moral fault of William III is mentioned thrice. Yet there are competent judges who recognize a better side to the character of Williams, and Bishop Stubbs has set an example of making allowance for the temptations of kings who offended more grievously than William III, whose misconduct was never permitted to influence his public action. It would be ungracious to bring forward the faults of partisans of the other side, which Mr Hutton has had, at any rate, the valid excuse of limited space for omitting. He writes this history, in fact, in the spirit in which Dr Johnson composed parliamentary debates; and it is characteristic that in his kindly account of the Nonjurors he is silent as to Dr Johnson's account of the morals of those divines.

But sympathy is never allowed to disturb the course of the narrative. In one point, however, Mr Hutton seems to have been slightly misled. Surely he attributes too much importance to the early successes of the Laudian party. In every generation an active minority raises funds and excites alarm which are out of proportion to its intrinsic strength. The real cause of the ultimate victory was not the work of Laud but the death of Charles. And in Mr Hutton's very instructive statement of the forces opposed to the Archbishop hardly sufficient weight seems to be given to the most formidable of all. It was less the active hostility of such men as Lord Saye and Sele than the unwilling alienation of the moderate Puritans that brought disaster to the Church. Such men as Sibbes and Goudge (if his name may be spelt as his descendants spell it to-day) were as much the normal Churchmen of that age as were the Latitudinarians in the eighteenth century.

The time has not yet come when by the co-ordination of the results of local enquiry we can hope for a comprehensive knowledge of the fortunes of the clergy under Puritan rule. But perhaps Mr Hutton might have been more precise. He speaks of the activity of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, but he does not tell us that it was formed to provide for duly ordained and beneficed clergy ejected from the counties of which the King's forces were in possession, and that though its members no doubt felt a sincere pleasure in making vacancies which their evicted friends might fill, they had on their side whatever moral advantage may lie in the adversary being the aggressor. And Mr Hutton is hardly justified in saying that 'it was made practically impossible for any Episcopalian clergyman to hold a living.' The word Episcopalian is ambiguous; if it means episcopally ordained, we must remember that the Westminster Assembly was composed of elderly beneficed clergy nominated by the Members of Parliament, and that they with all that large portion of the clergy who were in general sympathy with them were safe from interference under Puritan rule. If any sectary refused to pay their tithe, the law-courts would enforce it as strictly as they had done in the King's day. If, on the other hand, 'Episcopalian' is taken to mean an upholder of the episcopal constitution of the Church as it was before and after the Commonwealth, it is surely remarkable how many prominent Churchmen managed to gain and hold livings during this period; Fuller, South, Gauden, Lake the Nonjuror of after-days, to name but a few. And if men of this rank were numerous, we may be sure that humbler holders of the same views were still more safe. In fact, the collapse of the attempt to establish Presbyterianism removed all restrictions from a man who was at peace with his own parishioners. The Independent system was as favourable to a High Churchman as to a Congregationalist. It would be dangerous for him to use the Prayer-book, though according to a well-known anecdote he might repeat its words by heart. But if none of his own people complained to the County Committee, it was the business of no one else to interfere, and we may be sure that the exercise of ordinary tact was in many cases a sufficient protection. Mr Hutton seems also to overstate the number of ejections. He says that 'most of the clergy were ejected from their livings.' Was this so in the Eastern counties? Elsewhere, if a fairly wide induction from parishes in Wilts and Dorset may be trusted, the Puritan authorities were moved rather by secular considerations than by zeal, and the occupants of poor vicarages were often allowed to remain, though strict search was made into the malignancy of comfortable rectors. Yet even among these there were notable instances of connivance, probably due to family or social relations with the country gentlemen who formed the County Committees. But

the points of interest in this obscure period are countless, and it is ungracious to dwell upon points of difference. One more, however, may be mentioned. No attack was made under the Commonwealth, except in Wales, upon parochial endowments, though plans were drawn for division of parishes and local adjustment of incomes. Mr Hutton's language might be misunderstood to mean that the whole revenue of the Church, and not merely that of the Bishops and Cathedral and Collegiate churches, was affected by legislation.

It is superfluous to praise the literary merits of Mr Hutton's work, and especially the skill with which he marshals his facts and his judicious selection of points of local and personal interest with which to brighten his narrative. And if we are inevitably reminded that there are other sides to the story, that in itself is a thankworthy service. Not that he fails to state the problems of ecclesiastical polity with sufficient definiteness. When he impresses upon us the Erastianism of Charles I, we are forced to reflect whether any Church which is, or is attempting to become, effectively national can escape that charge.

E. W. WATSON.

Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum eius. Edidit PAUL SABATIER. (Paris, Fischbacher, 1902, 10 fr.)

THIS is the fourth volume of M. Sabatier's *Collection d'études et de documents*, and, if it is not so valuable as some of its predecessors, it is still full of interest. What is the relation of the *Actus* in the *Floretum* to the modern *Fioretti*? It is this question which M. Sabatier discusses in his lucid introduction, and his careful collation of a very large number of MSS enables us to answer it with some certainty. It is true that he is not yet able to give a critical edition which traces every statement in the *Actus* to its source; he is content with a tentative enterprise, which is, however, far in advance of what we have hitherto possessed. We have not yet got the *Actus* in their first state. But we can trace two definite sources, one enthusiastic and fresh, one much less vivid and more formal. Is the former the work of Ugolino, the author of the *Fioretti*? Are the later pages, full of miracles and conventionality, without historical value? To ask such a question, says M. Sabatier, were an unpardonable error. The work of Ugolino himself, the editor would say, has most value when it deals with matters fifty or eighty years before his own day. The Umbrian people have in their hearts the best and truest view of its value. Of the strange alliance between the Bollandist Suyskens and the rationalists M. Sabatier will have nothing favourable to say. As to date, the latest parts of the

Actus must be before 1328. There is a thorough examination of the MSS, an excellent index, and a discussion of the formation of the present text. The book is indispensable to a critical study of the 'monumenta Franciscana'.

W. H. HUTTON.

A Description of the Liturgical MSS preserved in the Libraries of the Orthodox East (Opisanie Liturgičeskich Rukopisej Chranjaščichsja v Bibliotekach Pravoslavnjago Vostoka), By ALEXANDER DMITRIEVSKIJ. 2 vols Kiev, 1895-1901. Vol. ii.

THE present review only concerns the second volume of this monumental work, relating to the *Euchologia*. The first volume, relating to *Typica*, I leave to one more familiar with that class of manuscript than myself. The two volumes are independent of each other and admit of being reviewed apart. M. Dmitrievskij, who has a chair in the Seminary at Kiev, both supplements the *Euchologion* of Goar and makes what is, since the appearance of Goar's work, the most important contribution to our knowledge of the Greek rites. With indefatigable industry he has worked through 162 codices, and prints all that is to be found in them which is not in Goar, referring his reader to the latter's work for all texts that are to be found in it. This plan has saved this volume from being three, instead of one thousand, pages in length. But the student who would use it must have Goar at his elbow.

It is a pity that Migne never saw his way to reprinting the latter in his *Patrologia Graeca*, for it is a rare and expensive book.

The student who is ignorant of Russian need not be deterred from purchasing Dmitrievskij's work; for, with the exception of the first twelve pages of preface, there is hardly any Russian text, and the brief descriptions of the codices present little difficulty to any one armed with a dictionary. A convenient index of contents drawn up in Greek is sold with the second volume, which can be procured separately.

Perhaps the best idea of the enormous value of this work is to be conveyed in a list of the codices arranged chronologically which the editor has used. I stop short of the fifteenth century in making this list.

Cent. 9-10. Sinai cod. 957.

Cent. 10. Sinai cod. 956.

Cent. 10. Sinai cod. 958.

Cent. 11-12. Athos Pantel. 162.

Cent. 11. Sinai cod. 959.

Cent. 11 and 12. Sinai codd. 962 and 961.

A.D. 1153. Sinai cod. 973.

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| Cent. 12. Sinai codd. 1040 and 963. | A. D. 1332. Athos Philotheos cod. 177. |
| Cent. 12-13. Sinai codd. 1020 and 1036, and Patmos cod. 713. | A. D. 1386. Athos Dionysius cod. 99. |
| Cent. 13. Patmos cod. 104. A. D. 1360. Patmos cod. 709. | Cent. 14. Athos Vatopédi cod. 133 (744); S. Saba, now Patriarchate of Jerusalem, cod. 362 (607); Sinai codd. 965, 994, 990, 983, 991, 981; Alexandria Patriarchate (in Cairo) cod. 149-104 (No. 94); Athos Kutlum. cod. 491; Athens National Library cod. 356; Athos Kutlum. cod. 33; Athos Xenia cod. 163; <i>ibidem</i> cod. 161; Athos Laura Athanas. cod. unnumbered. |
| Cent. 13. Patmos codd. 730, 105, 710; Athos Esphygmene codex, unnumbered; Athos Laura of Athanas. cod. 189; A codex of the Archimandrite Antonine now in the Imperial Library; Sinai codd. 960, 966, 967, 982, 1030. | Cent. 14 (12) of the same library cod. B. no. 7; of the same, D. no. 93. |
| Cent. 13-14. Sinai codd. 964, 971. A. D. 1306. Athos Esphygmene codex, unnumbered. | |

The above are the first forty-eight of the codices used by Dmitrievskij. The oldest of them, Sinai 957, contains the Baptismal rites, those of Marriage, Prayers for animal sacrifice and *Colubi*, the Blessing of the Waters, Lections for certain Saints' Days, and certain prayers for use in Lent. The next oldest, Sinai 956, is a roll containing, with other matter, the Ordinations of the various grades and the Blessing of the Waters. The third in order of age, Sinai 958, is the first which contains the Eucharistic Liturgy of St Basil and of the Presanctified. It contains the Baptismal, Epiphany, and Marriage rites.

Among these rites are two services of supplication for the Rise of the Nile. One of them is from a Cairo MS written A. D. 1790. This is based on the Epiphany rite, from which it takes most of its lections. It is appointed to be used on the Sunday of the Feast of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea, before Pentecost. The other rite of the kind is in the Sinai codex 974, written in 1510, and is for use on the same day: and the lections are similar, but in other respects it differs. The Domestic, or Byzantine Governor of the forces, presides, and the Pope of Alexandria is present. The rite begins with a stirring hymn entreating the river to rise, of which the refrain is 'Up, by the providence and behest of God, O Nile'. At the end of the hymn, after the people have cried these words, the deacon also exclaims, 'Up, O Nile'; the people, 'Up, up, O Nile'; the deacon, 'Up, up, O Nile'; the people, 'Up, up, up, O Nile'. These two rites deserve

to be compared with the Syriac rite of the same kind published by Mr G. Margoliouth of the British Museum.

In this collection there are several prayers for the sacrifice of animals of a kind hitherto unknown; for, although Goar must have met with the five or six contained in the eighth-century Barberini Euchologion and in the earlier codices of Grotta Ferrata, he did not publish any of them. Dmitrievskij publishes one from the Sinai codex 957 of the ninth to tenth century, three from the Athos Panteleémon codex 162, of the tenth to eleventh century, three from the Sinai codex 973 of the year 1153. This last codex also contains several other interesting prayers to be used over *Colubi* offered for the dead. Several of the above sacrificial prayers recur in a Constantinople MS of the year 1584, No. 115 in Dmitrievskij's enumeration; and similar prayers are contained in the Coislinian MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 231, written in the year 1027, of which Dmitrievskij reproduces the contents at p. 993, after he has finished with the Oriental codices. This last MS contains, beside the ordinations of bishop, priest, and deacon, forms of consecrating the Emperor and Patricians. Among many new pieces may be noticed a form of renunciation of heresy to be used by Manicheans, found in this Paris codex, fol. 124, in which an anathema is pronounced on Paul of Samosata, 'on Lukas and Blasius and Antonius and Rodinaké and Anthé and Nicolaus and Leon and Petrus and on all the other thrice accursed teachers of this new heresy'. In these words we have a reference to the revived Manicheism of the Bogomiles and Paulicians, portrayed in the tenth-century form of Renunciation preserved in the Vienna codd. Theol. Gr. 306 and 40, and printed by Thallóczy in the *Wissenschaftl. Mittheil. aus Bosnien*, 1895.

The misprints of the volume are numerous, and the twenty-seven pages of them given at the end of the volume do not exhaust their number. But such mechanical shortcomings will readily be forgiven to the author who by his industry and learning has put all students of liturgies under a perpetual obligation to himself. Until his work appeared no one knew what materials for a study of liturgies were treasured up in the great monasteries of the East. Henceforth the student who uses Goar and our author's volume together will find nearly all that he can want, with the exception of the liturgies of the Eucharist, which do not belong to the *Euchologion* in its ancient form, and the Divine Service, which does not of course belong to it at all.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus.
 Von AXEL ANDERSEN. (Giessen, J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuch-
 handlung, 1904.)

IN this short work of less than a hundred pages Herr Andersen, who is a 'Gymnasiallehrer' in Christiania, has essayed to deal with the problems which recent criticism has suggested on the subject of the early history of the Lord's Supper. He writes with a wide knowledge of the literature of the subject and shews abundant signs of independent study of the sources. His standpoint is that of some recent scholars who find in the teaching of St Paul upon the Lord's Supper an advance upon the original intention of Christ, and who see in the accounts of the Synoptists the influence of a doctrinal tendency, which has affected their narrative of the Institution. The first section of the work is devoted to an examination of the passage 1 Cor. xi 20-34, with special reference to St Paul's use of the terms τὸ σῶμα and ποιεῖν. The former of these Herr Andersen interprets to mean 'the Church', an interpretation for which he claims the support of Chr. Baur, Pfleiderer, and Schmiedel. The eating of the bread of the Lord's Supper is a means of communion with the Church, while the cup is a means of participation in the new covenant founded upon Christ's death. The objection that the words τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν are fatal to this interpretation is disposed of by the theory of a later interpolation. This latter theory depends for its support upon the absence of the disputed words from the text of the Synoptists (whose account he regards as derived from the words of St Paul in their genuine form) and Justin Martyr. The words too are supposed to be inexplicable in the context in which they occur, seeing that the thought of the Church is the dominant idea of the passage. After this accumulation of improbable hypotheses, we are not surprised to find that Herr Andersen will not allow that in ch. x of the same epistle there is any reference by implication to the Christian sacrament in the words πνευματικὸν πόμα and πνευματικὸν βρῶμα (the parenthetical remark of St Paul in v. 4 that 'the rock was Christ' is dismissed as 'a gloss of an old typologist'). St Paul finally had no conception of a sacramental character in the Lord's Supper. It was a feast in which bread and wine were 'offered' (so the writer interprets ποιεῖν, which he explains by Justin's words in *Ap.* i 13 ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν) as God's gifts to be eaten and enjoyed, the Lord's death was commemorated, and the union with the Church, the Body of Christ, cemented. Herr Andersen maintains that St Paul's account is independent of the Apostolic tradition, and he appears to have much the same opinion of its historical worth as Dr Percy Gardner (see pp. 53 foll.).

In dealing with the Synoptists Herr Andersen follows in the steps of recent advanced criticism, to which the Abbé Loisy has given popular currency, and he raises problems which call for careful handling. Chief amongst these problems is the relation of St Luke's account to that of the other Synoptists. What are we to make of the shorter form exhibited in the Western text of St Luke, and what is its relation to that of Mk.-Mt.? Are we to see in this, with Herr Andersen and others (see also Mr Blakiston's article in the *JOURNAL* iv 548 foll.), indications of the existence of an alternative account of the institution to that exhibited in Mk.-Mt., omitting all mention of the Body and the Blood? Such a theory is beset with many difficulties, and is a precarious foundation on which to build, in view of the textual difficulties exhibited in St Luke, and the apparently conflicting testimony of the shorter (Western) form of the text. This latter difficulty is met by the assumption that the Lucan text even in its shorter form has suffered interpolation. Herr Andersen, further, has little doubt that the account of Mk.-Mt. represents a recension of the original story, which has been interpolated from St Paul. In the original source of Mk.-Mt. the Last Supper was merely a parting meal. It contained no reference to the Body and the Blood, to the Paschal meal, or to the saving efficacy of the death of Christ.

Having thus disposed of all the passages which support the sacramental significance of the rite, Herr Andersen proceeds to discuss the later stages of its development. His account of the *Didache* need not detain us, though it contains some questionable theories. But his treatment of the Ignatian epistles can scarcely be taken seriously. Apart from doubtful exegesis (e.g. the interpretation of ἀγάπη in *Smyrn.* 6, of ἀγαπᾶν in *Smyrn.* 7, and of the Eucharistic passage in *Eph.* 20), his exposition of the theology of Ignatius is marked by a singular perversity. 'Ignatius makes no distinction between the Person Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the (spiritual) organism of the same name' (i. e. the Church), p. 70. The expression σὰρξ Χριστοῦ is a designation of the Church (p. 78). He denies that there is any reference to the Lord's Supper in the passage in *Smyrn.* 6. The false teachers abstained from the public gathering for thanksgiving and prayer, because they denied that such a gathering under the Bishop's leadership constituted the visible Church, or 'flesh' of Christ! The clause τὴν παθοῦσαν κ. τ. λ., which follows σάρκα, and which Herr Andersen makes a poor attempt to explain away, is decisive as to the sense in which Ignatius spoke of the 'flesh' of Christ in this particular passage. There is undoubtedly a strain of mysticism in Ignatius, which leads him to give occasionally a mystical turn to such expressions as σὰρξ and αἷμα, but to introduce gratuitously such an interpretation into a passage like

Smyrn. 6 is to make nonsense of his language. If Ignatius could thus play with words, how singularly ineffective must his protest against Docetism have been! The discussion of the thought of Ignatius is vitiated throughout by this uncritical treatment, against which it is sufficient to appeal to the careful statements of Von der Goltz in his excellent monograph on Ignatius in *Texte und Untersuch.* Bd. xii pp. 73, 74.

The conclusion which Herr Andersen draws from the language of Ignatius is that the latter does not go beyond the language of St Paul, when that language is interpreted in the sense of Herr Andersen (see above). There were, however, in the theology of Ignatius, elements, such as his teaching on the incarnate Christ, and the emphasis laid on the reality of His Flesh, which prepared the way for an identification of the *σῶμα* of which St Paul speaks with the Flesh of Christ (p. 82). This identification, he maintains, took place between the times of Ignatius and Justin and comes to light in the latter writer.

The difficult question of the Agapé is discussed by Herr Andersen, who attempts, with no great success, to controvert the assumption of most modern scholars that the Agapé and the Eucharist became separated at the beginning (or about the middle) of the second century. We may grant to him that the passage of Pliny is not decisive. But his attempt to prove that Justin in his account of the Christian service (*Ap.* i 67) is describing the Agapé in which the Lord's Supper found a place (p. 87), and that the Agapé of Tertullian also included the Lord's Supper, is far from convincing.

Herr Andersen has a clear grasp of the nature of some of the unsolved problems which surround the early history of the Lord's Supper, and he certainly does not lack courage in grappling with them. But his work loses much of the value which it might have possessed by reason of the extravagant and arbitrary manner in which he treats the documents, and the unconvincing character of much of his exegesis.

J. H. SRAWLEY,

MISCELLANEA.

The Holy Communion. The Rev. DARWELL STONE (Oxford Library of Practical Theology, Longmans, 1904).

MR STONE writes with a wide knowledge of his subject. At the same time the method which he has pursued in the present volume seems to be too exclusively historical. In a volume of practical theology, intended, as we are told in the Editor's Preface, 'to translate

the solid theological learning, of which there is no lack, into the vernacular of everyday practical religion', one would have liked to see a larger space devoted to the positive and practical aspects of the Holy Communion. In this respect the present volume falls short. Nor is Mr Stone's presentation of the earlier history of the subject altogether satisfactory. His method of quotation from the Fathers, with whom he shews an extensive acquaintance, does not sufficiently exhibit the considerable developement in Eucharistic doctrine which took place in Ante-Nicene times, nor does it allow for the different conceptions attached to the same terms by different writers. The sacrificial sense of the words *ποιεῖν* and *ἀνάμνησις* in the New Testament is assumed without any indication, either in the footnotes or elsewhere, that this view has been contested by many scholars. There is one small slip on p. 74, where, in illustration of the Eucharistic doctrine of Euthymius Zigabenus, Mr Stone quotes a passage from the *Panoplia Dogmatica*, which is really a reproduction by Euthymius of the language of John of Damascus. The book, however, brings together, in a convenient form, a very considerable amount of information upon the doctrine and administration of the Sacrament, which will not easily be found elsewhere.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

Critical Questions. (Brown, Langham & Co., 1903.)

THIS book consists of a course of sermons delivered at St Mark's, Marylebone Road. Naturally the preachers cannot do more than indicate the main lines along which they think that satisfactory answers to the questions raised by modern criticism may be reached. But the sermons are admirable models of the way in which such questions may be dealt with before an audience of ordinary educated people; and it is surprising what an amount of ground is covered in each sermon. The best of the course appear to me to be Dr Swete's on the trustworthiness of the Gospel narrative, Dr Sanday's on the Virgin Birth (in which the character of St Luke's narrative is examined, and Joanna, wife of Chuza, is suggested as the possible channel through whom the narrative may have been derived from the Blessed Virgin) and Dr Headlam's two sermons on the Witness of St Paul. I have found the second of these last, in which the more advanced teaching of St Paul on the Person of Christ and on the Church is considered in relation to his earlier Epistles and the other New Testament writers, the most useful and suggestive in the book. A short bibliography suggesting books for further study is added.

E. W. M. O. DE LA HEY.

The Pentecostal Gift. (Published by the Scottish Church Society, J. Maclehose & Sons, 1903.)

THE Scottish Church Society represents a movement, associated in most minds with the late Dr Milligan, within the ranks of Scottish Presbyterianism for the promotion, among other objects, of a fuller apprehension of 'the Divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church'. The present volume consists of a collection of papers contributed to the Conference of the Society held in June, 1902. The subjects dealt with centre in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its relation to the Incarnation and the Church. Scripture, the ministry of the Word, prayer, the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, Ordination, and Church discipline are all viewed in relation to this central doctrine. The several papers are written from a common standpoint and exhibit an impressive earnestness. The writers present their views in the form of an *eirenicon*, in which they appear to have specially in view members of the Church of England. In several respects they resemble in their aims and objects the writers of *Lux Mundi*, as in their desire 'to defend and advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the Ancient Creeds', to foster 'a due sense of the historic continuity of the Church from the first', and again, to maintain 'the necessity of a valid ordination to the Holy Ministry'. In their general treatment of the Pentecostal Gift as the extension of the Incarnation they are at one with the teaching of the late Dr Moberly. At the same time they state clearly and well their differences from Anglicanism. There is a criticism of Anglican teaching on Confirmation, in which, however, the writer minimizes the significance of the evidence derived from the New Testament. Ordination by presbyters is maintained as an irreducible minimum, while the position of the writers is defended against the claims made for episcopacy. The reverent tone of the papers and the evident signs of a sincere desire for the reunion of English-speaking Christians, on the basis of a faith which appeals to the witness of Church history and the principles of Scripture, are attractive features of the book.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

CHRONICLE

NEW TESTAMENT.

Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken (von Prof. Lic. Dr C. Clemen. Giessen, 1904. 2 vols. 8vo), is a book which attempts to fulfil two different purposes. In the first volume Dr Clemen claims to give a scientific estimate for students of the sources available for the life of St Paul, in the second he utilizes these for a popular sketch of the Apostle's life and teaching. The method has its drawbacks, but the publishers have attempted to meet one difficulty by allowing each volume to be purchased separately, and each is, as a matter of fact, fairly independent of the other. Each, too, is carefully and well done upon the pre-suppositions which the author consciously lays down for himself. These imply a belief in Christianity as a supernatural revelation of God, but a rejection of anything miraculous which cannot be brought into relation with ordinary analogies of nature, in which the relation of cause and effect is not traceable; he would substitute the conception of the *mirabile* for that of the *miraculum*. Starting from this basis he examines the Pauline Epistles, the Acts, and the Apocryphal Acts. Of the Pauline Epistles he defends with great fullness the authenticity of the four greater Epistles—Galatians (which he treats as the earliest of all), 1 2 Corinthians, Romans—and also accepts 1 2 Thessalonians, Colossians and Philemon (as written from Caesarea), and Philippians (as written from Rome), and certain fragments embodied in Titus iii 12-14, 2 Tim. iv 9-22 (as written on the Third Missionary Journey), 2 Tim. iv 9-18 (as written from Caesarea), 2 Tim. i 15-18 (as written from Rome). He rejects Ephesians and, with the above exceptions, the Pastoral Epistles, not on grounds of external evidence or of style, but of the indications of a later date in the subject-matter. The Acts is treated as a late document embodying two early contemporaneous sources, one in the early half anonymous, the other, the 'we' sections, coming from St Luke, but the author has overlaid these with oral legendary traditions and with additions of his own partly dependent on Josephus, partly, as in the speeches, re-written from a later point of view. All miracles of healing and all visions of the Lord are admitted, but such events as the death of Ananias and Sapphira, the

earthquake at Philippi, the literal bodily resurrection of the Lord, and the speeches of St Paul at Antioch, at Athens, and at Miletus are set aside. The Apocryphal Acts are rejected, as entirely devoid of historical value. The Chronology of the Life is then examined, the Conversion being placed in the year following the Crucifixion, the death in the Neronian persecution of 64 A. D., and the theory of a second imprisonment is rejected. In this section Dr Clemen shows an openness of mind and willingness to change the views expressed in his former books in the light of later enquiry: and here, as throughout the whole book, he exhibits a thorough acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and great ingenuity of construction. But he seems to me to accept the early date of the Conversion and to reject the theory that the Ephesians is a circular letter and the indications of a second imprisonment at Rome on inadequate grounds, and altogether to expect to be able to have a more detailed and exact knowledge than it is reasonable to expect. The second volume is very pleasant reading: the Gentile and Jewish surroundings of life are clearly portrayed; the course of the Apostle's work is made rational and vivid; the letters are analysed and fitted into their historical position with great cleverness, e.g. the reconstruction of the relations between St Paul and the Corinthians is admirably done, and the whole leaves the reader with a clear conception of a strong personality, enthusiastic, mystical, yet affectionate, shrewd and statesmanlike, working great results by his own activities, but greater still by his theology. Yet there is something lacking: we scarcely feel the sense of the union with the Risen Christ; the man who bore about the dying of Jesus and filled up the sufferings of the Messiah in his flesh is not here; and justice is scarcely done to St Paul's great ideal of the Christian Church. The Epistle to the Ephesians and much of the Pastoral Epistles are of a very general character, but such a reconstruction of the Apostle's life without them as this book supplies, makes us realize the loss of light upon his thought and work which their rejection would imply, and stronger reasons yet are needed to make us accept that rejection.

In the Dean of Westminster's edition of the Epistle to the Ephesians (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*. A revised text and translation with exposition and notes, by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. Macmillan, 1903. 8vo, pp. 314) we have a commentary modelled upon and deserving to rank with those of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Swete. In one respect, indeed, the comparison fails: there is here practically no Introduction, no consideration of the authorship, the destination of the Epistle, or the

relation which it bears to the Epistle to the Colossians, and in the light of the hesitation still felt by many critics in regarding the Epistle as by St Paul this is to be regretted. But within its own limits the work is excellent. We have first a translation accompanied by a very full 'exposition' of each section, which shews an excellent knowledge of the early versions of the Epistle and of the Patristic commentators, and emphasizes clearly the dependence of the language and thoughts upon those of the Old Testament, and also throws into proper prominence the sense of the corporate life and unity of the Church as developed in the Epistle. Then follows a commentary, and after it a few detached notes on certain words and various readings. While the whole is lucid and scholarly, I am inclined to think that the best part, the most original contribution in the book, lies in the detailed examination of Greek words, partly in the Exposition (e. g. that of *πλήρωμα* pp. 43-45), partly in the commentary (e.g. that of *ἐκκληρώθημεν* i 11, *περιποίησις* i 14, *ἀφή* and *ἐπιχορηγία* iv 16, *εὐχαριστία* v 2, *λουτρόν* and *ῥῆμα* v 26), but chiefly in the detached notes, all of which contribute materials that are fresh and valuable. On the other hand the discussion of *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι* i 10 is scarcely adequate, nor is any real illumination thrown on the difficult passages iv 7-10, v 11-14: in one case Dr Robinson's right desire to emphasize the corporate unity of the Church seems to have influenced him in adopting an interpretation which is not convincing. In ii 21 *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* is translated 'all building', 'all building that is being done', referring to the process rather than to the result; and the translation of the Revised Version 'each several building' is put aside as offending the most conspicuously of all translations against the Apostle's thought. This criticism is scarcely just; if the Apostle can speak of 'all the churches of Christ', while he thinks only of one ideal Church, no less can he speak of all the various buildings which are united to form one holy temple: 'each several building' need not only refer to the distinction between Jew and Gentile, but also, as would be natural in a circular letter, to each local church which is added to the whole, and this suits the following words more appropriately; it is more natural to speak of the building which results rather than of the process within the builder's mind as growing into the whole temple. A few minor suggestions may be added. In ii 11 (p. 56) I do not think the connexion of the thought is 'wherefore remember the greatness of the victory gained' so much as 'wherefore remember with humility your former state from which you were only rescued by the grace of God, and therefore you cannot despise the Jewish Christians', cf. Rom. xi 17-24: so in iv 1 the appeal to himself as 'prisoner' seems to me only to emphasize the appeal as from one who had suffered the worst, scarcely to suggest 'I who cannot carry out my work any longer, but must leave its practical

realization to you'. This is too subtle, and though it might find some support in 2 Tim. ii 9, is quite alien to Eph. vi 20, Col. iv 18, Philemon 9, which are more contemporaneous and analogous. Again in 2 Cor. xii 16, quoted in the note on iv 14, St Paul cannot be said to be playfully using *παροῦργος* of himself: he is, rather, bitterly quoting a Corinthian taunt against himself, and proceeds to defend himself from it. On p. 129, line 6 from the end, is *Corinth* a misprint for *Colossae*? It may be right, but there seems no special reason for singling out Corinth in this context.

W. LOCK.

L'Évangile selon saint Jean (Traduction critique, introduction, et commentaire. Par le P. TH. CALMES. Lecoffre, Paris. 1904) is the fourth volume of a new series of *Études Bibliques* published in France by Roman Catholic writers. It will certainly hold its place in the literature which deals with the Johannine question. The writer is well acquainted with most of the recent works on the fourth Gospel. His criticism of the views of Réville, Wendt, Baldensperger, and Loisy is sound and sensible: and it is marked by a soberness of judgement, and willingness to appreciate the results of modern criticism, combined with a discrimination which is perhaps not always to be found in the work of M. Loisy. The writer's acquaintance with the earlier stages of the controversy is not so apparent, though he may well have deliberately ignored them as lying outside the scope of his work. He shews few signs of knowledge, or at any rate appreciation, of what has been written in English on the subject. But the book leads us to hope much in the future from the contributions of the French Roman Catholic School to reverent criticism.

The most important sections of the Introduction are those devoted to the consideration of the external evidence and the historical value of the Gospel. In the former we may notice especially the discussion of the evidence of Irenaeus and Justin, and an interesting series of parallels adduced between the Gospel and 4 Esdras, and also the Epistle of Clement. In the latter there are some useful remarks on the author's love of allegory. The choice of an incident because of its allegorical value does not necessarily preclude its historical truth. The discussion, however, leaves us too often in uncertainty as to what is true history, and what must be regarded as pure allegory.

The main part of the book consists of a translation of the Gospel into French, printed in sections, each of which is followed by explanatory notes. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether much is gained by

a complete translation of the Gospel. A paraphrase indicating the sequence of thought is probably what the majority of readers need most in the way of helps to the study of St John. The notes are an admirable specimen of French lucidity. In most cases they clearly delineate a meaning of the passage which is possible and intelligible; but I am bound to confess that after reading many of them I was left with the impression that the real difficulties had not been solved, and that often they had hardly been touched. The book will never take its place as *the* Commentary on St John, in the sense in which Dr Westcott's did for at least one generation of English readers. It will prove a useful and suggestive aid to the study of the Gospel.

In conclusion two passages may be cited which shew the writer's standpoint. In dealing with the work of M. Loisy, which was published too late to be used regularly, he says in the Preface, 'There are allegories and symbols in the Johannine Gospel, it is true; truer perhaps than hitherto we had supposed. But how far do these allegories and symbols go? And in what measure are they destructive of the historical value of the book? That is the delicate question. To state that the characters of the Fourth Gospel are types is not enough to enable us to draw the conclusion that those types which are unknown to the Synoptists, as Nathanael and Nicodemus, have no reality. We must do more than shew that in the Bible seven is a perfect number, if we are to see a mere symbol in each chronological detail.' And in his notes on chap. xvii he says 'According to Jülicher the sacerdotal prayer is the type of the artificial discourses which the Evangelist introduces in his book without any historical basis. We do not pretend to agree with this opinion. But it appears to us impossible not to recognize that we are here in the presence of dogmatic developements, the explanation of which must be sought rather in the habits of thought of the Evangelist than in the actual words of Jesus.'

These passages contain the soundest criticism of much that has been lately written about the Fourth Gospel. But the important question How far? remains. And M. Calmes has not led us very far towards an answer.

A. E. BROOKE.

In *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (by W. SANDAY, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; with the assistance of Paul Waterhouse. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1903) Dr Sanday examines afresh the traditions of the Holy Places which he has recently visited. His attitude is sympathetic as well as critical; and the conclusions of so high an authority on the New Testament and

the early literature of the Church naturally carry great weight. He finds that there is more evidence for the crucial period between the destruction of Jerusalem and the age of Constantine than is generally supposed; a certain balance of probability is still in favour of the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre; there is even more to be said in favour of the traditional Coenaculum, for the chain of evidence for the situation of 'the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion', 'the mother of all the churches'—the *Christian Sion* on the *western* hill—is remarkably continuous. Our Lord's trial and condemnation took place in and in front of Herod's palace, a part of which still remains near the Jaffa gate. With characteristic fairness Dr Sanday does full justice to the advocates of the 'Garden Tomb' and Gordon's Calvary, and he decides unhesitatingly against them. Valuable discussions on 'the land of the Gerasenes', Dalmanutha, Bethany beyond Jordan, illustrate the important bearing of textual criticism upon problems of topography. After weighing the rival claims of Khân Minyeh and Tell Hûm to represent Capernaum, Dr Sanday inclines to support the former; but he has since announced his conversion to Tell Hûm (*J. T. S.*, Oct. 1903, pp. 42 ff). In picturing to ourselves the chief cities of Palestine in the time of our Lord, we are bidden to remember that externally they bore the stamp of the dominant Graeco-Roman civilization which had been imposed upon them. The architecture of the principal buildings was Graeco-Roman. Mr Waterhouse's admirable restoration of the Herodian Temple enables us to realize this very clearly. The style was no doubt eclectic; the gates of Nicanor, for instance, were brought from Alexandria, according to Jewish tradition¹; for the details we may go to such monuments as the tomb of Helena of Adiabene (the so-called Tombs of the Kings). The photographs which illustrate this attractive volume add much to its interest.

G. A. COOKE.

A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek with various readings and Critical Notes. Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT, B.D. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (London, Macmillan & Co., 1903.)

It is not improbable that, of books published in recent years, the first edition of Mr Wright's *Synopsis* has done more than any other to

¹ Talm. B. *Yoma* 38 a. The tradition seems to be confirmed by the Jewish ossuary recently found near Jerusalem bearing the inscription:

Ἰσὴν τῶν τοῦ Νικάνωρος Ἀλεξανδρείας ποιήσαντος τὰς θύρας

נכנן חנן

The form נכנן probably = Ἀλεξᾶν an abbr. for Ἀλεξανδρεὺς. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.* v (1902) § 53.

diffuse a right understanding of the composition and origin of the first three Gospels. A quarto book, it was yet not too bulky for use in lectures, and it had the supreme merit of placing before students a consecutive test of St Mark conveniently arranged in short lines, with the parallels from St Matthew and St Luke in adjacent columns, and with liberal marginal space for annotation. The book contained much else, but this alone would have sufficed to make it indispensable to students, many of whom must have realized for themselves the truth of the modern critical result that St Mark is the earliest of our three Gospels with a thoroughness of conviction which could have been gained from no ordinary *Introduction* to the Gospels. From this point of view the greater bulk of the second edition, 319 pages as compared with 168, is not a gain. The book so augmented is more suitable for the study than for the lecture room. University students who spend their morning in attending lectures economize as far as possible in the number and weight of books which they carry with them. Some of them have to economize also in the matter of expense. Mr Wright would do these an additional service if he would print for their use the first section of his book by itself at a low price.

But of course the increase in size brings with it much additional value. The book as it now lies before us contains an Introduction, St Mark's Gospel with the parallels, a collection of sayings from St Matthew with the parallels, a collection of discourses from St Luke, a number of fragments common to St Matthew and St Luke or peculiar to one of them, with a few from extra-canonical sources, and a group of historical narratives peculiar to St Luke. There are also Tables and Indices, a selection of variant readings, and a number of critical and explanatory comments. The text with a few exceptions is that of Westcott and Hort.

Mr Wright is an avowed champion of the so-called oral explanation of the genesis of the Gospels. He believes that St Mark taught as Catechist the lessons delivered to him by St Peter until they assumed the form of a fixed cycle of Gospel narratives. This he calls the proto-Mark. Sections belonging to it may be found in St Mark and in St Luke in *St Mark's order*.

A little later additional sections found their way into this cycle. These are the deutero-Mark. Sections belonging to it are either absent from St Luke, or occur there in an order differing from that of St Mark. Still later the cycle was committed to writing and further details were inserted. These are the trito-Mark. Such details and phrases are not found in St Matthew and St Luke.

Somewhat later than the proto-Mark there was circulating in Jerusalem a collection of Matthaean Logia, i. e. sayings of Christ without

historical setting. These are the proto-Matthew. This cycle too increased by accretion. Our first and third Gospels have been produced out of these two cycles of Gospel material. St Luke about the years 70-80 A. D. fused together the proto-Mark with the proto-Matthew, adding material from a third collection and from personal information, and inserting detached fragments of the deutero-Mark. The writer of the first Gospel living perhaps in Alexandria about 75 A.D. has welded together the deutero-Markan and deutero-Matthaeian cycles, adding other oral traditions.

We welcome Mr Wright's insistence upon the weak points of the two-document theory of the genesis of the Gospels. But it seems very doubtful whether his cycles of catechetical teaching and their development do not presuppose a very large amount of unverified conjecture as to the early organization of the Church. Nor does it seem to us necessary to lay so much stress as does Mr Wright upon the term Oral. It is clear, on the one hand, that both the later evangelists had before them a form of teaching very similar to that contained in St Mark. It seems clear, on the other hand, that our present St Mark differs in some details from the St Mark used by St Matthew and St Luke, and that the copies of St Mark used by these two evangelists were not always identical. But it is not necessary to solve these difficulties by recourse to oral cycles. If e.g. St Mark's Gospel were originally written in Aramaic (a view which is gaining ground; cf. recently Wellhausen and Hoffmann), and if several or many translations were current in the early Church, the copies used by the writers of the first and third Gospels may well have differed considerably, not only in phraseology but even in content, as the insertion of secondary matter into the canonical Gospels clearly shews.

Again, it is clear that much discourse material is common to St Matthew and St Luke, but it is not clear that they drew this invariably from any one single document, whether we call it Logia or not. There may well have been several or many written collections of Christ's sayings, some of them displaying great resemblances of arrangement and phraseology. In this way a documentary theory of the composition of the Gospels might be built up which would be free from the vagueness and from the conjectural character of Mr Wright's oral cycles. No doubt the later evangelists did incorporate into their Gospels much that had come to them from oral tradition and personal enquiry; but that they did use a Marcan document and one or perhaps several documents of discourse material seems to us to have been conclusively proved.

Mr Wright's comments and annotations are always suggestive and helpful. Perhaps the language used seems sometimes to aim at a rather forced freshness of character, e.g. at Corinth, 'the hungry navvies

snatching at the viands' or 'The ἀγάπη happily was soon abolished and churches ceased to be hotels'. Sometimes also a particular interpretation is adopted without sufficient qualification, as e.g. the statement that Judas flung the shekels 'into the sanctuary beyond the veil'. See against this Zahn *ad loc.* But after all a Synopsis is not an Introduction nor a Commentary, and in his presentation of the Gospel texts Mr Wright has given us much to be thankful for.

W. C. ALLEN.

Studies on the Gospels. By VINCENT ROSE, O.P., Professor in the University of Fribourg. Translated by ROBERT FRASER, D.D.

THERE are several reasons why the critical movement of the present time presses less strongly upon members of the Roman Catholic Church than upon those who belong to the Reformed Churches, and the natural consequence is that critical questions do not receive so much attention from Roman Catholic writers as, perhaps, they deserve. The fact only makes a really solid contribution from that quarter the more welcome when it does make its appearance, and such a contribution the book before us may certainly claim to be. The writer is a Dominican Priest and Professor of Theology at Fribourg, and the translator is the Head of the Scots College at Rome. The book comes therefore, as M. Loisy's did not, bearing the *Imprimatur* of the Order and of the Archbishop of Westminster and may be taken as a fully approved treatise on the important points with which it deals. It has, therefore, a special interest of its own, appearing as it does at the very time when the condemnation at Rome of M. Loisy's books has led many to think that such subjects cannot be fairly faced and honestly dealt with by any member of the Roman obedience without running grave risk.

Father Rose writes from a conservative point of view, but with a very complete knowledge of what has been said on the other side. He treats of all the burning questions of the day—the Fourfold Gospel; the meaning of the terms 'Son of Man' and 'Son of God', the Supernatural Conception; the Empty Tomb; the meaning of Redemption, &c. In every case he states the case of the liberal critics fairly and well, and then proceeds to give an answer, which his opponents, though they may not be convinced by it, will admit to be solid and well reasoned. We select, as an example, his treatment of the Supernatural Conception. He admits that the mystery was known to hardly any during the lifetime of Jesus. It was universally supposed that He was the son of Joseph. 'To have divulged such a secret at that time would have been not only useless, but imprudent and dangerous.' He admits also that the genealogies in their original form would inevitably have

followed the general belief. But he holds that the critics go too far when they assert that the belief originated in Greek and not Jewish circles, and when they argue that the Apostles knew nothing of the mystery and did not include it in their preaching. His answer rests mainly on the fact that the first two chapters of St Luke's Gospel, so far from being Greek in origin are the most intensely Jewish portion of the New Testament. 'It is impossible to concede that St Luke was the original author.' 'Only a Palestinian Jew could have written those pages.' Moreover, the condition of affairs is that which we find at the beginning of the second century when 'at Antioch, in Asia, in Achaia, in Rome, and in Palestine, the supernatural birth is found associated with the facts of the passion and the resurrection'. 'All the communities founded by the Apostles at this time believe in the virgin birth', and such a result he thinks would have been impossible, without a revolution of doctrine, which must have left traces behind it, unless the virgin birth formed part of the Apostolic preaching.

The book will be found very valuable by those who desire to have the conservative side on these questions put before them in a way that is solid and learned, but at the same time eminently readable and interesting.

A. S. BARNES.

Christianity in Talmud and Midrash. By R. TRAVERS HERFORD, B.A.
(London, 1903.)

MR HERFORD has written a comely volume printed in excellent type and extending over 450 pages.

He gives translations of nearly 150 passages of Talmud and Midrash, which seem to refer either to Jesus of Nazareth or to Christianity, and also a full discussion of each passage, adding the original Hebrew text in an appendix. The most important section of the work, i.e. that which deals with possible references to our Lord, occupies ground already covered in English by Dr Streane's translation of Dalman and Laible's *Jesus Christ in the Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, and the Liturgy of the Synagogue*. The scholarship of Mr Herford falls short of Laible's, but the full collection of passages on *Minim* and *Minuth* ('Heretics' and 'Heresy') cannot fail to be useful. There are some misprints and mistakes in the Hebrew, e.g. on pp. 344 (ll. 18, 21), 403 (l. 17), 406 (ll. 28, 31), 430 (l. 26), 431 (l. 25, broken *Resh*; l. 29). Mr Herford seems surprised that the Talmud says so little about Christianity (p. 347), and urges that it is too much to suppose that St Paul would be wholly unmentioned in post-Biblical Hebrew literature

(p. 100). But does not the great success of Christianity among the Gentiles, coupled with the smallness of its influence on the Jews, go a long way towards explaining the relative silence of the early doctors of Judaism?

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE supplemental volume of Dr Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* contains a number of articles of importance and great interest in regard to New Testament study. NEW TESTAMENT TIMES by Prof. Fr. Buhl, ROADS AND TRAVEL (in N. T.) by Prof. W. M. Ramsay (covering a good deal of ground and illustrated by maps), TEXTUAL CRITICISM (of N. T.) by Dr Murray, SERMON ON THE MOUNT by Prof. Votaw, and DIASPORA by Prof. Schürer, are the most important articles on the general subject. Prof. Ropes sums up the results of recent work on non-canonical Sayings of Jesus in the article AGRAPHA, but just too soon to include the 'New Sayings'; and Dr Kenyon does similar service as regards PAPYRI. Mr C. H. Turner contributes a monumental article of nearly fifty pages on GREEK PATRISTIC COMMENTARIES ON THE PAULINE EPISTLES—an article which, though on one point Dr Armitage Robinson adds something in the present number of the JOURNAL, will long be invaluable. The history of the ENGLISH VERSIONS of the Bible is admirably and fully told by Dr Lupton; while Dr Bebb writes on the CONTINENTAL VERSIONS. Among other useful articles are APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS by Prof. Tasker, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS by Prof. Menzies, DIATESSARON by Mr Stenning, and NUMBERS, HOURS, YEARS, AND DATES by Prof. Ramsay.

Volume iv of *Encyclopaedia Biblica* completes a work, the value and the eccentricities of which have received due notice in the JOURNAL. For the student of the New Testament the masterly article on TEXT AND VERSIONS by Mr F. C. Burkitt is probably the most permanently valuable article in this volume. The methods of study and the conclusions of 'advanced' criticism of which Prof. Schmiedel is a chief representative are shewn in all their vigour by his articles on RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION NARRATIVES and SPIRITUAL GIFTS. (He also writes on SILAS [SILVANUS], SIMON MAGUS, SIMON PETER, and THEUDAS.)

A similar point of view is indicated in Dr Cheyne's additions to the article TEMPTATION OF JESUS (by Mr J. Moffat). The narrative is explained as due to the belief of the early Christians that their Master obtained control over the demons by performing at the outset of his ministry a ceremony of initiation by which such power could be obtained. As an alternative explanation we can fall back on the

mythological theory. What we must not do is 'indulge the pleasant fancy that Jesus himself may have given . . . some of his nearest disciples glimpses of his early soul-history'.

In *ROME (CHURCH)* and *ROMANS (EPISTLE)* Prof. van Manen completes the statement of his own position which he had given in earlier articles, insisting that the Epistle cannot possibly be St Paul's and that no one has ever offered proofs that it is.

Mr Moffatt treats the Pastoral Epistles from much the same standpoint in the article *TIMOTHY AND TITUS (EPISTLES)*. In *THESSALONIANS (EPISTLES TO)* Prof. McGiffert accepts the Pauline authorship of both Epistles, though with some misgivings as regards the Second. Mr A. E. Cowley writes on *SADDUCEES*, Prof. Prince on *SCRIBES AND PHARISEES*. Among other articles bearing on the New Testament, *SERMON ON THE MOUNT* and *STEPHEN* are by Mr Moffatt, and *SON OF GOD* and *SON OF MAN* by Prof. N. Schmidt.

In *From Letter to Spirit* (A. & C. Black, London, 1903), Part III of 'Diatessarica', Dr Edwin Abbott continues his ingenious and interesting investigations to shew that the Synoptic deviations proceed from mistranslations of Hebrew, making use also in this volume of the analogy of the Targums of the Old Testament. The honesty of the Fourth Gospel and the explanation of its differences from the other three Gospels, as regards the Baptism, the Transfiguration, and Christ's prayer, with special reference to the Voices from heaven, are the chief subjects discussed in this volume. Among other results of his investigations Dr Abbott concludes that the Voices were spiritual, of the nature of 'the word of the Lord' in the Old Testament; that Luke was right in omitting the clause 'Deliver us from the Evil One'; and that the form of the precept 'take up the cross' is probably to be traced to the fear that the words which were really said, 'take up *the yoke*', i.e. the yoke of continuous service, might be misunderstood of the (Jewish) 'yoke of the Law'.

Paradosis, by the same author (A. & C. Black, London, 1904), expounds the theory that the idea conveyed by the word to St Paul, St Peter (First Epistle), and the author of the Fourth Gospel, was the delivering up of the Son by the Father for the redemption of mankind (which was our Lord's own meaning whenever He used the phrase in predictions of his Passion and Resurrection), but that the earliest Gospels have occasionally confused this idea with the delivering up by Judas to the servants of Caiaphas (the betrayal). Dr Abbott examines at length the idea of *paradosis* in connexion with Isaiah, with Jewish traditions, in early Christian thought, in our Lord's predictions in the Gospels, and at the Arrest. Two points only in the exposition can be noticed here. The argument leads up to the thought of the Resurrection

and of the Eucharist, and so calls forth an attempt to explain the mention of Galilee in the earlier accounts of the Resurrection and an examination of the words of the Institution to shew why the author of the Fourth Gospel apparently avoids the use of the term 'body' in his exposition of Eucharistic doctrine, using always 'flesh' instead. The chief explanation of the Johannine deviation from the Pauline and Synoptic tradition is found in different renderings of the original Aramaic word, which Dr Abbott supposes was נפש, used in the sense 'my very self', 'my true self', which might be rendered in Greek by σῶμα; and he contends that thus the formula stands in vital connexion with our Lord's life and work as described by the Synoptists—and with his doctrine of 'losing' the soul or 'delivering it up' to death, in the service of men, the children of God, in order thereby to find it again in God, the Father of men.

The mention of Galilee is explained as due to a confusion between לל, not always preceded by כ in Aramaic in the meaning 'for the sake of', and גליל 'Galilee'; so that any one familiar with the Aramaic phrase without the preposition in the sense 'for the sake of' would think that בגליל was a provincial form or slight corruption of בגליל 'in Galilee' or 'into Galilee'. Thus comes the interpretation of Mark and Matthew that He promised to go before them 'into Galilee', while Luke who places the first manifestations in Jerusalem interprets the promise as made 'in Galilee'. Further, the primary meaning of גליל being 'region', the original promise might have been read 'I will go before you into a place' which would give the Johannine tradition 'to prepare a place'.

There is also an interesting discussion of the meaning of the words τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

Of the Epistle of St James we have a vigorous and independent discussion by Mr R. St John Parry (*A Discussion of the General Epistle of St James*, by R. St John Parry, B.D. London. C. J. Clay & Sons). Mr. Parry argues that, so far from being a collection of quasi-proverbial sayings loosely strung together, the Epistle is in fact a very careful and logical exposition of a single theme—the theme, namely, that the conquest of temptation ('allurement to sin') is possible and is the proper aim of a Christian, and that it is to be achieved through individual effort by means of faith and wisdom. The Epistle is thus 'moralistic'; but only as other apostolic writings are, being based upon a profound and Christian analysis of human nature and God's dealings with man. The great problem before the earliest Christian teachers was to find a new basis of morality. They impugned the validity of the only known bases, and they had to provide a substitute. They had to define the new facts and teaching of Christian

experience so as to be at once a rule and a power of conduct. They found this basis in the Personality of Christ Himself as the one Standard and Power of righteousness. The Epistle of St James belongs to a relatively late stage in this process, when abstract conceptions such as 'the truth', 'the freedom', 'the perfect law', can be used as matter of course—become legitimate, at last, because they represent the actual experience of Christian life.

But the Epistle is still to be placed within the Apostolic period. And it is the most general of the General Epistles, addressed to the whole Christian Church, scattered in a world to which they do not belong.

Mr Parry's treatment of these and other questions connected with the Epistle, and of particular passages and phrases, is always interesting and suggestive. On the main points it is perhaps too original to be immediately convincing.

An edition of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians by Dr Plummer (*Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges*, University Press, Cambridge, 1903¹) supplies a want that has long been felt. Of the genuineness of the Epistle Dr Plummer has no doubt. 'To put this letter into the class of pseudepigrapha is to stultify oneself as a critic.' He also maintains the integrity of the whole of the first part of the Epistle, seeing no sufficient reasons for severing either chap. viii or chap. ix from the preceding chapters, and no need to excise the paragraph vi 14–vii 1. But he has come to adopt, though with much reluctance, the theory that chaps. x–xiii were originally part of another and earlier letter, i. e. the severe letter (2 Cor. ii 3, 9, vii 8) about the effect of which St Paul was so anxious. In the careful discussion of the question full weight is given to the arguments by which the traditional view can be defended. Besides full exegetical notes there are useful sections in the Introduction on the authorities for the text and on the language and style of the Epistle, and appendices on the Apocalypse or Vision of St Paul, the *σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί* (probably epilepsy), and the rhetoric of St Paul.

We have also received an edition of the Gospel according to St Mark (University Press, Cambridge, 1903)—the Revised Version—with introduction and notes for the use of schools by Sir A. F. Hort and Mary Dyson Hort (Mrs George Chitty).

In *The Biblical View of the Soul* (by the Rev. G. Waller. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1904) Mr Waller exhibits and classifies all the passages in the Old Testament and in the New Testament in which the words *Nephesh* and *Psukee* and *Ro'agh* and *Pneuma* (so Mr Waller prints the words) occur. To these lists he adds over a thousand quotations

¹ An edition of the English text is published at the same time.

from the Bible in confirmation of the thesis that 'the doctrine of the existence of the soul or spirit of man in happiness or misery after death, independent of the body, is nowhere to be found in the Old or New Testament Scriptures; whilst in the New Testament the Resurrection of the body is everywhere held up as the great central hope of the Christian Church'.

The Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals with introduction, parallel passages, notes, and moral reflections, by the Rev. Cornelius J. Ryan (Dublin, Brown & Nolan, 1904), was originally written for students in the College of the Holy Cross, Clonliffe, and is published in the hope that it may be useful to priests in their preparation for the onerous duty of explaining to the people the Gospel for the day. It doubtless will be useful. In the Preface the author justifies his frequent references to the Greek text on the ground that, though the text of the Vulgate is generally decisive, reference to the original is often necessary for those who wish to know *fully* the meaning intended by the evangelists.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

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(1) ENGLISH.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE AARONITE PRIESTHOOD.

IT is a well-known fact that whereas in the Deuteronomic legislation the clergy of Israel are referred to simply as Levitical priests without distinction of rank, in Ezekiel we find two classes, the Levitical priests the sons of Zadok, and the Levites. It is also generally agreed that this distinction arose from the unwillingness of the sons of Zadok, the priests of Jerusalem, to admit to like privileges with themselves the Levites, who until the days of Josiah's reformation had ministered in the various local sanctuaries or high places. Although the record of this reformation is provokingly meagre (for the circumstantial account of 2 Kings xxiii is in its present form the work of a considerably later period), yet, from a comparison of 2 Kings xxiii 9 with Deut. xviii 6-8 and with Ezek. xlv 9-15, it is scarcely possible to doubt that the intention of the original reformers (viz. that the priests who were thrown out of employment by the abolition of the country sanctuaries should have the right to earn a livelihood by ministering in the Temple at Jerusalem) was thwarted by the sons of Zadok, who were not at all disposed to view with favour the influx of a considerable body of men, probably of somewhat inferior social position, who would share their revenues. The plea on which these country clergy were ousted from their strict legal rights, was that they had been guilty of idolatrous practices; and though, doubtless, the worship at the country sanctuaries had been marred by many grave corruptions, nevertheless, judging from Ezekiel's account of idolatry at Jerusalem,

the sons of Zadok were hardly in a position to throw stones. From Ezekiel's emphatic declaration that the country clergy must be degraded we may infer that from the year 621 B. C. till the destruction of the Temple a pretty severe struggle had raged in Jerusalem between the dispossessed clergy and the corporation of the sons of Zadok; a struggle in which the latter had given practical illustration of the adage that possession is nine points of the law.

But in this controversy the point at issue is not the descent of the contending parties. The sons of Zadok are represented as superior to the ordinary Levites, not by reason of their descent from Zadok, but by the fact that they only have remained faithful to the sanctuary at Jerusalem now regarded as alone orthodox. It is, so to speak, not so much a question of canonical ordination as of canonical behaviour after ordination. It is therefore the more remarkable that little more than a century after Ezekiel the distinction between the two orders of clergy is represented as entirely one of family; and the first rank claim their privileges not as sons of Zadok, but as sons of Aaron, the brother of Moses. Why is it that the Priestly Code, while maintaining the distinction of the lower grade of clergy, the Levites, on the one hand, on the other hand designates the higher grade not sons of Zadok, but sons of Aaron?

In the first place it may be regarded as certain that the Jerusalem priests in the days of Ezekiel did not base their claim to exclusive privileges on the ground of descent from Aaron. Had they done so, they would have been compelled to admit at least many who had never ministered at Jerusalem; since it was never pretended that the family of Aaron was *limited* to the house of Zadok; and it would scarcely be safe to infer from Ezra ii 62 that a son of Aaron might be put out of his privileges as such without losing also his status as a Levite. Obviously descent from Aaron was a new claim in the fifth century B. C. This of course must not be understood as implying that the name of Aaron was unknown before that period; but only that about this time it acquired a new importance.

We therefore come to the enquiry, Who was Aaron? and this question, simple as it seems, is not easily answered. The traditional view, which rests entirely on the Priestly Code, is, as

is well known, altogether impossible in the face of statements in the older portions of the Pentateuch. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the description of the sanctuary in Exod. xxxiii 7-11 not only makes no mention of Aaron, but leaves absolutely no room for him, at all events as priest. In this section Moses is obviously chief priest (for the functions discharged by the priests in the older portions of the Old Testament are precisely those of Moses here); and Joshua, his sole assistant, is what we may describe as an apprentice priest, and in that capacity is represented in another passage also (Exod. xxiv 13, 14) as accompanying his master at least some distance up the ascent of the holy mountain, and waiting for him, apart from the people, till his return. This description of Moses' priesthood is generally assigned to *E*, which mentions Aaron indeed, but in a connexion which seems to imply that he and Hur were elders or seers, *sheikhs* rather than priests. (See Exod. xxiv 14, xvii 10-12.) This representation of Aaron in *E* is parallel to that in *J*, where he occurs in conjunction with Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel (Exod. xxiv 1, 2). Wellhausen long ago pointed out that in the earlier *stratum* of *J*, in connexion with Moses, Aaron's name did not originally occur at all, and, where it is found in such connexion, seems to be the work of a redactor. It is to be noted that *J* mentions other Priests as associated with Moses, but Aaron is not one of them (Exod. xxiv 1, 2).

That the Judæan tradition down to the time of the exile contained no reference to Aaron as a priest associated with Moses is made probable also by a study of the Book of Deuteronomy. To any one acquainted with the narrative of *JE* it would appear inconceivable that Moses in a retrospect of his own life could possibly ignore Aaron. Yet Aaron's name is found in the whole Book only in three places, viz. chap. ix 20, in connexion with the Golden calf (though in vv. 12, 16, 21—cf. Exod. xxxii 35—the calf is made not by Aaron but by the people), and x 6 and xxxii 50, where his death is mentioned. In view of this scanty mention of Aaron in Deuteronomy it is not unreasonable to suppose that his name was there introduced by one of the several editors, who endeavoured to supply what must have seemed to all later readers an obvious omission. It has already been noticed

that Deuteronomy recognizes only Levitical priests and knows nothing of any sons of Aaron.

Moreover, outside the Pentateuch the only pre-Deuteronomic passage in which Aaron is mentioned is Mic. vi 4. Here one is sorely tempted to regard the name of Aaron, if not of Miriam also, as the addition of a later editor. On the whole, however, the very strangeness of the combination, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, makes it unsafe to omit either name. But Micah's words, if genuine, are no proof that the prophet regarded Aaron as priest. It is possible that he refers to some exploit of Aaron omitted in the Pentateuch, owing to the fact that he is there transformed into a priest.

NOTE. This last passage is further remarkable for the occurrence of the name Miriam. It is noteworthy that the only other passage of the Old Testament which *looks back* to Miriam is Deut. xxiv 9, where the connexion with the context is by no means obvious; for, as Mr S. A. Cook remarks, 'It is difficult to see how Miriam's *punishment* was a warning for Israel to observe the orders of the Levites in the case of an outbreak of leprosy. The difficulty in the reference, implying a discrepancy in the tradition, suggests that Num. xii 1-15 has been pretty thoroughly revised by Rp. (the seven days' seclusion v. 15 reminds one of the Levitical enactment, Lev. xiii 5)' *Enc. Bibl.* art. 'Miriam'.

This paucity of references to Aaron is in complete harmony with the impression of the character of Aaron which we get from the Pentateuch as a whole. Whatever our views may be as to the historical reality of the Old Testament worthies, there can be no question that in the great majority of instances they are made to live and move by the art of the narrators. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Saul, David, and others stand out before us as real personages, men of flesh and bone, and of like passions with ourselves. Yet though the name Aaron occurs again and again, who has any conception of the *man* Aaron? Aaron is in fact a creation without personality; a mere puppet which performs certain priestly functions when the machinery is set in motion by Moses. In three instances only is Aaron represented as acting apart from Moses' direction, viz. in the making of the golden calf (Exod. xxxii), in the omission to eat the goat of the sin-offering (Lev. x 16), and in the quarrel with Moses (Num. xii 1). The second of these

three instances is evidently only intended to give a rule of practice for a priest visited with a great calamity. In the third instance Aaron occupies a position subordinate to that of Miriam, and it would seem that to the original story of Miriam's jealousy of Moses the name Aaron was afterwards added, to account for the fact (see verses 6-8) that to Moses, not Aaron, Jehovah made His revelation. It is surely significant that the punishment falls on Miriam only, and that Aaron, after deprecating Moses' wrath against them both in v. 11, makes entreaty for Miriam only in v. 12. In Exod. xv 20, indeed, Miriam is called 'the sister of Aaron', but this is quite consistent with the mention of Aaron as an elder, and in no wise confirms the traditional view of him.

But in the first of the three instances the case is altogether different. Here Aaron acts on his own responsibility. The golden calf is his: he demands the material of which it is made: he fashions it: and he presents it to the people, and dedicates it. Certainly if any of the recorded acts of Aaron be historical, the episode of the golden calf can best claim to be so considered. It is an episode which no one in the later period of Israelitish religion would ever have been tempted to invent. The writer of a romance would not invent sins for his saints. It is, moreover, remarkable that whereas Jeroboam the son of Nebat is branded for all time as the man 'who made Israel to sin', Aaron, who was guilty of exactly the same sin, escaped all punishment, though it is not recorded that he in any way repented of it. Only in Deut. ix 20 is it implied that Jehovah was angry with Aaron on account of the calf; whereas, according to Num. xx 12-24, Aaron was excluded from Canaan not for the idolatry of the golden calf, but on account of a sin at the waters of Meribah.

Moreover, in the narrative of the golden calf, there is another inconsistency with the traditional view. The sin is committed by Aaron, a Levite (Exod. iv 14), and indeed a chief among the Levites; but it is the Levites who are most zealous for orthodoxy (Exod. xxxii 28). Three thousand men are slain for their idolatry, but the author of the idolatry escapes unpunished.

It is difficult to resist the conviction that in its original form the story of the golden calf, so far from being a blot on the memory of Aaron, rather redounded to his credit. It must be remembered that, as far as we know, Hosea was the first to

denounce the worship of images, and that Isaiah had preached at all events for some years in Jerusalem before the temple itself was cleansed of idols. The prohibitions of image worship in *JE* cannot well at the earliest be dated before the age of Hezekiah, and it may safely be inferred that, whereas an old tradition assigned the making of the golden calf to Aaron, the orthodoxy of a later generation added the story of Moses' wrath at the discovery of the image and of his destruction of it.

That the worship of the brazen serpent was no new-fangled thing in the time of Hezekiah, but had been going on from the time of Moses, is the natural meaning of 2 Kings xviii 4; and it may therefore be concluded that, at all events down to the middle of the eighth century B.C., the making of a golden calf for worship would have been regarded as a meritorious action rather than as a sin.

In the light of these facts we are surely justified in maintaining that an Aaron was honoured in the pre-Isaianic period as the founder of the cult of the golden calf. We say *an* Aaron, for, though not improbable, it is not certain that the Aaron of golden calf fame is the same as the Aaron, the elder and seer, the associate of Hur. Where then is the legend of this Aaron to be placed? Obviously the natural place to look for it would be one of the sanctuaries which possessed golden calves; of which we are acquainted with two, Dan and Bethel¹. The post-Deuteronomic author of 1 Kings xii 26-33 ascribes the institution of these sanctuaries with the golden calf at each to Jeroboam; and from his words it would naturally be inferred that down to the time of Jeroboam neither Dan nor Bethel had possessed either sanctuary, image, or priesthood.

¹ True, Hosea (viii 5) seems to speak of a calf belonging to Samaria, but as there is no evidence of any sanctuary at the *city* of Samaria, it is probable that the name Samaria is used to denote the northern kingdom, and that the reference is to Bethel, which Amos calls the royal sanctuary. In x 5 also Hosea mentions the *calves* of Beth-aven. But the feminine plural עֲלִילֹת, which, in this connexion, occurs here only, is most suspicious, and the following suffixes, referring to the idol, are in the masculine singular. It is noteworthy, as a proof that the calf of Samaria is really the calf of Bethel, that Hosea says, 'The inhabitants of Samaria shall be in terror for the calf of Beth-aven'. The contemptuous alteration of בֵּית אֵל into בֵּית אֵת may be ultimately due to Amos v 5. The sarcasm in Hos. xiii 2, though somewhat obscure, seems to be directed against the principle of idolatry, rather than against any particular locality.

But we have the express testimony of Judges xviii that at Dan a sanctuary with an image or images of some sort had existed from the early days of the Judges, and that the guild of priests who ministered there 'until the day of the captivity of the land' honoured as the founder of their order a person of no less distinguished descent than Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses. It is noteworthy that Dan, as also Shiloh and Jerusalem, unlike Bethel and Beersheba, is not connected with the story of any patriarch or judge, and hence there is good reason for accepting the account of the sanctuary there as in the main accurate.

Whether the image, or one of the images, at Dan was a golden calf is doubtful. To be sure it is possible that Jeroboam may have reorganized an existing sanctuary, presenting to it a new idol: but there is no evidence in support of such a supposition beyond the statement of the compiler of the Book of Kings; and considering his complete ignorance of the origin of the priesthood at Dan as it is given in the book of Judges, his statement can have but little historical value. It is, however, evident that he considered Dan and Bethel to have been the chief sanctuaries of the northern kingdom, and in this respect his opinion is confirmed by other passages of the Old Testament, e.g. Judges xviii, 2 Sam. xx 18 (Lxx), Amos vii 13.

It is hardly necessary to state that Bethel was a sanctuary from the time of the Israelite conquest of Canaan. This is evident not only from the belief that the place had been consecrated by the revelation there made to Jacob (Gen. xxviii), but also from its mention in connexion with other primitive sanctuaries, as in 1 Sam. vii 16.

But if the writer of 1 Kings xii 26-33 was misinformed, or drew a wrong inference, as to the founding of the sanctuary at Bethel, he was probably right in regarding Bethel as a chief seat of calf worship, and indeed, since the story of Judges xviii makes it doubtful whether the image at Dan was a calf, *the* chief seat of that worship. On the other hand, while we know that at Dan a single guild of priests, viz. that instituted by Jonathan the grandson of Moses, ministered 'until the day of the captivity of the land', we have no trustworthy evidence as to the guild of priests at Bethel.

Seeing then that there is clear evidence of the worship of the golden calf at one sanctuary only, viz. Bethel, and no evidence as to the priesthood who ministered before it, while we have an ancient tradition of an Aaron who made a golden calf, is it too daring a conjecture that the originator of the cult of the golden calf at Bethel was in N. Israel believed to be Aaron, and that the sons of Aaron performed at Bethel the functions of the priesthood? Certainly if Dan and Bethel be sister sanctuaries, the priests of Bethel would naturally be regarded as in some sort brothers of the priests of Dan. And if the priesthood of Dan be derived from Moses, and the priesthood of Bethel from Aaron, we get a new light on Exod. iv 14, 'Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite?'¹

But here a difficulty arises. If the northern tradition honoured Aaron as the founder of the cult of the calf, and believed that he lived during the Exodus, how are we to account for the fact that the tradition of the Judges takes no account of his priesthood nor of the golden calf which he made? It is, however, unnecessary to point out that the greatest uncertainty prevailed as to the exact time when certain legendary or eponymous heroes had flourished, and legendary events had taken place. Thus, for example, Jair's colonization of eastern Manasseh is recorded in Num. xxxii 41 as occurring during the lifetime of Moses; but in Judges x 3-5 as later than the time of Abimelech. Similarly the name Hormah was given in the days of Moses according to Num. xxi 3, but according to Judges i 17 after the beginning of the conquest of western Palestine. Nor was this uncertainty confined to the very early period. A comparison of the summaries of the reigns of Saul and David shews that certain military achievements were assigned to the days of those two kings; but whether Saul was the hero in them, or David, appears to have been quite uncertain.

But assuming that the view set forth above is true, viz. that Aaron was originally the founder of the Bethelite priesthood, we have yet to enquire how it came about that the founder of a priesthood of a 'high place', and that a non-Judaean one, came to be

¹ The probable connexion of Aaron with Bethel has been pointed out by others: see, for example, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. 'Aaron'. The conclusion here set forth, however, has been arrived at quite independently.

regarded as the head and source of the only orthodox priesthood in Jerusalem? To answer this question it is necessary to review briefly the religious history of Palestine from the middle of the eighth century B.C. It must be remembered that the reformation under Josiah was not the outcome of a tendency that had suddenly arisen. Reforming ideas had been 'in the air', and gradually gaining force for more than a century. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and, in all probability, many another prophet had had visions of a worship offered to Jehovah neither at Jerusalem, nor in any other mountain, whether in Judaea or in Samaria, but manifested in righteousness and mercy. It is now generally recognized that prophetic activity was greater in N. Israel than in Judaea: and since no prophet was ever a mere *vox clamans in deserto* (for in that case his words would utterly have perished), it is a fair inference, notwithstanding the statements of the Book of Kings, that there were in the kingdom of Samaria at the time of its fall a considerable number of people, albeit a minority of the nation, who cherished the teaching of Amos and Hosea.

Nor must we go beyond the statements, whether of the Bible, or of the monuments, in imagining an almost complete depopulation of N. Israel. That the ranks of the fighting-men had been sorely thinned, that all the aristocracy and priests and many of the *bourgeois* class were transported, is probable enough from the later experience of Judah; but after subtracting all these it is evident that there must have remained a very considerable population, poor indeed, and with no strong political feeling (since they had always belonged to a class whose fate it had been to be governed rather than to govern), but not necessarily less religious, or less likely to be influenced by the teaching of the prophets than those who were carried into exile. We have the emphatic testimony of Jeremiah a century later that in Jerusalem the great men were as bad as the simple and poor. The narrative of 2 Kings xvii 24-41 implies the destruction of all the N. Israelite sanctuaries. This is no doubt an unintentional exaggeration, but it is certainly highly probable that the chief sanctuaries of Jehovah were destroyed. And since Bethel was the royal sanctuary of Israel, we may consider it certain that Bethel shared the fate of Samaria.

But doubtless there were left here and there, in out-of-the-way

places, altars of Jehovah which had been too poor to attract the vengeance of the Assyrians, where it was still possible for Jehovah's devout worshippers to render to Him the firstfruits of His ground. It would seem that from time to time during the first half of the seventh century B.C. various groups of colonists from other portions of the Assyrian empire were settled in the province of Samaria, notably on the site, or in the neighbourhood, of the ruined Bethel. Owing to the fact that much of the land had gone out of cultivation, wild beasts had increased to such an extent as to become a scourge to the inhabitants; and this trouble, naturally enough, was understood to be a sign of the wrath of the god of the district. The Jehovah worshippers represented the calamity as due to the wrath of their slighted God, Jehovah, and doubtless argued, as Haggai did in a somewhat parallel case, How could the land prosper when the temple of its Deity lay waste? The result was that a petition was addressed to the King of Assyria, ostensibly on behalf of the non-Israelite portion of the population, that facilities might be given them for learning the customary law of Jehovah, who was now recognized as the undisputed God of the land. Since these settlers could not be supposed to have any very strong national feeling, the petition was granted, and a priest was allowed to reside at Bethel. Whether this priest really was a member of the original guild of priests at Bethel, or not, it is impossible to say with certainty; but it is at least probable, and in any case continuity with the former priesthood would almost certainly be claimed for the restored priesthood.

It will thus be seen that in the seventh century B.C. the worship of Jehovah was maintained in the province of Samaria, and that at Bethel, the old royal sanctuary, a priesthood derived from the old stock ministered with the sanction, and presumably under the protection, of the Assyrian governor. Truly the promise to Elijah was fulfilled, Jehovah had left to serve Him seven thousand in Israel.

But meanwhile, if the worship of Jehovah was reasserting itself in Samaria, there seemed a danger of its being suppressed, at least as the prophets understood it, in Judah. Under Manasseh a strong reaction had set in against the reformers. The reactionary party strove relentlessly to exterminate their opponents,

and a persecution ensued, in which many were put to death. But if Manasseh determined that in his own kingdom he would have no new-fangled notions, such as were associated with the name of Isaiah, his jurisdiction extended but a very short distance northward from Jerusalem. An hour and a half's walk, or thereabouts, and the persecuted Judaeans found himself beyond the reach of Manasseh's clutches, where under the *aegis* of Assyria he had freedom to worship God. When we remember the long reign of Manasseh, and the proximity of Bethel to Jerusalem, we cannot doubt that many worshippers of Jehovah fled to the former place for refuge, carrying with them their traditions of their Judaeans forefathers, and of the mighty works which Jehovah had wrought in Judah in the time of old.

It is not, of course, necessary to suppose that the worship at Bethel was of a very high degree of spirituality. Men may be ready to face exile for their faith, and yet be far removed from the spirituality of a Jeremiah. But though the community at Bethel may not have contained a Jeremiah, it is in accordance with probability to suppose that it was at least animated by a desire to serve the Lord in a better way than of old; it was, to use a metaphor of Jeremiah's, ground cleared of thorns and ploughed, ground ready to receive the seed which should be sown in it.

If the supposition that persecuted Judaeans found a refuge in Bethel be correct, we have an explanation of the comparative tenderness with which Jeremiah speaks of Samaria. Israel had shewn herself more righteous than Judah; for Judah had persecuted the saints, and Israel had offered them an asylum.

NOTE. It may, perhaps, appear to some that the possibility of an asylum for persecuted Judaeans in Bethel is precluded by the story of Josiah's desecration of Bethel. It will doubtless be felt by some that, if Josiah was free to work his will on Bethel, Manasseh may have been able to do the same. But the whole story of Josiah's pollution of the altar at Bethel, as related in 2 Kings xxiii 15-20, is shewn to be a later addition by a comparison with ver. 8, which states that Josiah carried out his reforms from *Geba* to Beersheba. *Bethel* therefore lay outside Josiah's jurisdiction, and the story of its desecration, so far as it is historical, belongs to a later date.

But to return to Judah. In the eighteenth year of King

Josiah, when Jeremiah had preached in Jerusalem for five years, the reforming party in Judah again began to lift up their heads. Although it is probable that comparatively few were willing to go to the lengths to which the great prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and possibly Jeremiah, had gone, it was evident to all who were in the least imbued with their teaching that something must be done to reform sacrificial worship. The result was the well-known compromise embodied in the legislation of Deuteronomy, by which the local sanctuaries were abolished; the clergy who ministered at them being given the privilege of joining the community of the sons of Zadok at Jerusalem. Of the manner in which the reform was carried out we have no details. It certainly was not accomplished without friction: in particular, as we have already seen, the sons of Zadok resisted strenuously, and more or less successfully, the attempt to foist strangers upon their close corporation. With one party demanding a more radical reform, with another party ready to denounce the reformers as impious desecrators of Jehovah's sanctuaries, with a fierce quarrel raging between the clergy, the latter years of the kingdom of Judah must have been as troublous from the religious as from the political point of view.

At last peace came, but it was the peace of the stricken field. The menacing arm which had been so long stretched out against Judah descended in two fearful blows. The history of N. Israel repeated itself again in Judah. Jerusalem, and to a great extent all Judah, lost the flower of the population; king, aristocracy, nobles, merchants, and the better sort of artisans were swept away, the fortifications of Jerusalem were razed to the ground, and the sons of Zadok were left to enjoy as best they could in a foreign land their victory over the country Levites.

It is, however, a great mistake to suppose that the bulk of the population were carried off to Babylon. There must have been a considerable number of inhabitants left, or it would not have been worth while to appoint Gedaliah governor. And even when we have made allowance for those who were murdered at Mizpah, and for those who subsequently took refuge in Egypt, it is evident that there still remained in Judah a by no means inconsiderable body of inhabitants. Judah, though ruined and bereaved of many of the best of her sons, was still regarded as a

living state. Those who lived there were still considered Jehovah's People. In the stirring address of the great unknown prophet, the exiles in Babylon are bidden not to *take* comfort for that they themselves shall be restored to their ancestral home, but to *give* comfort to the poverty-stricken, distressed population of Judah and Jerusalem, because their help is near.

Assuming then, as we may, that a considerable, though sadly diminished population remained behind in Palestine, what inferences may be drawn as to their religious condition? That the bulk of this population, in name at all events, acknowledged Jehovah as the only God may be considered sufficiently proved from the absence of any attempt after the return from Babylon to set up the worship of any foreign deity. It was a population, moreover, which had been compelled some thirty-four years before to perform its official worship, i.e. worship which necessitated a priest, at one sanctuary only, viz. that of Jerusalem. No doubt much that was heathenish went on notwithstanding the law of the one sanctuary; but, for the matter of that, sacrifices to earth gods, and like superstitions, lingered on in out-of-the-way districts in England even within living memory. Deprived then of their priests or Levites, with the sole sanctuary which the reformation of Josiah had spared lying in ruins, those who remained behind in Palestine were, as to religious observances, in much the same case as those who had been transported to Babylon. They were indeed, to use Wellhausen's words of the exiles, 'living under a sort of vast interdict': with this difference, however, that whereas the community of Jews in Babylon had with them a priesthood, but a priesthood that could do nothing, or next to nothing, apart from a sanctuary, those that remained behind had the holy site, and needed but a priesthood to resume the religious life of the last thirty-four years.

In these days, when the distinction between sacred and secular is so strongly marked, we are perhaps apt to forget that in a more primitive state of religion there is no such distinction, but the welfare or ill-success of a man depends upon the due observance of certain religious rites. One thing is certain; every man, whether good or bad as judged by prophetic standards, was convinced of the desirability, and indeed the necessity, of having a priesthood. Now no one willingly consents to go without

what he considers necessary, or even highly desirable, and in such a case, if the supply is possible, the demand is pretty sure to produce it. If Jerusalem had been deprived of its priests, there flourished a body of priests at Bethel, only ten miles off. And to the inhabitants of the country districts of Judah, whose Levites had by the enactment of Josiah been given the same *status* as the sons of Zadok, these priests would appear as good as those whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried off. Rigid views of Aaronite, or Zadokite, or any other succession did not yet exist. Nothing would therefore be more natural than that the thoughts of those who missed the priests of Jerusalem should be directed to the priests of Bethel. And since in all probability there was a steady influx of people into Jerusalem when the first panic was over, so that the population there was at least equal to that of Bethel, the invitation may well have been given to the priests at Bethel to forsake their sanctuary in that place and to migrate to Jerusalem. There must have been many who remembered the invitation which Jeremiah had cried to the north to the back-sliding children of N. Israel to return to Jehovah. The time had come for mutual help by mutual compromise. It must not be forgotten that the law of a single sanctuary had, to a great extent been imposed upon N. Israel by the consequences of the Assyrian conquest, and therefore the great obstacle to the religious union of the two provinces had already been removed.

NOTE. It may perhaps appear that due weight has not been given to the statement of Jer. xli 5, that 'there came certain from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, even fourscore men, having their beards shaven and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with oblations and frankincense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord'. It is certainly not a fair inference from this statement that Shechem, Shilo and Samaria already recognized Jerusalem as the religious metropolis; for it would seem that these men were Jewish refugees, not natives of the northern province. This at least is the natural inference from the statement that 'ten men were found among them, that said unto Ishmael, Slay us not: for we have stores hidden in the field, of wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of honey'. Even if Ishmael had been willing to go as far as Shiloh for forage, it is extremely improbable that he would have gone to Shechem or Samaria; nor is it obvious why the natives of these places should have hidden their stores in the field.

On the assumption therefore that the priests of Bethel became the priests of Jerusalem, it will be seen that the law of the one sanctuary became the law, not only of Judah and Benjamin, but also of a considerable district besides. We need not, however, suppose that the whole province of Samaria was at once united for religious purposes with Judah. The curious appendix to the Deuteronomic law in Deut. xxvii, which enjoins the erection of an altar on Mount Ebal and the plastering over of certain great stones, that the words of the law may be inscribed upon them, looks very much like a compromise arrived at with the natives of Shechem, when they also agreed to recognize Jerusalem as the one legitimate sanctuary. In this way the reputation which Shechem had possessed from time immemorial would be fully respected without detriment to the temple at Jerusalem. In such a compromise the priests who had formerly ministered at the sanctuary on Ebal, would probably be incorporated with the sons of Aaron at Jerusalem in accordance with the provision of Deut. xviii 6-8. The right of sanctuary which, of course, Shechem had enjoyed in the past was preserved to it. It is extremely probable that a compromise similar to that which was made with Shechem was subsequently made with the inhabitants of Gilead. The story contained in Joshua xxii, of the great altar which the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh had built 'in the region about Jordan', though scarcely historical in its present form, probably rests on a foundation of fact. An altar is a strange erection if it is only to be used as a monument. If, however, an altar actually existed, and the religious sensibilities of those who had worshipped there were shocked by the proposal to demolish it, a compromise may well have been arrived at, by which the altar itself was preserved but devoted henceforth to a new purpose.

On the hypothesis elaborated above, it seems possible to explain what must certainly be admitted as a most remarkable fact, that, for some reason or other, the province of Samaria accepted the Book of Deuteronomy before the return from captivity. Whether the statements of the Book of Ezra are strictly historical or not, one thing is absolutely certain; unless Samaria had received Deuteronomy, the whole story of the quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans is unintelligible. It is inconceivable that the

people of Samaria should voluntarily have taken upon themselves the burden of the whole law, if they had not been first prepared for it by the acceptance of Deuteronomy.

NOTE. Such a compromise as that set forth above would certainly not be effected without a very considerable amount of opposition. It is probable that the author of 2 Kings xviii 22 is putting into the mouth of Rabshakeh the gist of the protests which were still being made in his own day by the discontented section of the population in Samaria. The causes of the opposition which Nehemiah encountered are never clearly set forth. In all likelihood, however, there were not wanting in Jerusalem in the days of Zerubbabel those who aimed at making Jerusalem the civil, as well as the religious, metropolis of all Palestine, in defiance of the strong national sentiment still existing in many of the inhabitants of the province of Samaria. The words of Neh. ii 10 are perfectly natural in the mouth of a man who is convinced of the superiority of the government of his own party, and imagines that all right-minded men must be convinced of it also.

On the assumption, then, that the above hypothesis is tenable, at what point in the list of high priests are we to place the introduction of the line of Aaron? In 1 Chron. vi 13-15 the genealogy of Jehozadak, the father of Joshua the high priest in the days of Zerubbabel, is given as follows: 'and Shallum begat Hilkiyah, and Hilkiyah begat Azariah; and Azariah begat Seraiah, and Seraiah begat Jehozadak; and Jehozadak went *into captivity*, when the Lord carried away Judah and Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar': Joshua being thus directly connected with the pre-exilic Jerusalem priesthood of Zadok. But this genealogy is so obvious an inference to any one who starts with the Chronicler's assumption of the antiquity of the Pentateuch, and of a succession of high priests in accordance with its requirements, that it is quite unnecessary to suppose that the Chronicler found it in any ancient document. For Haggai makes it plain that Joshua was the son of Jehozadak; and 2 Kings xxv 18 (cf. Jer. lli 24) states that the name of the chief priest who ministered under Zedekiah, and was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar, was Seraiah. Since Seraiah had been chief priest up to the year 587 B.C. and the Chronicler believed Joshua to have become chief priest in the first year of Cyrus, it was natural to conclude (since there was room for but one generation

between the two) that Jehozadak, the father of Joshua, was the son of Seraiah. But since, according to the above theory, Joshua may be regarded as an Aaronite, not a Zadokite, his father Jehozadak must be an Aaronite also, the Chronicler having at this point grafted the Aaronite branch on to the Zadokite stock.

NOTE. No apology is needed for treating the priestly genealogies in Chronicles as unhistorical artificialities: see, for example, *Encyc. Bibl.* art. 'Genealogies'.

Whether Joshua, or Jehozadak, or the father of Joshua, was the first Aaronite priest to minister at Jerusalem cannot be determined with certainty; it is, however, probable that Joshua was not the first of his line, and that he owes his prominence to the peculiar circumstances of his priesthood. Opinion is still by no means unanimous as to the amount of weight which is to be assigned to the account given in Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah of the return under Zerubbabel; and it is impossible adequately to discuss the matter here. As, however, the whole theory now set forth assumes that it is unhistorical, the present writer must briefly state his main reason for so regarding it, which is the intense difficulty, if not the impossibility, of reconciling it with the statements of the contemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah. For not only do these prophets refer the desolate condition of the sanctuary entirely to the selfishness and slackness of the community, and say nothing of any opposition from outside, but they absolutely ignore the wonderful fulfilment of prophecy, if such a fulfilment really had come to pass, of the first year of Cyrus. Nor can this difficulty be lightly brushed aside on the ground that Haggai and Zechariah do not mention the Return because they, in common with those to whom they preached, had taken part in it. Which of us that is a preacher, in exhorting a congregation to trust God's grace for the future, would ignore a notable manifestation of that grace given to them and to himself some sixteen years before? Of what use would it be to affirm that God's power still will lead us on, unless we acknowledge that it has blest us hitherto? But given a belief in the literal fulfilment of prophecy, and in the historical accuracy of Scripture, such as the Chronicler probably held, and such as most adult Christians were probably trained in as children, can we wonder at the Chronicler's inference that, since the book of

Isaiah names Cyrus as deliverer, therefore Cyrus must have been the deliverer? And what idea of a deliverance could the Chronicler have had, other than of a return from captivity? And if he should have known something (as he well may have done) about the decree of Cyrus authorizing the restoration of the gods to their shrines, how natural an inference to one in the Chronicler's circumstances to conclude that the zeal of Cyrus really was directed to the restoration of Jehovah's house at Jerusalem!

Not that we must necessarily go to the other extreme and suppose that no one came to Judah from Babylon in the time of Cyrus. The various officials who were appointed to the government of the province of Judah may have brought with them as interpreters and the like a certain number of men of Jewish birth, while it is also probable that some priests returned with Zerubbabel: and in this way the exiles in Babylon would be to some extent kept in touch with Palestine. But passing over the reign of Cyrus, of which we have no definite information, and not stopping to discuss the much vexed question of the identity of Sheshbazzar, we emerge into clearer light with the reign of Darius, and the preaching of Haggai and Zechariah. Now the fact that after a long interval of silence two prophets begin to prophesy simultaneously is a pretty sure indication of the recent occurrence of some very striking event in the political world. And when we consider the glowing hopes which Zechariah associates with Zerubbabel, it is difficult to resist the conviction that it was the appointment of Zerubbabel, the first governor of the old royal stock since the destruction of Jerusalem, which so kindled the fire of the prophet's aspirations. Zechariah anticipates that Zerubbabel will be a king upon his throne (Wellhausen's restoration of the text of Zech. vi 9-15 is here followed), and that following upon his coronation 'they that are far off shall come and build in the temple of the Lord'; in other words the restoration of Zerubbabel is an earnest of a much greater restoration of exiles still to come. Only Zerubbabel and Joshua and all the people of the land must recognize the paramount sovereignty of Jehovah. His house is far more important than any house of Zerubbabel's; if that be built, He will complete the work which He has begun.

But what can we learn from Haggai and Zechariah about

Joshua the son of Jehozadak? In the Book of Haggai he is simply mentioned with Zerubbabel; and we can draw no inferences as to his personality. In the Book of Zechariah, however, we learn two very significant facts about him. In the prophet's vision in chapter iii Joshua is presented to us as upon his trial before the angel of the Lord, the Satan standing upon his right hand to be his adversary. To have the Satan standing at one's right hand means, as Wellhausen says, to be visited with some misfortune. It is true that Zechariah does not state the nature of this misfortune; but the very remarkable language which he uses in chap. vi 9-15 may possibly furnish a clue both to the nature of Joshua's trial, and the prophet's reticence about it. Again it must be remembered that Wellhausen's restoration of the text is here followed, according to which only one crown is made, which is placed upon the head of Zerubbabel; after which the prophet proceeds as follows: *'Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the Sprout; and he shall sprout forth out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord . . . and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit, and rule upon his throne; and Joshua shall be a priest at his right hand: and the counsel of peace shall be between them both.'* In this emphatic assertion of Joshua's position as priest at Zerubbabel's right hand, and in the significant addition that the counsel of peace shall be between them both, may we not read between the lines that the counsel of peace had not always been between Zerubbabel and Joshua? that the position of Joshua had not been hitherto altogether assured, and that an attempt had been made by Zerubbabel and his party to oust Joshua from his position? It would be almost inevitable that Zerubbabel, having been brought up in a country where the influence of the sons of Zadok was paramount, should look with suspicion on any other priestly guild. However, if this is the true explanation of the jealousy between Zerubbabel and Joshua, the prophetic party in Palestine, while recognizing the former as head of the community, would not tolerate any deposition of Joshua from the priesthood, and such of the sons of Zadok as had returned with Zerubbabel were compelled to accept him as their head. If, therefore, as seems likely, Zerubbabel was not strong enough to carry his point against the opposition of the population of Judah, the result

would be the ultimate strengthening of Joshua's position; since he would have been recognized not only by the Palestinian remnant, but also by one who was regarded by the exiles in Babylon as their accredited chief. And when the news was carried to Babylon, as it soon would be, that the sons of Aaron had been recognized as legitimate priests by Zerubbabel himself, and that henceforth there would be no room for the sons of Zadok, except they should consent to be merged in the guild of Aaron, the title 'sons of Aaron' would in the phraseology of the Jewish lawyers in Babylon take the place of the title 'sons of Zadok', and Aaron would be associated with Moses in a brotherhood that should endure for ever¹.

But the objection will doubtless be made that this assumption leaves unexplained the fact that, notwithstanding the postulated supplanting of the sons of Zadok by the sons of Aaron, the former ultimately prevailed; for in the New Testament the high priest and his party belong to the sect of the Sadducees. However, if, as seems probable, the Sadducees are the same as the sons of Zadok, it is by no means difficult to account for their coming into prominence again. Whatever views be held of the return under Zerubbabel, there can be little doubt that Ezra was accompanied by a considerable following, which consisted in great measure of priests. These who, though from a legal point of view they were sons of Aaron, were also of course sons of Zadok, were very probably more numerous than the priests actually ministering at Jerusalem; and it is reasonable to suppose that they would be superior to the latter in education. Friction would almost inevitably ensue between these newcomers and the priests whom they found in possession; and considering the temper of Ezra and Nehemiah, such friction would be not unlikely to result in an open quarrel. There was no Zechariah to recommend that the counsel of peace should be between the two factions. And thus once more the old tribal jealousy would break out in absolute schism, and the more independent spirits would return to the spot which their fathers

¹ Nehemiah mentions *Levites* as present at Jerusalem on the occasion of his first visit, and as building some of the city wall. It is not, however, clear whether the distinction between Levites and priests was already recognized in Jerusalem, or due to Nehemiah himself. Neh. vii 1 makes the latter explanation possible.

had accounted holy, founding there a sect of dissenters that has continued to this day¹.

In any attempt to reconstruct history from the fragmentary materials of the Old Testament, there is of necessity great room for subjectivity; and from the very nature of the case proof, such as the mathematician demands, is impossible. But as the anatomist, who from a few scattered bones reconstructs a whole skeleton—always provided that such a skeleton is in accordance with the ascertained facts of comparative anatomy—may be considered to have given a correct restoration of the original skeleton, until some other bone be found which will not fit into it; so a theory, which gathers into a whole the ascertained facts of criticism, may, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, be considered as giving in the main a correct view of history.

And it may be further claimed for this theory that it not only offers a solution of the problems with which it more directly deals, it also supplies a perfectly natural explanation of the composition of the Pentateuch. It is impossible here to give more than the most meagre outline; but such an outline will probably be enough to answer an objection which will present itself to many people. Since it is generally considered that the Book of Deuteronomy rests upon the united composition *JE*, and Deuteronomy is usually regarded as pre-exilic, a theory which assigns to the exile the compilation of *JE* may be thought to be wrecked on this rock. In the first place then, is it in any way necessary

¹ It is by no means improbable that a breach between the Samaritans and Judah had occurred before the time of Nehemiah. The lamentable condition of Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah seems scarcely explicable, except on the assumption that some disaster had occurred subsequent to the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. If, as seems probable, the glowing hopes which the latter prophet had expressed for Zerubbabel had awakened an expectation of the revival of the Davidic monarchy, the inhabitants of Samaria may have resented the claim of the house of David to lord it over all Palestine, and may themselves have attacked Jerusalem; or, by representing it as guilty of treason to the Persian government, they may have induced the King of Persia to intervene. It is at least remarkable that in a number of passages which may reasonably be assigned to the period between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah (e. g. 2 Sam. vii, Ps. xviii, &c.) we find bright hopes expressed for the dynasty of David, hopes which seem to go beyond the language of Zechariah. About the same time we have Psalms which speak of the godly as oppressed by wicked men who seem at all events to pose as Israelites (cf. also 1 Sam. ii 9). But such a struggle, if it took place, would be due rather to political than to religious jealousy.

to suppose that Deuteronomy is pre-exilic? It has often been supposed that it was the possession of this book which made it possible for the Jewish exiles to preserve their religion in Babylon. But it is surely a most remarkable fact that the man who of all others might be expected to have drunk in the teaching of Deuteronomy shews no acquaintance with it. This has reference to the Book of Deuteronomy, not to the law enshrined in it.

Ezekiel was a priest of that sanctuary which owed its unique position to the Deuteronomic law; he was engaged in combating the very superstitions against which the Book of Deuteronomy contains such solemn warnings; and yet he never backs up his own words by an appeal to the one book which on the common theory was considered authoritative scripture, nor is there any indication that his language was in any way influenced by its remarkable phraseology. This is a matter which deserves fuller treatment, but space forbids.

Probably, however, it will still be objected that in whatever way the diversity of Ezekiel and Deuteronomy be explained, there is no explaining away the testimony of the Book of Jeremiah; the common view being that Jeremiah shews the influence of Deuteronomy on every page. But without stopping to enquire whether the Book of Jeremiah or the Book of Deuteronomy is the earlier, it must be insisted upon that the Book of Jeremiah as it stands cannot be appealed to as consisting of the *ipsissima verba* of Jeremiah. In the words of so sober a critic as Dr A. B. Davidson: 'The literary style of Jeremiah can scarcely be spoken of, because, strictly speaking, we have no literature from him. The narrative pieces in the book are not from his own hand; and even when fragments of his speeches are reported in these narratives, they have in many cases passed through the narrator's mind, and may have been somewhat modified. The presence of some or many characteristic phrases of Jeremiah in the reports is not proof of their literal fidelity. And in any case such reports are mere compends, in regard to which the question of style can hardly be raised. The only parts of the book on which a judgment in respect of style can be formed are the chapters dictated to Baruch, chapters i-xvii, and any other passages which appear to come directly from Jeremiah's own hand. Even the dictated

passages are mere outlines and skeletons; the prophet's object was to preserve and present to others, the matter, the religious contents of his oracles—he was little solicitous about the form. No doubt something of Jeremiah's literary manner will be reflected in these fragments, but they represent very inadequately what he was capable of as a writer.¹

But though we may not have the *ipsissima verba* of any complete discourse, it can surely hardly be doubted that isolated sayings have come down to us with substantial accuracy. And if this be granted, we can surely form some estimate of the prophet's language. When we consider Jeremiah's phrases which, as Dr Davidson says, 'haunt the ear', when we take into account the exquisite elegies enshrined in the book which bears his name, as well as the outpourings of his personal religion, can we refuse to recognize that he was not only a prophet, but also a poet—a poet down to his finger-tips. Jeremiah is no mere stringer together of devotional tags, but an original thinker: and if this be recognized, there will be little difficulty in deciding, not that Jeremiah quotes Deuteronomy, but that the phrases of Deuteronomy are due to the permanent impression which Jeremiah left on the religious language of his people. Space forbids an elaboration of this contention; but the present writer cannot refrain from stating that a careful comparison of Jeremiah with Deuteronomy, undertaken with reference to this very question, has only strengthened his conviction¹.

If, however, Jeremiah is not influenced by Deuteronomy but *vice versa*, there is no need to date the composition of the latter book before the exile, and we find ourselves in a position to form some idea of the way in which the various documents of the Pentateuch were put together. The age of Jeremiah was apparently the age of law-writing, just as the age of St Luke was the age of gospel-writing. And the parallel probably holds good also in respect of the subject-matter. Just as 'many took in hand to draw up narratives' which in all probability the Church could not have accepted, so, doubtless, many took in hand to draw up law-books, setting forth each one his own

¹ The wording of Deuteronomy xviii 6, 'from any of thy gates out of all Israel', is much more natural, if for purposes of worship Judah and Samaria had been amalgamated, than if the law of Deuteronomy was intended for Judah only.

particular ideas. May it not be of some such unauthorized law-books that Jeremiah declares that the deceitful pen of scribes has been busy in deceit? (Jer. viii 8.)

It is not improbable that the code of *J* represents an early effort of the reforming party to formulate a law for Judah; and the persecution of the reformers and their flight into N. Israel, which we have seen to be probable, may not improbably have given the impetus to a similar movement in the latter country. It is by no means certain that Deuteronomy or any portion of it was the book which was found in the temple and read before Josiah. It may have been the code of *J*. For the reform when once begun may well have gone beyond the law which gave to it its original impetus. It may, however, have been a prophetic work, e.g. Micah. The whole account of Josiah's reforms, although not all of one date, is probably all later than the Book of Deuteronomy which has coloured the language throughout. In all likelihood the code of Deuteronomy merely crystallizes and gives a permanent legal form to the reforms which Josiah had already inaugurated.

At the religious union of Judah and Samaria, which certainly took place during the exile, and which has been assigned above to a migration of the sons of Aaron from Bethel to Jerusalem, a difficulty would arise that each province had its own law-book; the code of *J* being authoritative in Judah, *E* in Samaria. In such a case we may be pretty certain that neither province would consent to give up its own law-book, and adopt that of the other, and a compromise would be necessary. Such a compromise we not improbably have in the combined work of *JE*.

But since the writing of the component parts of *JE* a great change had come about in religious feeling. Jeremiah's teaching, little as the prophet himself suspected it, had been slowly producing its effect on religious thought. The leaven of his doctrine had been hidden in many measures of superstition, but now the whole lump was leavened. The result would be a desire for something more prophetic, more spiritual than the mere dry bones of a code of laws. To such a desire Deuteronomy would seem to owe its origin. It formulates the law indeed, but by dwelling on Jehovah's goodness as the chief motive of obedience to the law, it seeks to change the law into a gospel.

Whether any of Deuteronomy was written before the Exile, or whether the book itself with its successive prefaces and additions is entirely an exilic production, cannot perhaps be determined with certainty. The term exilic must of course be understood of the date, not of the locality. That Deuteronomy is a Palestinian work is sufficiently proved not only by internal evidence, but also by the fact that it has had no influence on the language of Ezekiel.

The Palestinian community would therefore possess two canonical law-books, the one, *JE*, holding a position not unlike that of St Mark's Gospel among the four Gospels, the other, Deuteronomy, roughly corresponding to St Matthew's Gospel. It remains to be shewn how these two books came to be combined with the rest of the Pentateuch.

While the development of the law just described was going on in the west, the Jewish Church in Babylon was also engaged in setting in order the priestly traditions of the sons of Zadok. The originator of this movement would seem to be the prophet Ezekiel, who, however, did not confine himself to merely recording primitive usage, but freely introduced alterations when it seemed advisable to do so. Ezekiel's initiative appears to have been followed by others, who worked out the laws of Israel in relation to the traditions of the ancestry of Israel; probably enlarging, and to some extent correcting, the legends by the help of the parallel Babylonian stories. The redactor or redactors of this priestly tradition would seem to have been in ignorance of the Palestinian books *JE* and Deuteronomy; or at any rate, if a copy had reached Babylon, it appears not to have been considered canonical. The result was that each division of the Jewish people had its own law; the western what may be described as a prophetic, the eastern a priestly law.

It is related of Ezra that he came to Jerusalem, having 'set his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgements'. But in carrying out this intention he would find a very serious obstacle in the fact that those to whom his mission was directed were in possession of a law differing in many important particulars from that in which he himself was so well versed. It would have been impossible to induce them to give up their own law, even if Ezra had desired

to do so; and we may be sure that he had no thought of giving up his own. But since it was absolutely necessary that the Church of Israel should have but one authoritative law, if it were not to be permanently split into two factions, a compromise was resorted to similar to that which had resulted in the book *JE*. The priestly law of Babylon was combined with the law of the Palestinian community. This law, published as it was in Jerusalem, by the accredited representatives of the Church of the eastern dispersion, was universally accepted as the law of the Jewish race; and when we consider the enormous influence it has had in separating Israel from the pollutions of the heathen, we may surely recognize in its complicated history the working out of God's eternal purpose. The law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ, so that the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and righteous, and good.

R. H. KENNETT.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST MATTHEW.

IN September and October, 1904, I published in the *Monthly Review* two articles on the subject of the origin of the Gospels, but dealing exclusively with the Gospel of St Mark. The theory which was set forth in those articles must be briefly presented here in outline in order to render what is said on St Matthew more easily intelligible.

I argued that the reason why the various traditional accounts of the origin of St Mark's Gospel appear to be confused and incompatible one with another was because they do not all refer to the same edition, as we should now call it, of the Gospel; and I suggested that there were three editions of St Mark, all put forth by the evangelist himself, but at different periods—the first at Caesarea about A.D. 42, the second some years later at Alexandria, and the third at Rome after the martyrdom of St Peter, say in A.D. 68 or thereabouts. The first of these editions was used by St Luke, the second is incorporated into St Matthew's Gospel, and the third is the Gospel of St Mark as we have it now. I shewed that this theory, though at first sight it may seem rather wild, finds support in the writings of the earliest centuries, and has, therefore, so much at least of solid basis to rest on. Moreover such a theory, if it can be admitted, would go far towards the solution of many of the more obvious difficulties of the Synoptic Problem. For detailed evidence I must be content here to refer to my articles in the *Monthly Review*. My present object is to carry the investigation a step further, and to see how far it is possible, with the help of this hypothesis, to contribute something towards the solution of the difficult problem as to the origin of the Gospel which has come down to us connected with the name of St Matthew¹.

¹ In my study of the subject I have derived most help from Wright's *Synopsis*, Bacon's *Introduction*, and Godet, who has the clearest statement that I have seen

In the first place we have to notice that, according to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, St Matthew wrote his Gospel not in Greek, but in Hebrew—that is to say in the Aramaic dialect which was the spoken language of Palestine in our Lord's time. Not only is that the testimony of Papias, who was almost a contemporary, but it is corroborated by every writer of the earliest centuries who touches upon the matter; and they seem in most instances not to be dependent only on Papias for their information. Unless we are to throw over primitive tradition altogether we must be prepared to admit that St Matthew wrote in Hebrew and not in Greek, and therefore that the Gospel which we call by his name to-day is, so far as it represents his original work, a translation, possibly indeed made by himself, but far more probably by another hand.

But, secondly, our present Greek Gospel is not a translation at all, at least it is not in its entirety a translation of a single work originally written in another language. That is a point which it is quite within the power of criticism to decide, and it is one on which critics are unanimous. The Greek Gospel, therefore, is not a mere translation of the Hebrew Gospel originally written by St Matthew. On the contrary, it is a composite work, and incorporates the Gospel of St Mark practically entire. If, therefore, we are to find in it a translation of the Hebrew Gospel written by St Matthew it is to the remaining and non-Markan portions that we have to look. For it may be that the Gospel has received its title, 'according to St Matthew', not because St Matthew himself is to be regarded as the original author and composer of the whole of the book as we now have it, but, *a principali parte*, because the book contains incorporated in it, as its most important constituent, the work which St Matthew actually did compose. In that

about the division of the *Logia* into five books. Sir John Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae* p. 132) has noted, in regard to the five collections of Discourses in St Matthew, that Papias also divided his *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord* into five books; and—since this article was in type—I learn that Dr Nestle has drawn attention to the probability of connexion between the work of Papias and the five collections of Discourses in St Matthew, suggesting that a collection of the Discourses of our Lord in five books was the basis of his Exposition as also of our First Gospel (see his article 'Die Fünfteilung im Werk des Papias und im ersten Evangelium'—*Zeitschr. f. die neuest. Wissensch.* Bd. i (1900), S. 252-254).

case the position would be analogous to that of the book of the Psalms, which are called 'the Psalms of David'—not because David wrote the whole, for he certainly did not, but because the psalms which David did compose are included in and form the most important part of the whole book. Another instance might be found in 'the Proverbs of Solomon', which include, beside Solomon's, collections of proverbs the authors of which are actually named as Agur and Lemuel (Prov. xxx and xxxi).

Taking, then, this theory of incorporation as our working hypothesis, we proceed to the examination of the text of the Greek Gospel with a view of reconstructing from it, if we can, the substance of St Matthew's Hebrew composition. It can hardly have been a 'Gospel' in our modern sense, and is possibly accurately described by Papias as *Logia*, which is most naturally translated as meaning a collection of discourses¹. The fidelity with which the editor has preserved the substance, and in very many cases the actual words of St Mark, leads us to suppose that he will in all probability have been equally careful in dealing with the text of his other, and in some ways his principal, authority.

We begin by going through the Gospel and striking out, paragraph by paragraph, and verse by verse, all those portions which are also to be found in St Mark's Gospel, and which are, therefore, indisputably Marcan in origin. These portions may be set aside for the purposes of our present enquiry, though, of course, we must not forget that there is always a possibility that the Marcan Gospel and the Hebrew Gospel of St Matthew may have overlapped, and that the same matter may have been found in both. We must not, therefore, finally conclude that because a particular passage is found in St Mark it cannot also have been contained in the original St Matthew. But for the present, while our ideas are still so undecided, we put the whole of the Marcan matter aside.

The remainder of the Gospel, when the Marcan narrative has been abstracted, presents an amorphous and confused appearance. The Gospel of St Mark has formed, so to speak, the backbone,

¹ No doubt the term *Logia*, as Lightfoot has shewn, need not exclude narrative matter; but still the other is the more probable interpretation, and as such is adopted throughout this article.

around which the rest has been grouped, and taking it away has resulted in leaving the rest without any clear connexion or cohesion. But we can do something still to bring our remaining materials into order. There is a well-marked group of narratives included among them which have a character quite distinct from the rest, and are short narratives, each complete in itself, which seem to have been interpolated from elsewhere into the Marcan text, of which they were not originally part. This group comprises the whole story of the birth of our Lord contained in the first two chapters of St Matthew's Gospel; and also the narratives of St Peter walking upon the sea (xiv 28-32), the coin found in the mouth of the fish (xvii 24-27), the suicide of Judas (xxvii 3-8), Pilate's wife's dream (xxvii 19), Pilate washing his hands before the people (xxvii 24-25), the earthquake at the time of the crucifixion and the rising of the saints (xxvii 51-53), the guard set on the tomb (xxvii 62-65), and the bribing of the soldiers (xxviii 11-15); besides several single verses of lesser importance. If the position of any one of these narratives in St Matthew's Gospel be carefully studied, it will be seen that it has simply been inserted into the text of St Mark in such a way that if it is taken away or bracketed out, the text that remains will be practically identical with that which is found in St Mark's Gospel. We will take one instance as an example to shew what we mean.

St Mark.

xv 14. And Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out exceedingly, Crucify him.

15. And Pilate, wishing to content the multitude, released unto them Barabbas, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.

St Matthew.

xxvii 23. And he said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out exceedingly, saying, Let him be crucified.

(24, 25. Pilate washes his hands.)

26. Then released he unto them Barabbas: but Jesus he scourged and delivered to be crucified.

It is quite clear in these cases that the relations of these narratives are more probably with the Marcan source of

St Matthew's Gospel than with the source which we are now **trying** to recover. They seem to be additions drawn from some **other** source and inserted into the original text of St Mark at **some** time between the date of its first composition and that of **its** union with the other source or sources to form the Gospel **of** St Matthew, and we therefore strike them out, just as we have **done** already with the more purely Marcan matter, as not being **useful** for our present purpose, which is to recover, if it be **possible** to do so, the original non-Markan writing which has **been** combined in this Gospel with the text of St Mark.

The usual, and one might almost say the invariable, course which has been followed by the critics in their endeavours to attain their object has been to take as the basis for further investigation those portions of the non-Markan matter in St Matthew's Gospel which are also found, either actually or at least in substance, in St Luke's Gospel. They have assumed, that is to say, that the authors of both St Matthew's Greek Gospel and St Luke's Gospel have had access to and have made use of the book of the *Logia* which Papias tells us was composed in Aramaic by St Matthew, and have accordingly endeavoured to reconstruct this original writing from those portions which are found in both of these two Gospels, and yet cannot be shewn to be drawn from the Gospel of St Mark. But this method has not succeeded in giving us any clear and definite ideas; on the contrary, it can only be said to have proved itself a failure. The resulting collection of material is not uniform either in matter or in style, and does not lend itself to such a description as that of 'The Discourses of the Lord'. Such invariable failure, even in the hands of the ablest scholars, to attain definite results, or to throw any clear light on the problem they are trying to solve, suggests strongly that they have missed the way and have wandered down a path which will not lead them to the discovery of the truth. We, therefore, put this method altogether aside, and cast about to see whether we cannot find some other clue which may guide us to more satisfactory results.

There are two directions in which such a clue may possibly be found. The one is in a careful comparison, one with another, of those non-Markan passages which are found both in St Matthew

and St Luke, and the other is in the internal evidence afforded by St Matthew's Gospel itself. For it is clear from the very name that it is in St Matthew's Gospel rather than in St Luke's that we shall expect to find the clearest traces of St Matthew's earlier collection of discourses in Aramaic. If we are not mistaken, it is quite possible to find such clues in each of these examinations—clues which lead in the same direction, and therefore give a strong probability to the conclusions which follow from their pursuit.

The non-Marcan passages of St Matthew, when carefully compared with St Luke, fall readily into three classes very clearly marked off one from another. The first class will consist of those passages which are to a considerable extent *verbally* identical with the parallel passages in St Luke. In these cases there must be, in some way or other, dependence upon a single Greek source, and almost certainly a written source, for the only other alternative, namely that one evangelist has directly copied from the other, is quite inadmissible for other reasons. The second class will include all passages reproduced *in substance but not verbally*. In these cases there is obviously some literary connexion between the two, but it need be nothing more than oral tradition, which has reached the two evangelists in different ways and through different channels. The third class will consist of those passages which are to be found in St Matthew's Gospel only, and of which there is no counterpart to be found in St Luke.

The passages which show *verbal* identities, and which must therefore be due to the use of a common Greek source, are very easily distinguishable by the aid of any good Synopsis of the Gospels. The following must certainly be assigned to this class:

Matt. iii 7-12	Luke iii 7-9, 17,	The Baptist's Preaching.
iv 2-11	iv 9-13,	The Temptation.
viii 5-13	vii 1-10,	The Centurion's Servant.
viii 18-22	ix 57-60,	Would-be Disciples.
xi 2-19	vii 18-35,	The Baptist's Message, &c.
xi 20-7	x 13-16, 21-2	Woe to Chorazin, &c.

In the same category we must probably place a passage in

chapter vi 22-33, on worldliness, and a good deal, though it is difficult to say exactly how much, of chapters xii and xxiii, which are mostly concerned with denunciations of the unbelief of the Galilaean cities and of the Pharisaism of the day. Taken all together these passages have strongly Marcan characteristics and affinities, and we should have no hesitation in assigning them to that source were it not that they are either missing altogether from St Mark's Gospel, or else are found there only in a very much shorter form. Still they obviously are not sufficiently continuous or connected to justify us in assuming another and a separate source, nor do they seem likely to have belonged to the collection of 'discourses' of which we are in search. We will, therefore, without at present considering the question of their origin, strike them out in their turn, as not being of interest for our present purpose.

If at this stage we pause and examine our much reduced Gospel of St Matthew we shall find that we have, almost without knowing it, attained a very interesting result. For the remaining portion, leaving isolated verses out of consideration, proves to be composed of a number of large blocks of material, and these of a singularly homogeneous character. We have struck out practically the whole of the first four chapters, and we have the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters left to us almost entire.

After the 7th chapter we have the 10th, a good deal of the 13th and 22nd, and almost all the 24th and 25th, and that is all. Everything else has been struck out under one or other of the headings of which we have treated above.

On looking closely at these remnants which we have thus sifted out from the whole Gospel, we cannot fail to be struck with the uniformity of the matter of which they are composed. They consist entirely of discourses spoken by our Lord, the Sermon on the Mount forming the first portion, and the rest being either parables or else discourse matter of a similar character. There is absolutely no narrative remaining now that the Marcan foundation on which these discourses have been built up has been removed. Altogether we could not possibly find anything which would answer more perfectly to such a description as Papias has given us of St Matthew's work. We have here 'The Discourses

of the Lord' in a collected form, and unmixed with any extraneous matter. It hardly seems necessary to carry our investigation further to discover the other source which has been combined with St Mark to form our present Gospel. And since it is manifest that the compiler of our present Gospel has been careful to preserve the whole of St Mark's work so far as it was known to him, we have every reason to suppose that he will have dealt in a similarly conservative spirit with his other principal source, so that we have here not merely extracts from the *Logia* of St Matthew but an incorporation of the whole of this earlier work. We have the more reason to think this because the Greek Gospel now bears the name of St Matthew, and this could hardly have come to be unless St Matthew's work were fully represented in it.

It will be felt by almost all who examine these discourses that in their unity of treatment and in the completeness of the subject-matter is involved a very considerable probability that we have in them a full representation of the original work, but this probability is very much increased, and our ideas of the original form and contents of the book of the *Logia* are made very much clearer by a remarkable peculiarity in the actual text which we may now proceed to notice. This peculiarity consists in a kind of refrain, or recurring formula, which is placed by the evangelist at each of the places at which he resumes the ordinary narrative after the longer passages of discourse material. This formula recurs five times, precisely at the close of those five long discourses which we have already separated out from the rest of St Matthew's Gospel, and is almost identically the same in every case. 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these sayings' (vii 28, xi 1, xiii 53, xix 1, xxvi 1). The only variations are that at the end of the series of parables the formula runs 'When Jesus had finished these parables', and that in the last case (xxvi 1) it is 'When Jesus had finished all these sayings'. One is naturally led to the idea that we have in these five great discourses—thus definitely marked off and indicated by the compiler of the Gospel—the five parts of an earlier book, antecedent to our present Gospel and now separated and distributed in the larger work. Nor is it necessary to do anything more than simply to bring them together to reconstruct what was apparently the complete work in five

chapters or, as in those days they would have been called, five books. Collected together they form a complete treatise on the teaching of Christ concerning the new kingdom—a treatise which contains all that part of His teaching which was of a permanent and legislative character, and from which all that was merely local and temporary has been excluded. The whole treatise seems designed to serve as a manual of the New Law for the use of the Church at large, drawn exclusively from the teaching of our Lord and expressed wholly in His words. Its contents will be as follows :

Book

I (v, vi, vii.	The Sermon on the Mount).	The New Law.
II (x.	Mission of the Twelve).	The Rulers of the Kingdom.
III (xiii, xxii).		Parables of the Kingdom.
IV (xviii).		Relations of the members of the Kingdom one with another.
V (xxiv, xxv).		The coming of the King.

The single note of 'the Kingdom', and 'the New Law' runs through all the five discourses and gives its character to the whole. The unity and completeness of subject is so striking that it is impossible that it can be merely due to chance, and we may with considerable confidence assume that we have here a complete earlier work, and in all probability, therefore, the actual book of the 'Discourses of the Lord' to the existence of which Papias has borne witness.

It is worth while too to notice the number of the chapters into which this book seems to have been divided. We can understand that as there were five 'books' of Moses and five 'books' of the Psalms, so also it would have seemed right in the eyes of a Jew of that period, to whom the symbolism of numbers meant so much more than it does to us, that there should also be five 'books' of the Sayings of the True Prophet whose coming Moses and David had foretold. It is also, perhaps, worth our while to notice that the 'Explanations of the Sayings of the Lord' which were published by Papias were also divided into five books, as we learn from Irenaeus. It suggests that the basis on which those 'Explanations' were built, the text in fact to which they served as a commentary, was no other than the *Logia* of St Matthew,

and that each 'book' of the Explanations corresponded to and commented on one of the 'books' into which the original work of St Matthew was divided.

Now if the *Logia* must thus be restricted to the five great discourses, two very interesting and important conclusions immediately follow. The first is that the whole class of matter which shews *verbal* coincidences between St Matthew and St Luke, and which is not contained in St Mark at all, cannot have formed part of the *Logia*. We shall have, therefore, now to return to the consideration of this part of the Gospel in the hope of determining whence it actually was drawn. The second conclusion, which follows as a corollary to the first, is that St Luke either does not reckon the *Logia* at all among his sources, or if he does, it is through a different translation than that which is contained in St Matthew. This is proved to be so by the fact that no part of the *Logia* material contained in both Gospels shews verbal coincidences.

We go back, then, to the consideration of the passages we have already noted as shewing a close verbal connexion, and which are enumerated on p. 192. If they are not from the *Logia* whence do they come? The obvious answer is that they are Marcan in origin. For in every way they conform to what we have learnt to expect in those portions of St Matthew and St Luke which are drawn from that source. They greatly resemble St Mark's Gospel both in their style and in the nature of their contents. They are not inserted into the text as later interpolations, but are closely connected with and grow naturally out of the portions that are Marcan beyond dispute. Moreover, they shew constant verbal coincidences with the corresponding passages in St Luke, and therefore they must either be Marcan in origin or else we are compelled to invent another Greek written source which has been used by both evangelists. If we do assume the existence of such a source, we have still to explain how it comes about that both have preserved these disjointed fragments of this source and nothing more, and why they have both joined them on, independently of one another, in several instances to exactly the same phrases of St Mark. Obviously it will be a far more simple explanation if only we can consider them as Marcan. But, on the other hand, how can they possibly be Marcan, if St Mark's

Gospel has not got them? The answer is that this is possible in one way, and in one way only. It is possible only if there were several editions of St Mark, of which editions our present St Mark is the latest, while the other evangelists made use of earlier ones. It is possible, that is to say, only if we can conceive that St Mark included them in his earlier editions, and that thence they found their way into St Matthew and St Luke, but that they were deliberately cut out from his last edition by St Mark himself. The theory of the three editions of St Mark once more supplies us with a possible solution of a problem that is otherwise very hard to solve.

If we consider the passages in question in this light we shall see at once that many of them, however suitable for a Gospel written in Palestine in A.D. 42, might be less valuable for Roman readers after A.D. 70. The figure of John the Baptist and his preaching were of less importance for Gentiles who had never heard of John than for those to whom his name and teaching were familiar, and who possibly were already prepared, with the Jews themselves, to hold him for a prophet. The same argument applies to the denunciations of the unbelief in Galilee, and of the legal narrowness of the Scribes and Pharisees. We can understand that none of this would seem important or interesting in the eyes of Roman readers who knew little of Jewish sects and parties. On the other hand it is hard to see grounds for the omission of the healing of the centurion's servant. Still the hypothesis that all this material did originally form part of St Mark's Gospel is by far the simplest that presents itself, and does not seem open to any very serious objection.

I suggest, then, that St Matthew's Gospel, in its present form, is the result of a fusion of two earlier documents. The first, and by far the longer, of these documents was a form of St Mark's Gospel, earlier and also more extensive in its contents than our present St Mark, which had also been enriched by a number of additional narratives which had been inserted into its text. The second document was a Greek translation of the *Logia* of St Matthew, a work consisting of five chapters, each of which chapters has been inserted almost intact and fitted on to some appropriate portion of the Marcan narrative without any great attention to exact chronological order.

The locality where this fusion of the two documents was carried out can be fixed with a good deal of certainty. In the first place it is hardly possible that it was Jerusalem, though Jerusalem, oddly enough, has been the place most commonly fixed upon by those who have ventured conjectures on the point. There is no time either before or after the catastrophe of A.D. 70 when the production of a *Greek* Gospel of this kind is likely to have taken place at Jerusalem itself. Moreover there is a kind of detachment and aloofness about the whole feeling of the Gospel, which is most difficult to reconcile with the idea that it had its origin in the very midst of the stormy scenes which preceded the destruction of the city. Geographical indications tend in the same direction. The author speaks of Palestine as 'Syria' (iv 24), which was the name of the Roman province. Nor is there the exactness of topographical detail which we should expect in a book compiled in the very spot in which took place so many of the principal events of which it is treating. The book, too, is clearly written for Jews, and the language of Jews in Jerusalem was not Greek but Aramaic. Its readers need translations of words like Golgotha, and were therefore not Jews of Jerusalem but of the dispersion. It is to some large centre of Greek-speaking Jews outside the Holy Land, rather than to Jerusalem itself, that we must look. Alexandria is the obvious place which meets all the requirements. There was a large colony of Jews in that city, and Greek was the language that they spoke. Moreover there was a flourishing Christian Church there from very early times, and this Church must have needed a Gospel in its own language. It did possess one such of its own, for St Mark, as tradition tells us, either carried his Gospel there or else actually wrote it out for them on the spot. Now the Marcan portion of St Matthew seems to be precisely this second or Alexandrine edition of St Mark, for it is demonstrably later than the parallel passages in St Luke and earlier than the Gospel of St Mark itself. If, then, the edition of St Mark which was used in the preparation of St Matthew's Gospel was this Alexandrine edition, it is only natural to suppose that Alexandria was the place in which St Matthew's Gospel was composed, especially as it fits in so well with all the other requirements of the case.

There is an indication that this was really so to be found in Justin Martyr's 'Apology'. St Matthew's Gospel speaks of the Wise Men as having come from 'the East'. But St Justin, apparently using some other and more exact tradition, speaks of them in three separate places as having come 'from Arabia'. He was born in Nablous or Samaria, and Arabia would not, of course, be properly designated to any dweller in Palestine by the expression 'the East', but rather 'the South'. If, then, St Justin is using a true tradition when he says that the Wise Men came from Arabia, and if St Matthew's Gospel consequently means Arabia when it speaks of 'the East', it follows necessarily that that Gospel was composed, not in Palestine, which lies to the north of Arabia, but in that country which lies to its west—that is to say, in Egypt. For it is in Egypt, and nowhere else, that Arabia would naturally be designated by the general phrase 'the East'.

If we grant that Alexandria was the place in which the Gospel according to St Matthew assumed its present form, we shall not have much difficulty in arriving at a very probable conjecture as to the way in which this came about. It must remain little more than a conjecture because there is little or no direct evidence to guide us; but it will at least afford us a possible outline of the facts, which may perhaps be allowed to stand until further evidence enables us to make a still closer approximation to the truth.

St Mark, according to tradition, came to Alexandria, in obedience to St Peter's directions, somewhere about the year A.D. 42. At Alexandria, and for the benefit of his Egyptian Converts, he wrote down again the *résumé* of St Peter's preaching which we call the Gospel of St Mark. This Gospel, we can understand, naturally became the official Gospel of the Church of Alexandria. Other places had other accounts of the life and teaching of our Lord. Those places which owed their conversion to St Paul must have had left with them some written gospel narrative, a narrative which probably had some relation to the later Gospel of St Luke. So, again, Jerusalem had its own records. But the record preserved at Alexandria, the original 'Gospel according to the Egyptians', was a form of the Gospel of St Mark.

Most probably this Gospel was actually known as the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians'. Professor Harnack is no doubt right when he tells us that the territorial titles 'according to the Hebrews' and 'according to the Egyptians' are earlier than the later titles which are founded on authorship. But he is surely wrong when he goes on to infer that the later apocryphal Gospel, which usurped the name, must have existed before the canonical four. The original 'Gospel according to the Egyptians' must have been the Gospel which was given to them by St Mark, who first preached the Gospel to them, and then, after the title had become disused in the second century, a second and apocryphal Gospel appropriated the name, the original history of which was by that time forgotten. It is precisely what we see happening in the case of all the apocryphal writings. They always tried to obtain acceptance by sailing under false colours, and endeavouring to pass themselves off as other and more ancient documents than they really were. It is not too much to say that the existence of an apocryphal writing in the second century almost always presupposes and points back to the existence of an earlier and genuine writing for which it desired to be mistaken.

We may suppose that this Gospel of St Mark, in its second form, was, from at least the year 50 A.D., the official record of the Churches of Egypt, and was read in the public assemblies of the Christians on the Sunday, just as the Jews had been long accustomed to read the Old Testament Scriptures in the synagogues. It would have been regarded as a very precious and authentic document, but not as inspired Scripture in the same sense as the Old Testament. The time for that was not yet, for 'the living voice', to use the phrase of Papias, still remained with the Church, and men were not solely dependent on any book for authentic information about our Lord. So we can understand readily enough that when from time to time there arrived at Alexandria other documents which were guaranteed as trustworthy records, there would always be a tendency to incorporate them with the existing Gospel, and to enrich it with this additional information. It is in this way that we may suppose that the Birth narrative of the first two chapters came to be prefixed, and that the other short passages which have been interpolated, especially into the

story of the Passion, came to be added. They were, in the judgement of the Church of Alexandria, as authentic, as worthy to be read in the churches, as was the Gospel of their founder St Mark. Why should they not be added in, in the places to which they naturally belonged, and thus provide the faithful with a fuller and a richer narrative of the life of Christ? They need not have come all at once, but may have arrived separately. More probably they are extracts from other documents of the Church, and have been selected from a larger mass of material. But, be that as it may, the point to be kept clearly in remembrance is that the Church of Alexandria judged them to be authentic, and to be worthy of being added to the Gospel as read in the churches of Egypt, and that to that judgement they owe their present position.

But one document which came in this way to Alexandria was of such length and importance that it hardly lent itself to this procedure. It was the *Logia*, the collection of the Discourses of Christ which had been drawn up by St Matthew in Hebrew, and bore his name. As it stood it was not useful in Alexandria, for the language in which it was written would have been understood only by a few. Before it could be used it must be translated into Greek, and this we may suppose was done at an early date. Then, perhaps for a number of years, the two books would probably have existed side by side, each held in equal honour and both alike read in the churches. After a time the inconvenience of having two books would begin to be felt, and the idea of combining both into a single continuous narrative would be entertained, and in that way our present Gospel would naturally come into existence. It is, in fact, the first of the 'Harmonies', the initial product of that tendency which led afterwards to the compilation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and which has ever since, all through the ages, been producing countless volumes, the object of which has been to gather into a single story all that is told us in the various records of the life and teaching of our blessed Lord.

The compilation was, however, no mere affair of 'paste and scissors'. It took place at a very early date indeed, when as yet there was no special reverence for the actual words, as distinct from the substance of the sacred books. Everything

contained in the two books seems to have been carefully preserved, but in many cases there have been considerable abbreviations, and also constant alterations for the improvement of style. The whole Gospel, from end to end, bears the impress of a single mind, and is the work of one who spoke Greek fluently and is master of a good Greek style. The literary ability which has woven together into a single narrative of striking unity materials of diverse origin, and has done this with so little interference with the materials themselves, is of no ordinary kind.

The date at which the Gospel was compiled can be assigned with some confidence to within a few years, one way or the other, of the destruction of Jerusalem. Harnack puts it at about A.D. 75, being influenced by the thought that St Mark's Gospel was not composed, according to tradition, till after St Peter's death, and that some years must be allowed before it can be supposed to have been incorporated into a later gospel. But if, as I have tried to shew, it was not the final and Roman St Mark which was thus incorporated, but an earlier edition which probably had existed since A.D. 45, this reasoning loses its force. The internal evidence of the Gospel itself is much more readily compatible with an earlier date. For instance, it is hard to understand why the solemn warning 'Let him that readeth understand' (xxiv. 15) should be retained in a redaction made after the cause for the warning had been removed by the fulfilment of the prophecy. This reasoning is made still more clear by a comparison of the whole passage as it is given in each of the three synoptics. St Matthew seems to be earliest and to have written when no part of the prophecy had been fulfilled. St Mark is later, for the word 'immediately', almost certainly a Marcan word originally, for St Mark uses it constantly, has been removed, and so the two prophecies are distinguished one from another. The part which has to do with the destruction of Jerusalem is fulfilled: the part dealing with the end of the world is still future. St Luke is later still, for he explains 'the abomination of desolation' to mean the Roman armies of the siege, and interposes 'the time of the Gentiles', during which Jerusalem is to be trodden down, between the two events.

Turning to tradition we find two dates assigned. Eusebius

(*H. E.* iii 24) says that 'Matthew, having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to others delivered to them his Gospel written in their own language'. This we may take as referring to the *Logia* and embodying a true tradition. The occasion of the writing of the *Logia* was the departure of the apostles from Jerusalem, to begin their more general missionary work. The date traditionally assigned for this departure is about A.D. 42. Irenaeus, however, gives a different date. He says that 'Matthew produced a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect when Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church of Rome'. The date when St Peter and St Paul were both at Rome is just before their martyrdom in A.D. 67; and this is too late a date for the composition of the *Logia*, but fits in admirably with the requirements of the Greek Gospel. If we may suppose that Irenaeus has confused the two events, just as I have already suggested must have happened in the parallel case of St Mark, there is no reason why this date, say A.D. 66, should not be accepted as the date of the amalgamation of the two great evangelical documents at Alexandria to form the Greek 'Gospel according to St Matthew'. In that case we have once more found Catholic tradition to be easily reconcileable with the results of modern critical study. Nor need any orthodox and conservative reader be terrified at what has been suggested. St Matthew's Gospel, even if only part of it is actually St Matthew's work, may rest throughout on apostolic authority, and was probably compiled within the apostolic period. It comes to us, as I have tried to shew, on the authority of the Church of Alexandria, confirmed at a later date by the acceptance, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, of the Universal Church.

A. S. BARNES.

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THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST JOHN.

IN his ingenious and often suggestive study of the above subject in two recent numbers of this JOURNAL, Dom Chapman says, *à propos* of one main problem for which he seeks the solution, 'If others disagree with my results, I trust they will continue the search for a better'. I certainly disagree very widely from his results, while thinking him to have called attention to one or two points generally overlooked in the consideration of the problems connected with these epistles. And I desire to set forth the results to which a fresh study of them in the light of Dom Chapman's papers has led me, with a like hope that others may follow up the scent, till all the available data have been made to yield us their true and full meaning. In so doing I must begin by a running criticism of certain parts of our author's exegesis and of the historical inferences drawn therefrom, before proceeding to a fresh synthesis which appears to me at present to cover all the relevant facts.

First, then, Dom Chapman errs in referring the news that Gaius 'was walking in truth' to his practice of 'St John's favourite virtue of charity', and to any one special occasion. For the writer dwells first on his friend's general good record brought from time to time¹ by brethren visiting his church and reporting on their return, 'Gaius is a true Christian'. It is only with the next paragraph that any specific instance emerges. There we learn of his loyal action, to which certain brethren had recently witnessed before the writer's own church, in the way of hospitality shewn them by Gaius. And the immediate occasion of the Elder's letter is to bespeak a repetition of such kindness at his hands, in

¹ The frequentative force of the present participles ἐρχομένων . . . καὶ μαρτυρούντων, along with καθὼς . . . περὶ ταύτης, has escaped our author's notice.

'setting' these same brethren 'forward' on their fresh mission in a manner worthy of God, on whose service they came. He then adds a special reason for such hospitality.

'For they went out for the Name's sake, taking nothing of the Gentiles.'

Here we reach a critical point in Dom Chapman's reading of this letter, and so of its fellow epistle. He insists that *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐξῆλθαν* must mean that these men had fled from persecution on behalf of the Name, probably persecution at Rome under Nero. I will not stay to argue that *ἐξῆλθαν* in this context points less naturally to going forth from a city, than to going forth from the inner life of a Christian community, such as the writer's own church just alluded to; and that this sense is borne out by the analogous *ἐξῆλθαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, used of certain 'deceivers' in the companion letter (compare I John ii 19 *ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθαν*). For indeed the sense of the clause as a whole, *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐξῆλθαν μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνικῶν*, seems to be *luce clarius*. Dom Chapman says 'the words "for the Name's sake" imply some hardship, if not persecution, and could not be the equivalent of "to preach the Name"'. Surely this is to overlook the distinction between *ὑπὲρ* and *διὰ*. The latter might suggest what he maintains; the former rather denotes 'in the interests of the Name', and exactly suits the idea of going forth on an evangelizing mission among the heathen. Further this reading is demanded by the conjunction of *μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες* κ.τ.λ., which Dom Chapman never actually renders in its connexion with *ἐξῆλθαν*, but which he apparently takes as if it were a past participle. Thus he says: 'Westcott must be right in explaining that the words refer to the Gentile converts to whom the strangers had preached.' Here Dr Westcott's sound patch only makes the unsoundness of our author's exegetical garment apparent. For a rent in grammar results, when we read continuously, 'they went forth (to avoid danger), taking nothing of the Gentiles' to whom they had preached. That would demand *λαβόντες*, not *λαμβάνοντες*, which really expresses a principle or 'habitual rule' (as Westcott says), dependent upon the step described by *ἐξῆλθαν*. Thus Dom Chapman's exegesis of this clause fails to bear scrutiny; nor do the words refer, as he makes out, to

a 'going forth' prior to the beginning of the journey which the Elder is asking Gaius to further. The ἐξῆλθαι is an epistolary aorist. He is speaking of their present policy of obvious disinterestedness in relation to those whom they were to evangelize; and he urges that they should be saved from all expense whilst among Christians, *inter alia* that their funds may hold out the better when they actually reach the ἐθνικοί whom they had in view in setting out. Indeed this reading is required to satisfy the idea of 'fellow workers' in the next verse.

But not only does Dom Chapman's exegesis of this passage break down; with it goes the bulk of the historical setting so ingeniously constructed for the two epistles under examination. Yet while this is so, we hasten to add that a good deal remains from the ruin in the way of valuable materials for a theory based on a truer reading of this verse. The *motif* of martyrdom disappears, and with it much else that before was sufficiently precarious, including the Roman destination of the letters. But the observations connected with the personality of Demetrius can be considered apart, and will repay attention, if only for the one which constitutes the centre of them all—and the abiding merit of the whole discussion—namely, the proper stress laid on the attestation of the man's claim to be received as a genuine 'brother' in the Lord. To this we shall come shortly, in due course.

'I wrote a few words to the Church; but he that loveth to have the preeminence among them, Diotrephes, doth not receive us.'

Here Dom Chapman puts aside the probable view that 'the few words' are our 2 John, in favour of 'a former letter of recommendation given to the strangers on their first visit'. Then he goes on to say that Diotrephes 'can hardly have disregarded St John's recommendation of these Christian teachers unless he had something against them personally'. That is by no means obvious. St John says 'Diotrephes doth not receive *us*, with wicked words prating against us' (φλυναρῶν ἡμᾶς); which points rather to a rejection of the Apostle's own fellowship. This would help to explain why the Apostle felt specially apprehensive lest Diotrephes' church should harbour the 'deceivers' dealt with in 2 John—probably 'the few words' which the writer expected

Diotrephes to try to suppress. In it he hints that a section of the church was not 'walking in truth' and might be ready to welcome the 'deceivers' to the very hospitality Diotrephes had refused St John's friends. Hence the attitude of Diotrephes to those strange 'brethren' was due to hostility to the Apostle himself. 'He receiveth not us', and so 'he receiveth not the brethren'. As to the length to which Diotrephes went in his high-handed opposition to hospitality being extended to these visitors, he was for casting their hosts out of the Church, and presumably Gaius among the rest. Dom Chapman assumes that he had actually achieved his end; but the presents *κωλύει* and *ἐκβάλλει* hardly necessitate such a view. In fact the tone of 2 John (especially 1, 4, 12 f) points the other way.

Passing by one or two dubious *obiter dicta*¹, we come to the most suggestive point in Dom Chapman's papers. He calls attention, and most properly so, to the peculiarly impressive manner in which Demetrius, probably both the bearer of the letter and the leader of the mission in question, is commended to Gaius as worthy of all confidence as a Christian brother.

'Demetrius hath witness borne to him by all, and by the Truth itself; yea, we also bear witness; and thou knowest that our witness is true.'

On this our author observes: 'It does not seem to have been commonly recognized that this emphatic sentence is not set down à *Propos de bottes*.' So far all must go with him, whether they accept his explanation of the phenomenon or not. The commendation is too laborious and iterative to be merely the usual certificate of good Christian standing. The Apostle 'doth protest too much' not to have a special reason for so writing, especially in a letter else so terse and brief. But is that reason to be found in a 'close connexion with the rest of the Epistle', so that Demetrius 'is, in fact, the one whose character has been called in question by Diotrephes'? I doubt it, as also what lies behind it in Dom Chapman's mind. For he has worked out

¹ e.g. the suggestion that *πρεσβύτερος* in relation to St John was the equivalent of the later Patriarch or Metropolitan, whereas it was really a fairly common generic term, as we gather from Papias and Irenaeus; and the judgement, 'St Paul was more of the thinker than of the administrator', to which many besides Prof. Ramsay could not give unqualified assent.

what he considers a highly probable identification of this Demetrius with Demas, who forsook St Paul at Rome when danger began to thicken: and it is this which determines his reading of the emphatic commendation and its *raison d'être*. Space will not allow of a detailed criticism of the circumstantial evidence which makes this theory seem probable to its author. I will only set over against it one which appears to me more probable, in the hope that others may concur in this, as well as in the reading of the whole situation into which it seems to fit.

Let us assume, then, that St John's Demetrius is the same as the Ephesian silversmith of Acts xix 23. Such an identification has, to begin with, the advantage in point of locality, especially on what I have argued is the true view of the mission on which Demetrius came, namely one to some region beyond the city in which Gaius is resident. An Ephesian enterprise of this sort is not likely to have gone westwards, to Macedonia or beyond, as we should expect, if the Demas who 'went to Thessalonica' were in question. As to the fact that the Demetrius of Acts was hostile to the Gospel, this is not against the identification, but rather in its favour. For the special emphasis of the Apostle's testimony to his friend's *bona fide* Christianity suggests that there was some grave antecedent ground for suspecting the contrary¹. Suppose that Demetrius, who was widely known as the stirrer-up of tumult against St Paul, had only comparatively recently become a zealous adherent of the faith he once opposed (on trade grounds); or that at least his Christian record was not a matter of sufficient notoriety to have cancelled his bad name in all the Churches of the province, even those most remote from Ephesus. That would give us just the situation calling for the exceptional testimony here given. For Gaius would need to be armed with absolute proof of the good standing of Demetrius, if he were not to compromise himself at any rate in the eyes of the local church, especially with a Diotrophes ready to seize on any plausible excuse for excluding the Elder's friends from Christian communion. But with such a testimony Gaius would be forearmed against all reasonable challenge. That this Demetrius had the qualities of

¹ Surely *μεμαρτύρηται* (not *μαρτυρεῖται*) ὑπὸ πάντων is more emphatic even than the translation quoted above would suggest. 'Hath a reputation resting on universal testimony', would perhaps give the sense more fairly.

leadership the story in Acts itself seems to imply; and these may well have been utilized (as also perhaps his large means) in such mission work as is hinted at in our letter. Any such identification, indeed, is not of the same moment to my general theory, as Dom Chapman's is to his complex Roman hypothesis. But *quantum valeat* it appears the more probable of the two.

'I had many things to write to thee; howbeit I do not wish (οὐ θέλω) to write to thee with ink and pen. But I hope to see thee shortly, and we will speak face to face. Peace be to thee; the friends salute thee; salute the friends by name.'

'Gaius', says our author, 'has many friends at Ephesus, and St John has friends in the Church where Gaius lives'. This seems a just inference, so long as we do not assume complete parallelism between the two cases, that of Gaius and that of St John respectively. For while the salutation from 'the friends' at Ephesus to Gaius may simply represent 'the brethren' who had given him so excellent a character 'before the Church' (6, cf. 3); the individualizing addition of 'by name' in the writer's own salutation of 'the friends' at the other end, suggests that he had visited them in the past. Thus it is probable that 'the friends' in question are the pro-Johannine section of Gaius's church. In fact 'our friends' would represent the sense better in both cases¹.

Now let us turn to see what light 2 John has to contribute.

'The Elder to one who is an elect lady, and her children, whom I love in truth; and not I only, but also all they that know the Truth; for the Truth's sake which abideth in us—and it shall be with us for ever.'

Most will agree with Dom Chapman that 'elect lady' here means a Church (cf. 1 Pet. v 13 ἀσπάζεται υἱὰς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, a passage which may even have set the fashion of so speaking—see 2 John 13 ἀσπάζεται σε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς—as our author rightly notes). But when he adds that 'a famous Church' is meant, 'for it is loved by all that

¹ This does not exclude a possibility that the use of the phrase, 'the friends', was part also of the prudential reserve to which are due phrases like 'the elect lady', 'the children of thy elect sister', in 2 John, and the postponement in both letters of other matters to future oral intercourse.

know the Truth'—and assumes that Antioch or Rome alone will satisfy this phrase—he forgets that 'all' may be used relatively, viz. as relative to a limited area which is otherwise known to be in the author's thoughts. Such an area was the province of Asia, the special sphere of the Apostle's own influence, and that to which he confined himself, as far as appears from his other writings. Thus when in the Apocalypse he writes (ii 23), 'and all the Churches shall recognize that I am He that searcheth the reins', he has primarily in view the Seven Churches of Asia. So also is it here. He is speaking of the sphere of his own special observation and knowledge, and says of it quite naturally 'all they that know the Truth', i.e. in our part of the world. This of course implies that the Church addressed itself falls within the area of his special purview, and is not at a great distance. But that is the most natural assumption to make, unless the contrary is clearly indicated. At least we cannot grant Dom Chapman his opposite assumption to build on. Therewith another main support of the Roman destination of this letter is removed. And further unsoundness in the foundation of this theory comes to light in the very next paragraph, where he comments on

'I rejoice greatly that I have found of thy children walking in Truth, even as we received commandment from the Father.'

'Here', says he, 'the meaning is plainly: "I rejoiced greatly when I heard that some of your children had practised some remarkable virtue, according to the Father's commandment". What was this particular act of virtue?' We need not trouble to reproduce the rather over-subtle argument by which he decides that 'the act of virtue' was 'the glorious martyrdom of some of the sons of the Church to which he writes'. For grammatical considerations alone forbid the notion that a 'particular act' of any kind is in view. Observe that the above paraphrase has substituted the aorist, 'when I heard' for Westcott's correct perfect 'that I have found' (possibly by repeated experience), and the aorist 'had practised' for the imperfect participle 'engaged in walking' (*περιπατοῦντας*, comp. 3 John 3, where the force of *περιπατεῖς* is also missed by our author). The Apostle simply utters his joy at the moral

integrity¹ shewn by certain members of the Church addressed, and goes on to express the earnest desire that this Church as a whole will act similarly in the essential matter of mutual love, understood in the only sense recognized by John as real, namely practically, according to God's definite precepts of love (κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ). This is evidently what he has in mind, when he goes on to exhort the Church not to lose the reward of what it had wrought, by departing from the true path as outlined in 'the teaching of the Christ' (μὴ μένων ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ). That were no real 'progress' (πᾶς ὁ προάγων καὶ μὴ μένων κ.τ.λ.), however it might claim to be so in the mouths of 'deceivers', who taught an 'advanced' doctrine about Jesus Christ, as one whose coming² was not really 'in flesh', and knowledge of whom was not an elementary matter of doing the precepts of 'the teaching' handed down as having come from His bodily lips. A true knowledge of Christ, 'not after the flesh' but after the spirit, these men seem to have said, left a man much freer than that, much more a law unto himself. This, replied the Apostle, was to open the door wide to lapse into 'evil works'. Such a reading of the passage dealing with the errorists—according to which 'the teaching' wherein men ought to abide was the practical teaching handed down from Christ, but virtually set aside by the new Docetic theory of His person—finds an almost exact parallel in the 'Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles'. There we read (xi 1, 2): 'Whosoever, then, cometh and teacheth you all the aforesaid, receive him. But if he who teacheth himself turns round and teaches another teaching, to the undoing (of the former), listen not to him.' In like manner John writes: 'If anyone cometh and beareth not this teaching,

¹ Περιπατεῖν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ may perhaps be so rendered here and in 3 John 3. 'The phrase', says Westcott, 'is not identical with "walking in the truth" (περιπ. ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, 3 John 4). It describes the general character of the life as conducted "in truth", really and in very deed in a certain fashion', defined in both instances by the καθὼς κ.τ.λ. following.

² Οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Here the emphasis is not upon the mere past fact of His coming (ἐληλυθότα, 1 John iv 2) having been 'in flesh', but upon the essential sphere of His manifestation, whether in the past or at any other time. Over against this, John insisted that 'love' with Him was love embodied in action to men in the body (ἐν σαρκί): and His historical 'teaching' (διδαχή, cf. Rom. xvi 17 σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας . . . παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν ἡμεῖς ἐμάθετε ποιοῦντας, Tit. i 9, cf. Acts ii 42), as expressed in definite precepts (ἐντολαί), required the like embodiment of love in deed from His followers,

receive him not. . . . For he who saith to him "God Speed", hath fellowship with his evil works.'

Dom Chapman's theory rests on an unsound exegesis of 2 John, as of 3 John. But before attempting to gather up the positive data for a better synthesis which seems to emerge from our discussion as a whole, a word must be said on the confirmation of that part of his theory which regards Rome as the destination of 2 John, found by our author in the Latin version of the *Hypotyposes* of the Alexandrine Clement. The passage runs:—

'Secunda Ioannis Epistola quae ad virgines scripta est simplicissima. Scripta vero est ad quamdam Babyloniam Electam nomine; significat autem electionem ecclesiae sanctae.'

Nothing could be more precarious than the use of this as evidence of a Roman destination. For apart from the possibility, not to say, probability¹, that Clement wrote *πρὸς Πάρθους* (cf. the *ad Parthos* of St Augustine and others), and that this shews the sense in which *Babyloniam* should here be taken; Dom Chapman gets over the formidable objection that his reading of the passage demands *Romanam* far too lightly. There was no good reason why Clement should put the thing figuratively, instead of literally and plainly, in a commentary. And in any case, even if *Babyloniam* did here mean *Romanam*, there is no proof or even likelihood that Clement was doing other than make an arbitrary identification, on the basis of the one other analogy in the New Testament for *ἐκλεκτή* as used of a church. Such exegesis would be verbal and historically worthless.

As to the 'Additional Considerations', for which our author himself does not claim much (two being given 'for curiosity, not for argument'), I think we can afford to pass them by without comment. Our space is needed for the statement of another synthesis which Dom Chapman's discussion has helped to suggest.

Gaius, a man marked by integrity of life according to the Johannine principle of brotherly love as ruling all conduct, had

¹ Dom Chapman has to start his argument, even on the basis of the reading *παρθένους*, with an over-confident emendation: 'for *ad virgines* we should certainly read *ad virginem*'. Many will feel the metaphor intolerably harsh and mixed, in spite of the attempted *apologia*; 'Why *ad virginem*, since the elect lady has children! Clearly because Clement is about to explain that a church is meant'.

On a recent occasion welcomed a group of brethren from the writer's own church (Ephesus). On their return, these had witnessed to his practical love before the church, contrasting it with the attitude of the most influential person in the church to which Gaius belonged, one Diotrephes. Not only had this man withheld hospitality himself; he had even tried to deter others who were for giving it, to the point of using all his influence to get them extruded from the local church. In this he had not, it seems, fully succeeded; though probably he had produced an acute division of feeling, to judge from the writer's use of *αὐτῶν* in v. 9, and from the restricted salutation to certain individuals as 'our friends'. But in any case there was danger lest Diotrephes' example should influence the future conduct of Gaius and others prejudicially, whether as regards future hospitality or factious church methods.

The reason of Diotrephes' attitude to the stranger brethren was apparently his determination not to have communion with the writer or those who belonged to his circle (*οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ἡμᾶς*). This determination sprang from his own ambitious and masterful spirit (*ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων*), which resented the spiritual authority of the Elder outside the church in which he dwelt (v. 6) as menacing the independence of his own church, as he conceived it. The way in which he 'prated at' the Elder was probably somewhat like this. 'It is time that some limit were put to the constant assumptions of "paternal government" put forward by and in the name of this man, styled by himself and others "The Elder", as if the fact of his being an original eye-witness of the Christ gave him the right to lord it over the consciences and minds of all men, nay, the churches of a whole province. Where is the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free, if each church, with its own leaders, is not to be allowed to settle all matters touching the meaning and practice of the Gospel without authoritative direction or denunciation, it may be, from outside? Things have come to a pretty pass in these latter days. There used to be room for the Spirit to lead and rule, as Paul was wont to teach, but now we are coming under a new slavery to man. I, for one, will have no more of it. And as the "brethren" passing to and from the centre of his influence, are practically his emissaries, the partisans of his ideas and claims, I will do all I can to keep

them from infecting the local loyalty of our church life with the leaven of this ambitious old man's influence.'

A masterful nature is generally the first to suspect ambition at the heart of great spiritual influence in another. And it was Diotrephes, the man who tried to override the wishes of a considerable section of his own communion by coercive methods, who most deeply distrusted the Elder's motives. There is no sign that he held any office giving him a natural primacy of authority in the local church; rather the reverse. Though only one of several local officers, 'presbyters' in functions, if not in name, he so pushed his own views as virtually to claim to be *primus inter pares*. Here we have not a monarchical bishop¹ (of any dimensions), not even in germ, as far as recognized status is concerned; but rather those conditions of ambition working among the college of presbyters, which Jerome with true instinct recognized as bringing about the developement of the episcopate of a local chief pastor, as the legitimate centre of local unity, the antidote to the evils created by the Diotrephes spirit.

As Westcott observes, there is nothing to indicate that Diotrephes held false opinions. Had he done so, it is probable that this would have been clearly indicated. But it is probable that the unethical temper in which he is described as holding the faith, would make him very liable to side with those who sat loosely by the historical tradition of Christ's practical teaching (2 John 8-11; cf. 3 John 11), over against their antagonist, the Elder, in whose unbending opposition, leading to their having to 'go forth' from his communion, Diotrephes would readily find a fresh instance of the 'lording it over others' of which he complained. For this reason the Elder may well have felt the danger lest Diotrephes' church should welcome the Docetists to be specially great, and so have written to it as he has in 2 John.

Into such a situation the peculiarly emphatic testimony to Demetrius fits most naturally. For Diotrephes would be on the look out for anything in the *personel* of the visiting brethren which might seem to justify refusal of a brotherly welcome.

¹ Had it been otherwise, it would have been futile to write to the church. For the letter would have been delivered to Diotrephes as a matter of course, and would simply have been suppressed.

And certainly the record of Demetrius, if he were indeed Paul's old Ephesian opponent, would furnish a fair excuse of the sort desired. So much may be said with confidence, though we cannot treat the identification as more than the most probable open to us and a good working hypothesis.

But has the Epistle nothing more to tell us about Gaius? I think it has. It seems probable that he was, like Diotrephes, a presbyter of his church; but what is of more interest to us, he was pretty certainly a personal convert of the Elder's. This seems implied in v. 4, where the writer classes him among his own 'children' (τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα, and Westcott's note), and is borne out by the intimate tone of the letter, with its repeated use of 'beloved'. Indeed from the injunction 'salute our friends individually' (κατ' ὄνομα), it is probable that the writer had himself visited this church in time gone by. Can we go any further? Only if we may see in the fuller greeting in v. 2 a playful allusion to Gaius's other name, according to a not uncommon habit of ancient letter-writers. The verb εὐδοῦσθαι, 'to be prospered' (on one's way), rather attracts attention. What if the Elder's friend was known also as Euodius, the masculine form of a name found in Phil. iv 2, and one which was borne by Ignatius's predecessor in the episcopate of Antioch. Indeed when I first read Dom Chapman's papers and had not yet criticized his statement that the church addressed in 2 John must be a world-famous one, and so was led to work out the situation in terms of his alternative 'Rome or Antioch'—where Rome seemed to me totally to fail—I was greatly tempted for a moment by the striking coincidence which this fact seemed to offer. 'Yes, John came, as he promised, and caused his friend Gaius to be appointed bishop, to the setting aside of the ambitious doings of Diotrephes. There we have the inner history of how Euodius became the first bishop of Antioch.' And if there were good reason to look outside 'the Churches of Asia', and as far afield as Antioch, for the Lady of 2 John, I still think the hypothesis would deserve attention.

As it is, whether Gaius was also a Euodius or not, the question remains, to which quarter of John's Asian sphere of influence should we look for the church of Gaius? I see no reason for looking beyond the seven representative churches addressed in

the Apocalypse¹; for our church was one well known and of good standing, being beloved of 'all those who know the truth' within the writer's special Christian world. We can further narrow down the probabilities by noticing that it was a church on the route to be taken by those on mission to unevangelized regions (3 John 7). This leaves us with Sardis, Philadelphia, Pergamum and Thyatira, of which the first seems the least likely by position. Finally, when we consider their internal character as revealed in the letters to the churches, and as recently studied by Professor Ramsay, Thyatira commends itself to me personally as most likely of all to have been the home of Gaius and Diotrephes, where part of the church was quite as John would have them, while yet there were signs that 'the deceivers' might find more of a welcome from the church as a whole than they deserved. But here one is poaching on Professor Ramsay's preserves: and to him I gladly refer the point for further consideration.

It is enough to have thrown out some suggestions towards the historical appreciation of these interesting little letters. The rejection of their Johannine origin seems to me hypercriticism, and finds its parallel in the old Tübingen sacrifice of Philemon to the exigencies of polemic against the authenticity of Colossians which it underpropped. Similarly 2 and 3 John underprop the traditional authorship of 1 John, and so of the Fourth Gospel.

VERNON BARTLET.

¹ So, too, thought the author of *Apost. Const.* vii 47, when he made Gaius first bishop of Pergamum, and Demetrius of Philadelphia.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE OLD LATIN TEXTS OF THE MINOR PROPHETS.

APPENDIX.

I AM indebted to the Rev. John E. Gilmore for kindly drawing my attention to two further sources from which some verses of the Old Latin are to be obtained. These sources are :

(a) A manuscript in the Bodleian (*Auct. F.* 4, 32); this contains, among various other works, a small collection of biblical passages; these do not all belong to the Old Latin version: those that do are appended. There is no title-page to that portion of the MS which contains the passages in question, but there is a heading which runs: 'Incipiunt pauca testimonia de prophetarum libris graece et latine'; this heading is written in red letters¹. The MS was written by a Welshman in the ninth century; it is difficult to decipher, the forms of the letters being very antique. This MS is referred to by Westcott in an article on the Vulgate in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

(b) The Mozarabic Breviary contains a large number of biblical passages; I have examined all those from the Minor Prophets (there are extracts from nearly every book), but only two, which had already been pointed out to me by Mr Gilmore, are Old Latin, viz.: Jonah ii, which occurs in the service *In Laudibus* for the Thursday after the fifth Sunday in Lent, and Hab. iii in the same service for the third Sunday in Advent. The Mozarabic or Gothic Breviary is to be seen in Migne's edition (tom. 86) and in the edition of Cardinal Ximenes. Jonah ii occurs on fols. cxc-cxci in Xim., cols. 535-536 in Migne; Hab. iii on fol. xiii in Xim., cols. 81-82 in Migne.

(c) I have also come across an O. L. text (Nah. i 9) in Morin's *Anecdota Maredsolana* Vol. III Pars iii (Parker, 1903) p. 9. There are other O. L. texts in this work, but they agree with the texts already printed in earlier numbers of the JOURNAL.

¹ For these details, as well as for the text of the passages referred to, I have to express my thanks to the Rev. A. J. Miller, Vicar of S. Frideswide's, Oxford, and his son, W. A. Miller, Esq.

In the following App. Crit. *Bodl.* = the MS referred to above ;

M. = the Mozarabic Breviary ;

An. Mared. = Anecdota Maredsolana, ed.
Dom Morin.

HOSEA.

Bodl. X. 12 Serite vobis ad iustitiam vindimiate fructum vitae inluminat
vobis lumen scientiae.

MICAH.

VII. 6, 7 ⁶ Quoniam filius non honorificat patrem filia insurrexit super
matrem suam nurus super socrum suam inimia omnis viri qui in
7 domo ipsius sunt. ⁷ Ego autem in dñō contemplanor tollerabo in
dñō salvificatore meo.

OBADIAH.

15 Quia prope est dies dñi super omnes gentes quemadmodum
fecisti sic futurum erit tibi retributio tua retribuetur tibi in caput
tuum.

NAHUM.

An. Mared. I. 9 . . . Non enim vindicabit Dominus bis in idipsum.

HABAKKUK.

M. III. 2² dum appropinquaverint anni innotesceris :
dum advenerit tempus ostenderis : cum conturbata fuerit
3 anima mea in ira misericordia tua memorabis mei. ³ Deus a Libano
veniet et sanctus a monte Opaucio et condense
6 ⁶ Steterunt et commota est terra. Aspexit et
7 itinera saecularia eius ⁷ pro laboribus. Viderunt te tabernacula
8 Aethiopum et expavescent tabernacula terrae Madian. ⁸ Numquid
in fluminibus ira tua Domine ? aut in mari impetus tuus ? Qui

Hos. x 12. vindimiate] + και θερισατε *ℒ* + εαντοις *A* fructum] *pr* eis *℥* (*om*
eis 153) Mic. vii 6. filia] *pr* και *A* insurrexit] επαναστησεται *℥* *ℋ* (οι ο' αναστη-
σεται *Q^{mo}*) επαναστηκεν *ℒ* nurus super socrum suam] *om* 95 185 omnis viri]
παντες ανδρος *B* παντες οι ανδρες *AQ^{*}* 26 106 παντες ανδρος οι ανδρες *ℒ* *Q^a* (*vid*) 87 91
7. ego autem] *om* 62 147 in dñō 1°] επι τον κυριον *℥* *ℋ* εν τω κω *ℒ* *Q^a* in dñō
2°] επι τω θεω *℥* επι τω κυριω Compl

Obad. 15. est] *om* *℥* futurum erit] εστω *A* (εσται *℥*) tibi 2°] *om* *℥* *ℋ* (*hab* *ℒ*)

Nah. i 9. Non . . . idipsum] *om* *℥** (*hab* *℥*^{a, a, c, b})

Hab. iii 2. in ira] *om* Compl tua] *om* *℥* mei] *om* *℥* 3. a 1°] εκ *℥*
(απο *℥*^{a, a, c, b}) Libano] θαιμαν *℥* θεμαν *℥* Compl λιθος 62 86 147 Opaucio]
φαραν *℥* (*om* *℥*^{a, a, c, b} 22 36 49 51 68 91 153) et condense] κατασκινω δασεος (-σεως
℥ *A* *Q^{*}* -σεος *Q^a* *om* δασεος 51 62 147 Compl) *℥* condense] + διαβαλμα *℥* (non
inst *B^b* *om* *ℋ*) μεταβολη διαβαλματος 62 147 6. steterunt] εστη *℥* eius] *om* 68 153
7. pro] + δε *℥*^a (*vid*) (postea ras) 36 95 185 te] *om* *℥* et] *om* *℥* expave-
scent] πτοηθησονται *℥* ταραχθησονται Compl tabernacula 2°] *pr* και *℥* (*om* 51 95
185 Compl) Madian] Μαδιαμ *℥* (Μαδιαν *℥** -ιαμ *℥*^a) + διαβαλμα *A* 8 ira
tua] ωργισθη *B* *N* ωργισθη *ℒ* *A* *Q* aut] *pr* η εν ποταμοις ο θυμος σου *℥* aut in

- 9 ascendit super equos tuos et equitatus tuus sanitas. 9 Intendens, extendens arcum super sceptrā, dicit Dominus
 13 13 Misisti in capita iniquorum mortem: resu-
 14 scitasti vincula usque ad bellum. 14 Praecidisti in pavore capita potentium: movebuntur in ea gentes, et aperient ora sua, edens 16 pauper in absconso. 16 Custodivit me, et expavit venter meus a voce deprecationis labiorum meorum. Et introivit timor in ossa mea, et desuper turbata est virtus mea. Requiescam in die tribulationis: et ascendam ad tabernacula transmigrationis 19 meae. 19 Dominus virtus mea: statuet pedes meos in consummatione. Super excelsa imponet me, vincam in claritate eius.

marī impetus tuus] om N* (hab N°. a) qui] οτι G 9. extendens] ενετειναι N°. a, c. b A Q L R ενετεινας B arcum] + σου G Dominus] + διαβαλμα G (om L R) 13. Misisti] βαλεis B εβαλας N°. a, c. b A εβαλεis L R επεμψας Compl capita] κεφαλην Compl vincula] + σου Q 26 49 usque ad bellum] εως τραχηλου G + διαβαλμα G (om Q eis τέλος διαβαλμα N°. a 49 95 185 238) + eis τέλος L R + eis το τέλος Compl 14. praecidisti] διεκοψας G (διεκοπας N* -ψας N°. a) διεκοψεν Q (-ψας Q a) gentes et] om G edens] ως εσθον G (ως εσθιον L R N°. a [postea ως εσθον]) 16. custodivit me] εφυλαξαμην G εφυλαξα Compl venter] καρδια L R N°. a, c. b (κοιλια G) a] pr p N°. a, c. b et 2°] om N°. a c. b timor] + με N°. a, c. o (ras N°. b) desuper] + μου G virtus] εξis G (ισχυς N°. b 22 a 106) tribulationis] + μου R ascendam] + με R tabernacula] λαον G transmigrationis] + κοινας G 19. Dominus] + ο θεος G (+ ο θεος μου L N°. a [μου postea ras]) κυριε ο θεος A statuet] pr και G in consummatione] ως ελαφον 22 51 ωσει 95 185 Super] pr p N°. a (postea ras) 36 49 95 106 185 Compl vincam] νικησαι (+ με R N°. a improb N°. b A) G in claritate] εν τη ωδη G (εν τη οδω [ωδη N°. b])

Appended are the additions to the *Apparatus Criticus*:—

HOSSEA.

II. 18. illis] eis Bodl volatilibus] volucris Bodl IV. 1. sermonem] verbum Bodl Domini] dñō Bodl incolae terrae] eos qui inhabitant terram (sic) Bodl sit] om Bodl 2 execratio] maledictum Bodl caedes] cede Bodl diffusum est] effusa sunt Bodl sanguinem sanguini supermiscent] et sanguina super sanguina miscunt Bodl 3. idcirco] ea (?) Bodl cum universis incolis suis] cum omnibus qui inhabitant in ea Bodl VI. 1. in tribulatione] om Bodl convertamur] revertamur Bodl laesit et salvavit] eripiet et sanabit Bodl nos] + percutiet et miserebitur nostri Bodl 6. quam sacrificium] om Bodl holocausta] holocaustomata Bodl VIII. 3. inimicum] ut iniquum (sic) Bodl persecuti sunt] + ipsi Bodl 4. regnaverunt] rege futurunt Bodl egerunt] obtinuerunt Bodl nescierunt me] non ex me Bodl quemadmodum ad nihil redigantur] ut dispareat Bodl

MICAH.

IV. 5. dēi] pr dñi Bodl V. 2. Et tu bethlem domus illius effrata exigua es ut sis in milia iuda ex te mihi prodeat ut sit in principem israhel Bodl VI. 8. exquirat aliud nisi ut facias] exposcit a te nisi facere Bodl diligas] diligere Bodl paratus sis ut eas] paratum esse ut vadas Bodl

JONAH.

II. 3. me] *om M* clamoris mei] clamorem meum *M* exaudisti vocem mea] vocem meam exaudisti *M* 4. altitudinem] altitudine *M* circumierunt] circumdederunt *M* turbulenta] excelsa *M* 5. forsitan apponam] forsitan ne adiciam *M* in] ad *M* 6. aqua mihi] *tr M* circumivit] circumdedit *M* me + pelagus cooperuit caput meum *M* postremo] novissime *M* fissuras] fixura *M* 7. et 1°] *om M* terram] terra *M* vectes] serae *M* et ascendat *ac fin. com.*] et ascendat de corruptione vita mea ad te Dominum Deum meum *M* 8. in hoc quod] in eo dum *M* a me] *om M* dñi] + Dei *M* memoratus] commemoratus *M* veniat ad te] veniet *M* in 2°] ad *M* 9. suam] tuam *M* 10. cum] in *M* supplico] sacrificabo *M* quaecumque *ad fin. com.*] reddam quod vovi sacrificium salvatori meo Domino *M*

HABAKKUK.

II. 4. autem] + meus *Bodl* mea] *om Bodl* vivit] vivet semper *Bodl* III. 2. extimui] timui *M* Consideravi] *pr* Domine *M* excidi mente] expavi *M* duorum] duum *M* 3. texit] operuit *Bodl M* laudis] laudationis *Bodl* laude *M* 4. splendor eius ut lux erit] fulgor illius quasi lumen erit *M* erunt] sunt *M* et illic constabilita est] illi confirmata est *M* constituet dilectionem validam] posuit claritatem firmam *M* 5. praecedet] exivit *M* secundum greges suos] pedes eius *M* 6. defluerunt] fluxerunt *M* quassati sunt montes] dissoluti sunt mentes *M* liquefacti sunt] defluerunt *M* 9. disrumpetur] scindetur *M* 10. videbunt *ad fin. com.*] videbunt gentes et dolebunt populi aspergens aquas contradictionis dedit abyssus vocem suam ab altitudine phantasiae suae *M* 11. constitit] steterunt *M* suo ordine] *tr M* in lucem *ad fin. com.*] in lumine splendoris iacula tua ibunt in luce coruscationis armatura tua *M* 12. In comminatione tua *ad fin. com.*] indignatione tua exterminabis terram et in furore tuo ducis gentes *M* 13. populi tui] plebis tuae *M* ad] ut *M* faciendos] facias *M* Christos tuos] electos tuos *M* 15. Imposuisti] misisti *M* 17. ficus] *pr* quoniam *M* adferet] afferet *M* fructum] fructus *M* cibum] cibos *M* a pabulo] ab esca *M* in praesepibus] ad praesepia *M* 18. exultabo] gloriabor *M*

THE PESHITTA VERSION OF 2 KINGS.

IN two books, entitled respectively *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* (Cambridge, 1897) and *The Peshitta Psalter, edited with an Apparatus Criticus* (Cambridge, 1904), I began an investigation into the relation of the printed texts of the Old Testament Peshitta to the original authorities as far as they were accessible to me. The results obtained were somewhat different in the two cases. In the books of Chronicles, the Bible printed at Urmi by the American missionaries in 1852 (cited below as *U*) proved to be substantially no better than the Bible printed in London by Samuel Lee in 1823 (cited below as *L*). It was otherwise with the Psalter. The American text of the Psalms is superior to Lee's, whatever early authorities, Nestorian or Jacobite, be taken as a standard

of excellence. Even judged as a Jacobite text, Lee's is bad; the posthumous work of the great Dutchman van Erpe (Erpenius) given to the world in 1625 is a far better representative of the Western text.

The inferiority of the text of Chronicles in *U* admits of an easy explanation. The Nestorians did not receive Chronicles into their Canon, and MSS containing this book were wanting at Urmi. The Americans therefore took Chronicles (together with Ezra and Nehemiah, I believe) from some printed text, Lee's or the Polyglot, and reissued it with a few corrections of small importance. The Nestorian MS at Berlin, 'Sachau 90', which contains 1, 2, 3 Maccabees, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, &c., written in the seventeenth century, is doubtless derived ultimately from Jacobite ancestors.

The fact, however, that the quality of the text of *U* varies so greatly from the Psalter to the Books of Chronicles raises our curiosity as to the quality of the text in other books, and though *L* was found wanting in both cases, it is interesting to learn whether more or less trust is to be given to it in other parts of the Old Testament. No doubt the edition of the Peshitta which is promised by two German scholars, Drs Brockelmann and Jacob, will one day satisfy our enquiries, but in the meantime it may be worth while to record the results of a partial and tentative examination of the text of 2 Kings. The choice of this book was made independently of critical reasons connected with the Syriac Old Testament.

The three following MSS have been used for the present enquiry:—

(a) The Codex Ambrosianus, published in facsimile by Dr Ceriani, Milan, 1876–1883 (cited as 'A'). 6th or 7th century.

(b) The Buchanan Bible (Camb. Univ. Library, Oo. i. 1, 2, cited here as 'B'). Jacobite, 12th century.

(c) Camb. Univ. Library, Add. 1964. Nestorian, 13th century (cited as 'N').

It may be remarked that though both A and B are Jacobite, there is good reason for believing that they are independent authorities. Certainly B varies from A considerably both in the Psalter and in Chronicles. In 2 Kings the headings used in the two MSS differ from one another; so ii 1; 18; xiii 13.

I have also used the Scholia of Barhebraeus (ed. A. Morgenstern, Berlin, 1895, cited as 'bH'), and the Homilies of Aphrahat (ed. W. Wright, London, 1869). The Syro-Hexaplar (S) and the Massoretic Hebrew (H) are also compared. In the case of S some discrimination is needed, and I have sometimes stated its testimony within brackets as doubtful. Where the general wording of a verse differs considerably between S and the Peshitta, it is very difficult to decide whether

coincidence in a single word, or even in a short clause, is significant, unless the expression in question is an unusual one.

Perhaps the most important result of a comparison of the printed text or texts with the three MSS enumerated above lies in the relatively large number of places in which the text of *LU*, or at least of *L*, agrees with *ℳ*, often with *ℳℤ*, where the MSS on the contrary shew disagreement. Plainly the later MSS on which *L* (and to a certain extent *U* also) depends have been corrupted from *ℤ*, or in some cases from *ℳ* through some other channel than *ℤ*. The following passages should be consulted: (a) cases in which *L* agrees with *ℳ* or with *ℳℤ*, though codices ABN disagree; ii 14; [iii 7 *ter*]; iii 21; iv 5; iv 39; vi 12 *bis*; 23; [cf. vii 6 *سلا فحا*]; viii 2; 14; 29 (order of the words); ix 25 *bis*; 26; 34; x 4; 9; [16]; 24; 31; 33. (b) cases in which *LU* agree with *ℳ* or with *ℳℤ*, though codices ABN disagree: [i 3; ii 14]; iii 7; 17; iv 4; . . . x 14; &c.

The cases in which *L* differs from *ℳ* and also from ABN are very few; vi 15 is perhaps a very late corruption.

The most curious reading (implying perhaps the influence of some Midrash) I have found occurs in iv 4 where, according to codd. ABN, Elisha says to the widow, *Pour into all these vessels water*. True, the collocation *فحا فحا* arouses the suspicion that the words are an instance of dittography, but the turn is quite Midrashic. The new reading, *and there was not anything in the cauldron* (iv 41), puts quite a different complexion on the narrative. It is possible that the translators of the Peshitta regarded vv. 38-41 not as the account of a separate miracle but simply as the introduction to the account of the miracle given in vv. 42-44.

The following collations are not intended to be complete, even for 2 Kings i-xiii; they are meant to be merely illustrative.

- i 2. *ℳℳℳℳ* *L* = B
ℳℳℳℳ (ut Jud. iii 23) *U* = AN *ℤ*
 3. *ℳ* [*ℳℳ*] *LU* *ℳ*
ℳ ABN
 9. *ℳℳℳ* *L* = BN
ℳℳ *U* = A *ℳ*
- ii 1. *ℳℳℳ* *LU* = B
 pr. *ℳℳℳ* AN
ℳ *L*
ℳℳℳ *U* = ABN *ℤ*
 8. *ℳℳℳ* *LU* [*ℳℳℳ*]
ℳℳℳ ABN

NOTES AND STUDIES

10. L $U = ABN$ \mathfrak{S}
 14. LU \mathfrak{S} [5]
 om. ABN
 LU \mathfrak{S}
 pr. ABN
 $(2^{do}) L$ \mathfrak{S}
 add $U = ABN$ bH
 18. LU
 add $A [BN]$
 $AN [B [N]]$
 $LU = B [N]$
 om. A
- iii 7. LU \mathfrak{S} [5]
 om. ABN
 L \mathfrak{S} [5]
 $U = ABN$
 L \mathfrak{S} [5]
 $U = ABN$
 L \mathfrak{S}
 $U = ABN$
8. $(2^{do}) L$
 om. $U = ABN$ \mathfrak{S}
10. L \mathfrak{S}
 $U = ABN$
17. $(2^{do}) LU$ \mathfrak{S}
 om. ABN Aph^{128}
 LU \mathfrak{S}
 om. ABN \mathfrak{S}
21. L \mathfrak{S}
 $U = ABN$
 L [5]
 $U = ABN$ \mathfrak{S}
23. L
 $U = ABN$
25. L
 $U = ABN$
- iv 4. L $[U]$ \mathfrak{S} ut U
 ABN

13. $\text{om. } L \text{ [S cum ast.]}$
 $U = ABN$
 L
 $U = ABN$
 $(\text{sine add}) LU$
 ABN
14. LU $[S]$
 $om. ABN$
17. L
 $om. U = ABN$
 $(\text{sine add}) LU$
 ABN
21. L
 $U = ABN$
23. L
 $U = ABN$
 LU
 $ABN \text{ bH}$
24. LU
 $ABN \text{ bH}$
 L
 $om. U = ABN$
25. $(2^0) L$
 $om. U = ABN$
26. $(\text{sine add}) LU$
 $add ABN$
 L
 $om. U = ABN$
- vi i. $(\text{sine add}) L$ $[S]$
 $add U = ABN$
3. L
 $om. U = ABN$
12. L
 $U = ABN$
 $(\text{sine add}) L$
 $add U = ABN$
 $(\text{sine add}) L$
 $add U = ABN$
 $L [U]$
 $AB[N]$

15. $\text{p}^{\text{mo}} L$
 $\text{p}^{\text{mo}} U = \text{ABN } \text{?S}$
17. $\text{حقيقة} (1^{\text{mo}}) LU \text{ ?}$
 add لحظ ABN bH S
18. $\text{سواء} L = A \text{ ?S}$
 $\text{سواء} U = \text{BN}$
 $\text{مستعمل} L$
 $\text{مستعمل} U = \text{ABN bH S}$
20. $\text{ول} L$ [x. l. B]
 $\text{حده} U = \text{AN S}$
23. $\text{مستعمل} L$
 $\text{مستعمل} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{ول} \text{مستعمل} L \text{ ?S}$
 om. $U = \text{ABN}$
29. $\text{حده} L [\text{S}]$
 $\text{حده} U = \text{ABN}$
32. $\text{مستعمل} LU = \text{ABN } [\text{?S}]$
 $\text{مستعمل} \text{ Aph}^{\text{m}}$
- vii 1. $\text{مستعمل} L$
 $\text{مستعمل} U = \text{ABN bH}$
2. $\text{ول} L$
 $\text{ول} U = \text{ABN bH}^{\text{ed}}$
4. $\text{ول} L$
 om. $\text{ول} U = \text{ABN}$
5. $\text{مستعمل} (2^{\text{do}}) L \text{ ?} [\text{S مستعمل}]$
 om. $U = \text{ABN}$
6. $\text{مستعمل} . . \text{مستعمل} L \text{ ?}$
 tr. verba $U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{مستعمل} [\text{مستعمل}] L \text{ S}$
 $\text{مستعمل} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{مستعمل} . . \text{مستعمل} L [\text{?S}]$
 tr. verba $U = \text{ABN}$
8. $\text{ول} LU \text{ ?} [\text{S مستعمل}]$
 $\text{ول} \text{ ABN}$
9. $\text{ول} L$
 $\text{ول} U = \text{ABN}$
10. $\text{ول} L$
 $\text{ول} U = \text{ABN } \text{?}$
11. $\text{مستعمل} L$
 $\text{مستعمل} U = \text{ABN } [\text{? q. v.}]$

12. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
13. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
14. $\text{חבד} L [U] \text{ חבד} [\text{cf. } \text{חבד}]$
 om. חבד
15. $\text{חבד} L$
 tr. subst. $U = \text{ABN}$
16. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
17. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
18. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
19. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
20. $\text{חבד} LU \text{ חבד} [\text{חבד cum ast.}]$
 om. חבד ABN
- viii 2. $\text{חבד} L \text{ חבד} [\text{חבד}]$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
6. $\text{חבד} LU \text{ חבד}$
 $\text{חבד} (\text{sine } \text{חבד}) \text{ ABN}$
 $\text{חבד} LU$
 pr. חבד ABN
7. $\text{חבד} L$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
8. $\text{חבד} L$
 tr. verba $U = \text{ABN}$
9. $\text{חבד} L$
 tr. verba $U = \text{ABN}$
14. $\text{חבד} (2^{\text{do}}) L \text{ חבד}$
 pr. $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN}$
15. $\text{חבד} (\text{sine add}) LU \text{ חבד}$
 add חבד ABN bH
 $\text{חבד} L \text{ חבד}$
 $\text{חבד} U = \text{ABN bH}$

18. $\text{חֲסִידָא} L$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN } \text{חֲסִידָא}$
19. $\text{חֲסִידָא} LU [S]$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} \text{ABN } \text{חֲסִידָא}$
21. $\text{חֲסִידָא} LU [S]$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} L$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
26. $\text{חֲסִידָא} LU$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} \text{ABN } bH$
28. $\text{חֲסִידָא} \text{חֲסִידָא} LU \text{ חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} \text{ABN}$
29. $\text{חֲסִידָא} (1^{mo}) L \text{ חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} L$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} LU \text{ חֲסִידָא} [S]$
 om. ABN
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} L \text{ חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{ad fin. ver. } U = \text{ABN}$
- ix 2. $\text{חֲסִידָא} L$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
7. $\text{חֲסִידָא} LU = \text{AN } \text{חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} B [S \text{ חֲסִידָא}]$
16. $\text{חֲסִידָא} (\text{sine add}) LU \text{ חֲסִידָא} [+ \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{ AN}]$
 $\text{add } \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{ABN}$
22. $\text{חֲסִידָא} L S$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} L [S]$
 $\text{add } \text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN } [S \text{ om. } \text{חֲסִידָא}]$
25. $\text{חֲסִידָא} L \text{ חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{post } \text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} L$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} L \text{ חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$
26. $\text{חֲסִידָא} (\text{sine add}) L \text{ חֲסִידָא}$
 $\text{add } \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{חֲסִידָא} \text{חֲסִידָא} U =$
 $[B \text{ חֲסִידָא}] N$
34. $\text{חֲסִידָא} L [S \text{ חֲסִידָא}]$
 $\text{חֲסִידָא} U = \text{ABN}$

- x 1. $\text{add (sine add) } LU \text{ } \mathfrak{L}$
 $\text{add } \text{ABN}$
 $\text{om. } \text{ABN}$
2. L
 $U = \text{ABN}$
4. $\text{(sine add) } LU \text{ } \mathfrak{L}$
 $\text{add } \text{ABN}$
 $\text{(sine add) } L \text{ } \mathfrak{L} \text{ } [U \text{ } \mathfrak{L}]$
 $\text{add } U = \text{ABN}$
5. $L = A \text{ } \mathfrak{L}$
 $U = \text{BN } \mathfrak{L}$
 $L \text{ } [\mathfrak{L}]$
 $\text{(sine } \circ) U = \text{ABN}$
6. L
 $U = \text{ABN}$
9. $L \text{ } \mathfrak{L}$
 $\text{om. } U = \text{ABN}$
10. L
 $\text{ABN } [U \text{ } \mathfrak{L} \text{ } \mathfrak{L}]$
11. L
 $U = \text{ABN}$
14. $LU \text{ } [\mathfrak{L}] \text{ } [\mathfrak{L} \text{ } \mathfrak{L}]$
 $\text{om. } \text{ABN}$
16. L
 $U = \text{ABN } \mathfrak{L}$
 $L \text{ } \mathfrak{L}$
 $U = \text{ABN } \mathfrak{L}$
17. $L \text{ } \mathfrak{L} \text{ } [\mathfrak{L} \text{ } \mathfrak{L}]$
 $U = \text{ABN}$
 L
 $U = \text{ABN}$
 L
 $U = \text{ABN}$
18. L
 $U = \text{ABN}$
19. $L \text{ } \mathfrak{L}$
 $\text{tr. verba } U = \text{ABN}$
 $L \text{ (per errorem)}$
 $U = \text{ABN}$

20. $\text{מלך} L$
 $\text{חכם} U = ABN$
22. $\text{פחד} \dots \text{חכם} LU$
 om. ABN
24. $\text{מלך} L$
 add $\text{חכם} U = ABN$ חכם
 $\text{חכם} (sine add) L$ חכם $[S]$
 add $\text{חכם} U = ABN$
25. $\text{חכם} LU$ $[S]$
 $\text{חכם} ABN$
 $\text{חכם} (sine add) L$ חכם
 add $\text{חכם} U = ABN$ $[S \text{ cum obel.}]$
27. $\text{חכם} L$
 $\text{חכם} U = ABN$
29. $\text{חכם} L$ $[S]$
 $\text{חכם} U = ABN$ $[S]$
 $\text{חכם} L$ S
 $\text{חכם} U = ABN$
31. $\text{חכם} (sine add) L$ חכם
 add $\text{חכם} U = ABN$ $[S]$
33. $\text{חכם} L$ S
 $\text{חכם} U = A[B] N$ $[S \text{ cum obel.}]$
 $\text{חכם} L$ חכם
 $\text{חכם} U = ABN$ $[S \text{ cum obel.}]$
- xi 2. $\text{חכם} (2^{do}) LU$ S
 $\text{חכם} ABN$
4. $\text{חכם} (sine add) L$ חכם
 add $\text{חכם} U = ABN$ S
 $\text{חכם} (sine add) L$ S
 add $\text{חכם} U = ABN$
8. $\text{חכם} LU = N$ S
 $\text{חכם} A$
12. $\text{חכם} LU$
 $\text{חכם} ABN$
 $\text{חכם} L$ חכם $[S]$
 $\text{חכם} U = [A \text{ cum obel.}] BN$
14. $\text{חכם} LU$
 om. ABN
 $\text{חכם} L$
 $\text{חכם} U = ABN$

of style, between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Wisdom, both books being pieces of highly artistic prose, it was not surprising to find that the same rhythmical principle holds good for the apocryphal book. The book of Wisdom, as has often been pointed out, is replete with figures of speech. Instances of chiasmus, paronomasia, alliteration, balance of clauses, and the like abound. But the existence of the rhythmical feature in question appears, so far as the present writer is aware, to have hitherto escaped notice.

The assimilation in scansion in this book is seen chiefly in the terminations of the *στίχοι*. Assimilation in the openings, though not wanting, is not nearly so frequent. The instances of assimilation between the ending of one clause and the beginning of the next noted by the present writer are, apart from the last chapter, comparatively few.

The attempt to assimilate the endings of the *στίχοι* runs through the whole book, but is much more evident towards the close, where the writer abandons the more Hebraic manner of the early chapters and gives free play to his own genius¹. Out of upwards of eighty cases noted of pairs (triplets) of *στίχοι* with corresponding endings, thirty occur in the last three chapters. In the earlier part of the work the average is about four pairs to a chapter.

Instances in the first chapter are:—

i 4	... (κατά)χευ ἁμαρτίας } — — — —
	... φεύζεται δόλον }
i 5	... (λογ)ισμῶν ἀσυνέτων } — — — —
	... (ἐπελθ)ούσης ἀδικίας }
i 6	... γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφία }
i 8	... ἀδικ' οὐδείς μὴ λάθῃ } — — — —
	... (αὐ)τὸν ἐλέγχουσ' ἡ δίκη }
i 14	... (φάρ)μακον ἐλέθρου } — — — —
	... (βασι)λιον [so A] ἐπὶ γῆς }
i 16	... ἐτάκησαν } — — — —
	... (ἔθεν)το πρὸς αὐτόν }
	... (με)ρίδος εἶναι }

Also in i 15, 16, if we read *προσεκαλέσατο* with *κ**, substituting *ἀσεβῆς* for *ἀσεβείς* for the sake of the sense, we get

(δικαιο)σύνη γὰρ ἀθανατός ἐστιν } — — — —

... λόγοις προσεκαλέσατ' αὐτόν }

It is needless to go through the whole book pointing out similar instances: the existence of the principle may easily be verified. One

¹ See Farrar in the *Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, vol. i p. 405.

other passage must suffice. On p. 638 (vol. ii) of Dr Swete's text we have the following:—

xvii 16 ... (ἐ)κεῖ καταπίπτων } - υ υ - -
 ... (εἶρκ)τὴν κατακλεισθεῖς }
 17 ... ἦν τις ἡ ποιμὴν } - υ - - -
 ... ἐργάτης μόχθων }
 17, 18 ... (ἐ)μενεν ἀνάγκην } υ υ υ - -
 ... (πάν)τες ἐδέθησαν }

with which we should perhaps join the next στίχος :

 ... διασῶρίζον κ*.
 xvii 18, 19 ... (ῆ)χος εὐμέλης } (υ - υ) υ - υ -
 ... πορευομένου βία }
 ... (κα)ταριπτομένων πετρῶν }
 19 ... (ἀ)θεώρητος } υ - - -
 ... (θη)ρίων φωνή }
 20 ... (κα)τελάμπετο φωτί } υ - υ υ - υ
 ... συνείχετο ἔργοις }
 xviii 1 ... (ὁσί)οις σου μέγιστον ἦν φῶς } - - υ - υ - -
 ... μορφὴν δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶντες }

Moreover xvii 21^a and 21^b balance each other :

 ... (ἐπέ)τατο βαρεῖα νύξ } υ υ υ - υ -
 ... βαρύτεροι σκότους }

and 21^b (εἰκὼν τοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτοὺς διαδέχεσθαι σκότους) may be a Christian interpolation. In any case the three στίχοι in verse 21 end with an iambic, and all the στίχοι in the page (from xvii 16 to xviii 4) with the exception of the two last¹ fall into couplets or triplets having at least the two final syllables of their component στίχοι identical in scansion.

The frequent occurrence of the phenomenon, especially in the closing chapters, and the length to which the agreement is sometimes carried make it impossible to attribute it to accident. The improbability of a fortuitous origin increases with the number of corresponding syllables. Couplets with seven or eight syllables of equal scansion are fairly common. An instance with eleven syllables is:—

viii 3 ... (δο)ξάζει συμβίωσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα } - - - υ - - υ - υ - υ
 ... πάντων δεσπότης ἡγάπησεν αὐτήν }

¹ Here the loss is compensated by the assimilation of the ending of verse 3 (ξενίταις παρίσχεις with the opening of the two following στίχοι : ἀξιοὶ μὲν . . , οἱ κατακλείσ(τους) . . (- υ - -).

With nine syllables we have :—

ix 16 ... (μό)λις εικάζομεν τὰ¹ ἐπὶ γῆς } υ--υ-υ-υ-υ-
 ... (χερ)σὶν εὐρίσκομεν μετὰ πόνου }

Other instances where the assimilation is well sustained are xi 14^a with 14^c (eleven syllables: possibly 14^b and 14^c formed a single στίχος) and xiv 19 (ten syllables) if κάλιον, a form for which there is authority in Greek literature, be read :—

... κρατοῦντι βουλόμενος ἀρέσαι } υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-
 ... ὁμοιότητ' ἐπὶ τὸ κάλ(λ)ιον }

In some cases it looks as if *alternate* στίχοι had been made to correspond: see iv 19 (ἀ)φώνους πρηνεῖς—(αὐ)τοὺς ἐκ θεμελίων—(χερ)σωθήσονται—(ἐ)σονται ἐν ὁδύνῃ and xviii 17 f. μὲν ὀνείρων—(ἐξετά)-ραξαν αὐτοὺς—ἀδόκητοι—ἡμίθνητος.

The most frequent ending for couplets is that of a hexameter (—)υ-υ--. Next comes (≡)--υ--υ, and almost as frequent is the termination with υ--υ--υ, which also, it may be noted, is found seven times in the opening verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Blass, *Gramm.*² § 82, 3). The tendency to accumulate short syllables is noticeable, e. g. in iii 19 with iv 1 and xiv 19 (quoted above). Norden (*op. cit.*) notes that this tendency was characteristic of the later artistic prose: Demosthenes avoided the sequence of more than two short syllables.

In the assimilation in the openings of clauses—which, as was stated, is less frequent than in their terminations—the iambic metre is the model usually followed. Instances occur in vi 10, vi 17 f, x 4, 6, 13, xv 5 f. Instances in the last chapter of assimilation between termination and opening are xix 6 -αχθῶσαν ἀβλαβεῖς, with γ ἢ τὴν παρεμβολὴν . . ., 7^a and 7^b, 10^b and 10^c, 11^a and 11^b, 17^d and 18^a.

In one case the writer nearly succeeds in carrying the assimilation through the whole of two lines from beginning to end :—

xv 7 Καὶ γὰρ κεραμεὺς ἀπαλὴν γῆν θλίβων ἐπίμοχθον
 πλάσσει πρὸς ὑπὴρ|ρεσίαν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑκάστον,

i. e. -- υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-
 -- υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-

If the passage is divided as marked, it will be seen that it forms three perfect anapaestic lines.

¹ Short syllables are as a rule elided except in words like τὰ: cp.

xviii 11 . . . ἄμα δεσπότη κολασθεῖς } υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-
 . . . βασιλεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάσχων }
 12 ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ πάντες . . . (Anacreontic metre).

The rhythmical principle considered in this paper has at least one practical use for the critic. It affords a valuable criterion as to the true text in cases of doubt. Thus, as was said above, the spelling *βασίλιον* which A adopts in i 14 is probably to be preferred to *βασίλειον* of B^κ. Similarly in iii 11 the spelling of B^κ *ἀνώνητοι* (for *ἀνόνητοι*) is explained on metrical grounds:—

... ἐξουθενῶν ταλαίπωρος } ---υ---υ---υ
... καὶ οἱ κόποι ἀνώνητοι }

In vii 3 *κατέπεσον* of B A is to be preferred to *κατέπεσα*

of *κ*: ... (ὁμοιοπα)θῇ κατέπεσον γῆν } ---υ---υ---
... πᾶσιν ἴσα κλαίων }

The first aorist formation in *-σα* is especially common in the LX in the case of the verb *πίπτω*; the writer of Wisdom selected the second aorist, not only because it was the classical form, but also because it suited the metre. In vii 29 read *ἀστέρων* with A for *ἀστρων* of B^κ (cp. v. 19):—

... (αὖ)τῇ ἐπρεπεστέρ' ἡλίον } ---υ---υ---υ
... (ὕ)πὲρ πᾶσαν ἀστέρων θέσιν }

In x 13 the scansion of the second line shews that the imperfect *ἐγκατέλειπεν* of A is the right reading in the first line. Metre, as well as sense, shews in xii 20 that *δίσεως* of *κ* is to be preferred to *δεήσεως* of B (a triplet ending with anapaests). In xv 7 quoted above *ἐν* should be inserted with *κ* A C. In xviii 16 the perfect *βέβηκε* should probably be read for *βεβήκει*:—

... (ἐπλήρω)σε τὰ πάντα θανάτου } ---υ---υ---υ
... (ἤ)πτετο, βέβηκε δ' ἐπὶ γῆς }

It may perhaps be of some service to have traced another link between Wisdom and Hebrews. Of course, if, as appears to be the case, the practice which has here been considered was taught in the rhetorical schools, no inference can be drawn as to identity of authorship. But it is a legitimate inference that both writers came under the same training. Their agreement in this respect can hardly be explained by imitation. It would be interesting to know at what date the practice first came into vogue. The instance which Blass quotes from Cicero shews that it was taught as early as the first century B. C.

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

PS.—Since the above note was in type, the writer has had the advantage of receiving the comments of Professor Blass. While accepting the general conclusion as 'manifest', he points out some errors. I

fear rather flagrant, in the prosody of some passages quoted, e. g. that the *α* in *ἀθάνατος* and the *ι* in *καλ(λ)ίων* are always long. He adds: 'I should think that any writer, who wrote in rhythm, observed the same prosodical rules: a vowel which may be elided *must* be elided, a long vowel (or diphthong) before a vowel must be shortened.' This would affect some of the instances quoted above. 'But', he adds, 'on the other hand the number of correspondences may be increased almost in importance, although I doubt whether rhythms are (as in other writers) *continually* employed. The text is not in a very good condition.'

NOTE ON MATT. XX 23 AND MARK X 40.

IN the First Gospel our Lord is reported to have said to the sons of Zebedee—

τὸ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ ἐξ ἐωνύμων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοιμάσται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

The parallel passage in the Second Gospel runs—

τὸ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἢ ἐξ ἐωνύμων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοιμάσται.

Vv. ll. are not important. In the former passage CDA &c. insert *τοῦτο* after *δοῦναι*.

The familiar English of A. V. is—

'To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give, but *it shall be given to them* for whom it is prepared of my Father.'

The rendering of St Mark is similar, with 'and' for ἢ and with the omission of 'of my Father'.

For this the R. V. of 1881 substitutes:—

'To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give, but *it is for them* for whom it hath been prepared of my Father', and so for St Mark with the same variation as in A. V.

Do these translations convey the sense of the original? The importation of the words in italics, it will be observed, makes a material change in the force of the sentence. Why were they introduced?

'To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give, but for whom it is prepared' is clumsy English, but intelligible English. If we draw out the force of the relative, and make it contain the antecedent, as the construction requires, we may render 'but to them for whom it is prepared'.

Here the English, in accordance with a very common use of our *but* (*but* = *be out*), implies that the privilege of sitting on the Lord's right hand and on His left hand is His to give, but His to give to none but

fit recipients: i. e. not His to give save or except to those for whom it is prepared. A. V. and R. V. on the contrary imply that this privilege is not His to give, but that, in some way not specified, it shall be given to, or is reserved for, those for whom it is prepared.

For which of these two statements did the writers of the Gospel intend to make the Speaker responsible? Did they wish to describe our Lord as here asserting, or as repudiating, the power to assign his places in His Kingdom which is claimed in Rev. iii 21? Is there anything about their Greek original text necessitating the interpolation of an explanatory clause involving a change of meaning so important?

'Yes', say the translators and commentators represented by A. V. and R. V., 'there is. *ἀλλά never equals εἰ μή*'. So in the most popular manuals of Greek Testament exegesis is to be found the solemn dictum reverently propounded: *ἀλλά never = εἰ μή*. So the Cambridge Bible St Matthew; so the Cambridge Bible St Mark; the annotators in each case supporting their position by reference to Winer § 566. Even the last important commentator on St Mark, Dr Swete, apparently hesitates to deviate from this supposed grammatical orthodoxy.

But is not this reputed unimpeachable canon really arbitrary and baseless? So far from *ἀλλά never equalling εἰ μή*, such a use is to be found in every age of Greek literature. It is true that Blass in his *Grammar of N.T. Greek* ignores it. It is, however, enough to quote:

Odyssey xxi 70

Οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλην

μύθου ποιήσασθαι ἐπισχεσίνην ἐδύνασθε

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ἱέμενοι γῆμαι θέσθαι τε γυναῖκα :

Soph. *O. T.* 1331

Ἐπαισε δ' αὐτόχειρ νιν οὔτις ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πλάμων :

Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x 5. 10 Ἡδέα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ τοῖσι καὶ οὕτω διακειμένοις :

and last, but not least in significance,

St Mark ix 8 οὐκέτι οὐδένα εἶδον ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον, where to insist upon interpolating a second εἶδον would surely be a puerile pedantry. Even the cautious and halting R. V. so far forgets itself as here to preserve the familiar 'save'.

St Paul's οὐκ ἐμὲ λελύπηκεν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους (2 Cor. ii 5) may be another N.T. example, but, if R. V. is here right, and the antithesis is really between ἐμὲ and ὑμᾶς, it cannot be adduced.

The Greek then does not seem to furnish any ground for a rendering as awkward as it is erroneous, though, curiously enough, it was not till their latest issues that Liddell and Scott gave due prominence to an employment of *ἀλλά* long recognized and admitted by scholars.

What is the origin of the gloss?

The Vulgate has 'non est meum dare vobis sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo'. Here the interpolation of *vobis* makes 'sed' follow naturally rather than 'nisi', but does not tell against 'quibus' standing for 'iis quibus' after 'dare', and so preserving the Saviour as the Giver. In St Mark Wordsworth and White omit 'vobis', but it was in f., which may have represented the text corrected by Jerome.

Erasmus unfortunately went astray with 'iis continget quibus'. Beza objected to 'continget' and introduced 'dabitur', with the remark that, as it was understood in Greek, he expressed it in Latin. Of the great English Versions, Wicklif followed the Vulgate:—

'To sit at my riȝt half or left half it is not mine to geve to you, but to whiche it is made redi of my fadir.'

Tyndale accurately renders the Greek:—

'To syt on my ryght hond and on my lyft hond is not myne to geve, but to them for whom it is prepared of my Father.'

Cranmer infelicitously reproduces the 'continget' of Erasmus:—

'To syt on my right hande and on my left is not myne to geve, but it shall chaunce unto them that it is prepared for of my Father.'

The Geneva Bible first shews the present 'it shall be given'.

The Rheims Version, like Wicklif, follows the Vulgate. The error, therefore, appears to have been imported into English by Cranmer and the Genevan translators from the Latin of Erasmus and Beza.

Bengel, at all events, did not regard our Lord as denying His prerogative: 'hac sive oppositione sive exceptione (nam res eodem recidit) non negat Iesus suum esse dare (vide Apoc. iii 21) sed limitat, declaratque subiectum cui daturus sit et tempus ordinemque'.

Had readers of the fourth and fifth centuries understood the Greek in the sense of the gloss of the Dutch, French, and English reformers, it is easy to imagine what a Megiddo ground of controversy it might have become, like the famous Prov. viii 22 of the LXX, or John xiv 28. So far as my own reading has gone, I do not know of its being ever quoted quite in the sense of A.V. There is, indeed, an interesting note on Matt. xx 23 in St Basil's fourth book against Eunomius, but St Basil cites the verse, without a suspicion that any one would regard it as more than a limitation of the prerogative of the Son to assign the thrones, and only to point the need of active goodness on the part of disciples. 'He is able to give, though the request be unjust.' A similar hortative use of the passage is to be found in the fifth Festal Letter of Athanasius, § 3, and in the twenty-seventh Oration of St Gregory of Nazianzus, § 14.

St Chrysostom's treatment of the passage in his eighth Homily against the Anomoeans and his sixty-fifth Homily on St Matthew is curious. He takes ἀλλά to mean *sed*, not *nisi*, but the antithesis is between the

Lord who is not a giver—at least not a mere giver—and the fighters in the battle of life, on whose conduct the result depends :—Δείκνυνσι ὅτι οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐτέρων τινῶν. . . . τίσι δὲ ἡτοίμασται; τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων δυναμένοις γενέσθαι λαμπροῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπεν "Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου", ἵνα μὴ ἀσθενεῖν μηδὲ ἀτονεῖν αἰτῶν φαίη τις πρὸς τὴν ἀντίδοσιν ἀλλὰ πῶς; "οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν ἀλλ' ἐκείνων οἱς ἡτοίμασται". Theophylact's comment on the passage in St Matthew is οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι κατὰ χάριν τὸν στέφανον ἀλλ' ὃς ἡτοίμασται, τοῦτοτι τῷ δραμόντι καὶ νικήσαντι. On St Mark, where the Latin version and the punctuation in Migne's edition indicate the editors' adoption of the reading preserved in R.V., the Greek is οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμοῦ τοῦ δικαίου κρῖτος τὸ δοῦναι ὑμῖν κατὰ χάριν τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην, οὐ γὰρ ἂν δίκαιος εἶην· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγωνισάμενοις, ἐκείνοις ἡτοίμασται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη.

The true sense of the original is well put by Bishop Walsham How in the S. P. C. K. Commentary, and is admitted by Alford and by the Speaker's Commentary.

BLOMFIELD JACKSON.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF CODEX CLAROMONTANUS (D PAUL).

ON deciding to examine the character of the text used by Ambrosiaster as the basis of his commentaries on the Pauline epistles, I consulted Mr F. C. Burkitt about the best way to study it. On his advice, I collated first the text found in all the Pauline quotations in Lucifer of Cagliari and the text in Ambrosiaster with the Vulgate; second, the text used by Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum* (codex Laureshamensis) in all its quotations and that of Ambrosiaster with the Latin of Codex Claromontanus (d_2). Having, on the completion of my work, submitted the results to Mr Burkitt, I was advised to add ' d_2 ' to such variations from the Vulgate as appeared in the first apparatus, and ' vg ' to those differences from d_2 which were noted in the second. He kindly started this double work for me by noting several instances of agreement and called my attention to some agreements between Lucifer and d_2 . I have since noted that he refers to this kinship in his important article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

I make this personal explanation, because any truth there may be in the *theses* about to be propounded is ultimately due to Mr Burkitt's advice, while, if the theories should be decided to be erroneous, he may be entirely absolved from responsibility.

Briefly, then, I believe, as the result of my complete investigation that:—

(a) The Latin of Codex Claromontanus is, with the undernoted reservation, a copy of the same text as Lucifer of Cagliari employed, and that this bilingual MS belonged originally to Sardinia.

(b) The solitary MS of Lucifer is a good one.

(c) The text of d_2 can be emended from Lucifer.

(d) Lucifer's quotations can be emended from d_2 .

If I can prove the truth of (a), it will be unnecessary to prove the truth of the other three theses.

It is impossible in this place to print my entire collations. They are printed in full in the sixth chapter of my forthcoming *Study of Ambrosiaster* (Texts and Studies). There is no doubt that the Latin text of D^{paul} has been contaminated with the Vulgate in the longer Pauline epistles. The other epistles, however, shew no such contamination. It looks as if the copy from which the Latin of Claromontanus was made had been so far corrected by the Vulgate, but that at a certain point the scribe's patience had fortunately become exhausted. Every experienced collator of manuscripts will have seen cases where an elaborate scheme of alteration has been begun, only to be dropped after two or three quaternions.

The fact that Corssen found close points of contact between d_2 and the text in Ambrosiaster, while he makes no mention of Lucifer, will shew how stringent a test I am employing. The texts in Lucifer and Ambrosiaster are contemporary texts, removed from one another by the short distance between Sardinia and Rome. Yet, the former constantly agrees with d_2 against the latter. Let me take two long passages out of a large number to prove the truth of my statement. The main text is in each case Vulgate.

Eph. iv 7-18 (Lucif p. 200 ff von Hartel)

uni cuique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. propter quod dicit ascendens in altum captiuam duxit captiuitatem dedit dona hominibus. quod autem ascendit quid est nisi quia et descendit primum in inferiores partes terrae? qui descendit ipse est et qui ascendit super omnes caelos ut impleret omnia. et ipse 5

1 dignationis *Lucif* 2 domini nostri (*om nostri codd*¹) Iesu *ante* Christi *Ambrst* ascendit *codd* 4 et] etiam *Ambrst om* primum *Lucif (= d₂)*: prius *Ambrst* inferiora *Lucif Ambrst (= d₂)* et *ante* qui *Lucif* 5 et qui] qui et *Ambrst*: qui

¹ By *codd* is meant either one or both of the Bodleian MSS of Ambrosiaster's commentaries, Bodl. 756 (saec. xi), and Bodl. 689 (saec. xii). By a careful use of them one can elicit from them almost as good a text as the ninth-century MSS provide.

dedit quosdam quidem apostolos quosdam autem prophetas alios uero
 euangelistas alios autem pastores et doctores ad consummationem san-
 ctorum in opus ministerii in aedificationem corporis Christi donec occur-
 ramus omnes in unitatem fidei et agnitionis filii dei in uirum perfectum
 10 in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi ut iam non simus paruuli
 fluctuantes et circumferamur omni uento doctrinae in nequitia hominum
 in astutia ad circumuentionem erroris ueritatem autem facientes in
 caritate crescamus in illo per omnia qui est caput Christus ex quo
 totum corpus compactum et conexus per omnem iuncturam submini-
 15 strationis secundum operationem in mensuram unius cuiusque membri
 augmentum corporis facit in aedificationem sui in caritate. hoc igitur
 dico et testificor in domino ut iam non ambuletis sicut et gentesambu-
 lant in uanitate sensus sui tenebris obscuratum habentes intellectum
 alienati a uita dei per ignorantiam quae est in illis propter caecitatem
 20 cordis ipsorum.

Tit. I 5-14 (Lucif pp. 196, 277 von Hartel)

huius rei gratia reliqui te Cretae ut ea quae desunt corrigas et constituas
 per ciuitates presbyteros sicut et ego disposui tibi siquis sine crimine
 est unius uxoris uir filios habens fideles non in accusatione luxuria
 aut non subditos oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse sicut dei
 5 dispensatorem non superbum non iracundum non uinolentum non
 percussorem non turpis lucri cupidum sed hospitalem benignum sobrium
 iustum sanctum continentem amplectentem eum qui secundum doctri-
 nam est fidelem sermonem ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana

codd adimpleret *Lucif* (= d_2) 6 quosdam *Lucif* (= d_2) autem d_2 quosdam
Lucif *Ambrst* (= d_2) uero *Ambrst* 7 magistros *Ambrst* 9 unitate *Lucif*
 agnitione *Lucif*: agnitionem *Ambrst* om filii *Lucif* 10 non iam d_2 : ultra non
Ambrst 11 fluctuantes] neque fl. *Ambrst* 12 remedium *Lucif* *Ambrst* (= d_2)
 13 augeamur *Ambrst*: augeamus *codd* ipso *Ambrst*: ipsum *codd* per om d_2
codd 14 om omnem *Lucif* 15 om secundum operationem *Lucif* (= d_2) *codd*
 partis *Lucif* *Ambrst* (= d_2) 16 incrementum *Lucif* *Ambrst* (= d_2) ad *Ambrst*
 itaque *Lucif* (= d_2): ergo *Ambrst* 17 testor *Ambrst* non amplius *Lucif*
 om iam *Ambrst* 18 mentis suae *Lucif* *Ambrst* (= d_2) om tenebris *Lucif*
Ambrst (= d_2) obscurati in intellectu (*alias* insensati) *Lucif* obscurati intellectu
Ambrst (= d_2) 19 om a *codd* fide *Ambrst* propter *Ambrst* ign. q. e. i. i.
 propter om *Lucif* *alias* ipsis *Ambrst* propter] et *Ambrst* duritiam *codd*
 20 illorum *Ambrst*

1 deerant *Lucif* (= d_2) 2 presbyterium *Lucif* (= d_2) om et *Lucif* (= d_2)
 tibi disposui *Lucif* (= d_2) *Ambrst* est sine crimine *Lucif* (= d_2) *Ambrst*
 3 mulieris *Ambrst* accusationem *Lucif* (= d_2) 4 non subiectum *Lucif*: non
 subiectos d_2 : inobsequentes *Ambrst* 5 dispensatorem dei *Lucif* pro-
 terum *Lucif* (= d_2) *Ambrst* uino deditum *Ambrst* 6 turpis lucri cupidum]
 turpilucrum *Lucif* (= d_2): turpia lucra adpetentem *Ambrst* prudentem
Ambrst 7 tenacem *Ambrst* eum] id *Lucif* (= d_2) eius sermonis *Ambrst*
 qui] quod *Lucif* (= d_2) 8 est fidem uerbi *Lucif*: est fidelis uerbi d_2 : fidelis est

et eos qui contradicunt arguere sunt enim multi etiam inoboedientes
 uaniloqui et seductores maxime qui de circumcisione sunt quos oportet 10
 redargui qui uniuersas domos subuertunt docentes quae non oportet
 turpis lucri gratia [dixit quidam ex illis proprius ipsorum propheta]
 Cretenses semper mendaces malae bestiae uentres pigri [testimonium
 hoc uerum est] quam ob causam increpa illos dure ut sani sint in fide
 non intendentes Iudaicis fabulis et mandatis hominum auersantium 15
 se a ueritate ¹.

Ambrst sana *om* *Lucif* 9 eos qui contradicunt] contradicentes *Lucif* (= *d*₂)
Ambrst reuincere *Lucif* (= *d*₂) *Ambrst* : se uincere *codd* etiam] *om* *Ambrst* :
 et *codd* *d*₂ non subditi *Lucif* (= *d*₂) : non oboedientes *Ambrst* 10 deceptores
Lucif ii (hi (hii) *codd*) qui *Ambrst* ex circumcisione sunt *Lucif* (= *d*₂) : sunt ex
 circumcisione *Ambrst* 11 euertunt *Lucif* (= *d*₂) 14 causam] rem *Lucif*
argue *Ambrst* acriter *Lucif* (= *d*₂) sunt *codd*

These passages were chosen as long as possible and from the shorter epistles, so that the test might be severe. An examination of the texts and variants shews that there is a connexion between the texts used by Lucifer and Ambrosiaster, whatever the nature of that connexion may be. Yet we find that *d*₂ hardly ever agrees with Ambrosiaster against Lucifer. The texts used by Lucifer and *d*₂ are the same text.

Sardinia had been taken by the Romans from the Carthaginians in 238 B.C.; so that in Lucifer's time the country had been in the occupation of the Romans for six centuries. The island must have been thoroughly Romanized, and even after the fall of the Western Empire the speech of the people continued Latin. Sardinia has never played a large part in the history of Europe, and has been more or less isolated from the Continent. The version used by Lucifer probably continued in use in Cagliari long after Lucifer's death.

But in the sixth century, actually 533, Sardinia came into the possession of the Eastern Byzantine empire, the language of which was Greek. Hence the necessity for a Greek version of the Bible in the island. The inhabitants spoke Latin, the invaders Greek. A bilingual bible was a necessity for Church services. Such a codex I believe Claromontanus to have been. It is remarkable that our three great bilingual codices, Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles, Codex Bezae of the Gospels and Acts, and Laudianus of the Acts, are all attributed to the sixth century. Laudianus is known to be a Sardinian book. May not all these have been prepared in Sardinia to meet the historical situation to which I have referred?

ALEX. SOUTER.

¹ The parts within square brackets are not quoted by Lucifer, and therefore no variants from *Ambrst* or *d*₂ are given in the notes.

A NOTE ON THE *ACTA PAULI*.

HAS the possibility ever been seriously considered that the *Acta Pauli* are wholly a continuation of the Canonical Acts, and do not, in parts, come parallel to them? It has been generally assumed that at any rate most of the episodes previous to the Martyrdom are meant to be intercalated in the gaps left by the author of the Canonical Acts. But I am anxious that the question should be put and answered, whether the narrative of the *Acta Pauli* is not all to be regarded as following upon that of Luke.

Objections of course spring to the mind at once. Does not Paul refer to the fight with beasts at Ephesus in 1 Cor. xv as a past event; and did not an account of that fight occur in the *Acta Pauli*? Undoubtedly; but I would ask as a counter-question: Is it likely that the author of the *Acta Pauli* had formed any idea of the chronological order of the Epistles? Is it not quite probable that he regarded them as having all been written within a short time of the Apostle's death (like those of Ignatius); and that he assumed any event mentioned in the Epistles and not in the Acts to have occurred subsequently to the period embraced in that book?

The reasons which have led me to reflect seriously upon the possibility I have mentioned are, first, considerations of analogy, derived from the study of this literature as a whole, and secondly, indications in the text of these particular Acts.

With regard to the first, it is obvious that the other Apocryphal Acts are all continuations of the New Testament narrative. When it is desired to introduce detail belonging to the sphere of the Gospels or the Canonical Acts, retrospect is employed. Such retrospective episodes are the account of our Lord in the Acts of John, the Eubula story in Peter, and the miracle of the Sphinx in Andrew and Matthew: the *Clementine Recognitions*, too, contain much retrospective matter.

The indications which the *Acta Pauli* themselves give are puzzling. I will cite in the first place the case of the Thecla episode. All that part of the *personnel* of this episode which is derived from the Pauline Epistles (viz. Demas, Hermogenes, Onesiphorus, Titus) is from one Epistle, obviously written late in Paul's career, viz. 2 Tim. It presupposes, moreover, a visit of Titus to Iconium; we read that Titus had told Onesiphorus what Paul's appearance was (§ 2). According to the view which I am stating, therefore, Paul's visit to Iconium is meant to be placed quite late in his life.

Almost the only other episode in the *Acta Pauli* (before the *Martyrium*)

which brings the Apostle to a place which he visits also in the Canonical Acts is the Philippian section, where Paul, imprisoned at Philippi, writes a letter to Corinth. This visit to Philippi cannot, surely, be identical with that of Acts xvi. The imprisonment of Paul is the result, not of the exorcising of the prophesying maiden, but of the conversion (probably) of Stratonice, the wife of Apollophanes. And there are indications that it is not a first visit which is being narrated; brethren are mentioned as rejoicing at Paul's arrival.

Another point is that the Church at Corinth is evidently a mature and well-established organization. There are deacons, who bring the Corinthian letter to Paul, and elders who write the letter. One of these is Stephanas, who, one can hardly doubt, is the Stephanas of 1 Cor. i 16. All this must mean that Paul had already resided at Corinth, and founded a Church. But in the Canonical Acts his first visit to Corinth is subsequent to the visit to Philippi.

Another sentence in the same section seems to shew that we are dealing with events quite late in the Apostle's life, at a time when his death was looked for as somewhat imminent: 'Es waren nämlich in grosser Betrübnis die Korinther wegen Paulus, dass er würde aus der Welt gehen, ohne dass die Zeit ist' (Schmidt p. 73). Possibly it was only his peril at Philippi that caused the fear; of this I am not satisfied.

Again, a sentence in the Corinthian letter may perhaps be taken as referring to Paul's deliverance from imprisonment at Rome. 'Denn wir glauben, wie offenbart ist der Theonoë, dass der Herr dich gerettet hat aus der Hand (?) des Gesetzlosen (ἀνομος)' (Schmidt p. 75). Is not the ἀνομος likely to be meant for the Emperor?

It is urged that the arrival of Paul at Rome at the beginning of the *Martyrium* is represented as his first visit to that city, and that the prophecies of Cleobius and Myrte (Schmidt pp. 82, 83) are also to be interpreted as referring to a first visit. I can see no necessity for this. The incident of Cleobius and Myrte is, I cannot doubt, copied from that of Agabus in Acts xxi, which refers to what was by no means Paul's first visit to Jerusalem: I can detect nothing in the language of Cleobius or Myrte which is incompatible with the idea that Paul had already been at Rome once. I must say the same of the *Martyrium*: but here it is quite clear that Nero at any rate had never seen Paul before.

To complete the theory which I am putting forward to be knocked down, I must add a sketch of what it requires us to assume as the general outline of the *Acta Pauli*.

At the beginning we should have been told, perhaps very much in the fashion of the opening words of the *Acts of Peter* (*Actus Vercellenses*), how Paul was released from imprisonment at Rome, and then, possibly,

how he set out for Spain. Any account of the Spanish journey must have been short; there is just a possibility that some retrospective reference to it may have been introduced into the body of the book.

The detailed narrative evidently began nearer the writer's own home in Asia. The story of Anchaes is quite likely to have been the first of its kind in the book (it occurs on the ninth page of the manuscript). Then follow Thecla, Hermocrates, the Sidonian and Tyrian episodes, and then the gap. Into this must be fitted the fight with beasts at Ephesus, Paul in the mines¹, Paul at Jerusalem, and then a return westward, which brings Paul to Philippi and to Athens, as I believe (for I still hold to the speech in John of Salisbury as a citation of the *Acta*). Whether this intervened between the prophecy of Cleobius and Myrte and the *Martyrium*, we can hardly tell.

It is quite likely that I have missed some points which would put this theory out of court completely and in a moment. I cannot say that I am a decided supporter of it: I only put forward the suggestion of its possibility, and ask that it may be entertained along with others. I should like to add an expression of the warm admiration which I, in common with all students, feel for the way in which Dr Carl Schmidt has brought order out of chaos in dealing with the mass of fragments to which his manuscript had been reduced.

M. R. JAMES.

PROLEGOMENA TO THE *TESTIMONIA* OF ST CYPRIAN.

ON two points there can be no division of opinion among patristic students: the importance of the evidence of St Cyprian and especially of his book of 'Testimonies' to the earliest form of the Latin Bible, and the unsatisfactory nature of the only critical edition, that of Hartel (A.D. 1868) in the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.

Hartel used for the *Testimonia* only five MSS, A (Sessorianus lviii in the library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: now 2106 in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele), B (Bamberg 476), L (Vienna 962: originally at Lorsch), M (Munich 208), W (Würzburg theol. 145): and of these he pinned his faith predominantly to A, which appeared to him to give the most consistent text, though he carefully guarded himself from

¹ With reference to this story, I should like to suggest the possibility that Frontina is dead, and that the casting down over the precipice was a local mode of burial.

asserting that it was the true one. Subsequent research has proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the biblical text is best preserved in L, worst in some ways in A; and these facts alone would seem to make a new edition imperative. For such an edition preparations have been made, during some time past, under Dr Sanday's direction at Oxford: Dr Mercati has been called into consultation, and has provided us with all the material that can be recovered (and he has recovered a great deal) as to the readings of the lost Verona MS (V), together with rough collations—which he wishes specially to say are not to be considered more than very rough collations—of the two Vatican MSS R (Vat. Reginae 116) and T (Vat. Reg. 118): I myself have recollated A at Rome and L with photographs, and have added a collation of P (Paris lat. 1647 A)¹, a sister MS of L: for the first few chapters of the third book I collated at Troyes Q (Trecensis 581), the sister MS of M, and I have also a good many notes of the Oxford MS O (Bodleianus Add. C 15: for those from the first two Books I am myself responsible, but most of those from the third are due to other hands). The readings of the Morbach-Crawford MS X (now at Manchester, and apparently inaccessible) I derive from my own copy of the collation made by a friend during Lord Crawford's ownership, when the MS was deposited by his kindness at the Bodleian.

Partly because it will be a long time before the Oxford edition appears, and partly because it is useful, before finally deciding on the readings of individual passages, to put something like a general conspectus of parallel cases into shape, I have determined to publish in the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES some provisional results, together with the evidence that appears to support them. It must be understood that both these results and the evidence for them are here given quite in the rough, and are liable on maturer reflection and further knowledge to modification: but even with this proviso, they may I hope prove of some assistance to students of the early Latin Bible. The present instalment confines itself entirely to the formulae of quotation.

With regard to the relative importance here attached to the various MSS, it may perhaps be necessary to state that there seems to be some danger of excess in the reaction from Hartel's estimates now generally prevailing. That L gives by far the best biblical text there is, as I have said, no doubt at all: but I believe that the scribe compensated for his faithfulness in that respect to his exemplar by allowing himself some licence of alteration in other respects, and that in particular he is no safe guide in the formulae of quotation. That A gives a systematically revised bible text (especially in the Psalms, and

¹ It should be noted here once for all that P is deficient from near the beginning of *Test.* ii 20 to the end of the preface to Book iii (Hartel 87. 19–101. 19).

also in several other books), there is again no doubt: but in other matters, and particularly in the orthography of proper names—where Hartel often does not cite its evidence at all—I believe that is not infrequently right against all the other MSS put together. Nor is this really strange, seeing that, apart from the lost Verona MS, A is in fact the earliest of all our MSS (a date between 700 and 750 A.D. cannot be far wrong¹) and except N the only Italian one: LX (and perhaps O) come from the Rhine country, B M W from Germany, P Q R T from France.

The MSS used may be approximately classified according to dates as follows:—

Seventh century: V (probably).

Eighth century: A (first half of the century): W (probably): X: Q (second half of the century).

Ninth century: L: M: R.

Tenth century: O: P: T.

Eleventh century: B.

§ 1. FORMULAE OF QUOTATION FOR OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS.

In *Genesi* 51. 22: 67. 7: 68. 11: 74. 9: 83. 7 &c.²

In *Exodo* 38. 22: 67. 14: 80. 2: 83. 13 &c.

In *Leuitico* (*Leuitico*) 126. 7: 173. 12: 176. 10 [in 173. 17, 19 and 174. 2 the title 'in Leuitico' should be struck out of the text altogether]. The spelling 'in Leuitico' is constant in A, and is perhaps right: in 173. 12 it is supported also by P.

In *Numeris* 55. 8: 74. 18: 88. 15³.

In *Deuteronomio* 39. 6: 55. 10: 82. 16.

Apud *Iesu Naue* 45. 15: 82. 17: 86. 7. There can be no doubt that 'Iesu' is the right reading, for it is supported in each place by A L M, in the two former places by O, and in the two latter places by the Erasmian edition and *ex silentio* by V: Hartel with the other MSS reads 'Iesum'. In 45. 15 A has 'Nauae'.

In *libro Iudicum* 39. 7.

With regard to the book of Ruth, it may be noted that it is included under the general title of 'the Law': for in 86. 8–11, 'erat enim in lege,

¹ This was the strong impression left on me as I collated it. Mai dated it in the seventh century: Reifferscheid eighth to ninth. But Reifferscheid as often as not dates pre-Caroline MSS a century too late.

² All references are to the pages and lines of Hartel's edition. For those who do not happen to have that edition at command, it may be mentioned that Book i commences on p. 37, Book ii on p. 60, Book iii on p. 101.

³ From here onwards I content myself, in cases where the reading and spelling is certain, with some three references for each book.

ut quisque nuptias recusaret calciamentum deponeret, calciaretur uero ille qui sponsus futurus esset', the reference is to Ruth iv 7, 8.

In Basilion [primo¹] 50. 17: 53. 9: 83. 17, 20: 117. 2: 142. 14: 146. 4: 157. 2.

In Basilion [secundo] 49. 7: 75. 20.

In Basilion [tertio] 40. 6: 167. 1: 173. 6.

The reading 'Basilion' in all these cases is indubitably correct: though in all but three of them (83. 17, 20: 167. 1) Hartel reads 'Regnorum'. Substantially he followed the practice of his favourite MS A, which reads 'Basilion' only once (83. 17); 'Regnorum' in full in 40. 6, 49. 7, 75. 20, 117. 2; Regñ in 83. 20, 142. 14, 146. 4, 157. 2; Reg in 50. 17, 53. 9, 173. 6; 'Genesi' in 167. 1 and originally (but the correction is made by the same hand) in 173. 6: it would seem that its exemplar must have used some abbreviation of Regnorum such as RGN, which must have puzzled the scribe and suggested Genesi. 'Basilion' is the invariable reading of the other MSS: the only exception that I have noted is that R has 'regnorum' in 83. 17, 20. T sometimes has the spelling 'Basileon'.

In Paralipomenon 142. 3. R spells 'Paralypomenon'.

In Hesdra 40. 11: 166. 8. So spelt in 40. 11 by ALPB V, in 166. 8 by LPT: the evidence in the former instance seems conclusive, but in the latter 'Esdra' may be right. The first passage comes from Nehemiah ix 26 [= 2 Esdras xix 26]: the second apparently is a reference to Ezra (= 2 Esdras) x 3².

In Machabeis 117. 6: 128. 9: 151. 2: 155. 15. In 117. 6 A has the striking variant, not noted by Hartel, 'in Macchabeorum', which would bring the formula of quotation for these books into line with 'in Basilion' 'in Paralipomenon': but it is quite unsupported either by the other MSS, or by A itself in other places, and I have not ventured to adopt it. In 151. 2 Hartel has followed WM in reading 'in Daniele': but ALPVROTX all cite the Maccabees, and in fact the words that follow are not a general allusion to the book of Daniel, but a definite quotation of 1 Macc. ii 59 'Annaias Azarias Misahel credentes³ liberati sunt de flamma'. As between the forms 'Macchabeis' 'Machabeis' 'Macchabaeis' 'Machabaeis' it is not easy to decide, for no one of our leading MSS appears to be consistent. V leans to the double c, ALO to the single c: with regard to the penultimate syllable, a is inserted in one (but only one) of the four quotations by AOPV respectively. Probably -eis is right, rather than -aeis: but as between Macchabeis and Machabeis the choice can only be provisional.

¹ For a discussion of the genuineness of the further references to the individual books, 'primo' 'secundo' 'tertio', see below in § 5 of these Prolegomena.

² Or perhaps the equivalent passages in 1 Esdras, viii 90, ix 36.

³ Hartel is in error in saying that L adds 'deo' after 'credentes'.

{ **Apud Tobiam** 109. 4: 166. 4: in both cases without variant.
 { **In Tobia** 53. 16: 119. 21. In the first of these two instances there is no variant; and in the second, though there are several variants in the minor MSS ('ad Tobiam' O, 'in Tobiam' B, 'in Tobian' M R), there can be no doubt as to the true reading.

{ **Apud Iob** 108. 24¹: 118. 21: 127. 3: 156. 6: 182. 5.
 { **In Iob** 173. 7. The only variant is W* 'in Iobus'.

In psalmo 1, 6².

Apud Solomonem 41. 17 (Prov.): [53. 21 (Wisdom)]: 118. 15 (Ecclus.): 122. 12 (Eccl.): 125. 19 (Ecclus.): 143. 16 (Eccl.): 181. 21 (Ecclus.). In the latter passage there may be some doubt of the reading, since LPT omit the words 'apud Solomonem': but they are found in A W B M O R V X, and are perhaps genuine.

item apud eundem 155. 10 (from Wisdom to Proverbs): 155. 11 (to Ecclesiastes)³: 155. 12 (to Ecclus.).

apud Solomonem in paroemiis 62. 3: 64. 8: 120. 9: 154. 4: 168. 9: 173. 9: 176. 17: 179. 15: 180. 15: 181. 2. Also **apud eundem in paroemiis** 110. 3.

apud Solomonem in ecclesiaste 174. 6. So LT² (T* ecclesiast W ecclesiasten), and this is probably right, for the quotation actually comes from Eccl. x 9, 10. Omission of the two words 'in ecclesiaste' would be attractive, but is supported by X alone: and X towards the end of Book iii systematically omits anything after 'apud Solomonem'. A B M O P R V read 'in ecclesiastico'.

apud Solomonem in ecclesiastico 147. 18: 154. 11: 164. 17: 177. 7: 178. 2: 181. 5. Also **apud eundem in ecclesiastico** 62. 14: 176. 18. Of these 164. 17 really belongs to Ecclesiastes (v 9).

apud Solomonem in sapientia 109. 20: 155. 9. The former of these two quotations comes from Prov. xix 17, and accordingly W B M Q T read 'apud Solomonem in paroemiis': but L P O R X read 'apud Salomonem in sapientia' (sapientiam R), and this is borne out by A 'in sapientia Solomonis'. V appears to read 'apud Solomonem' without addition.

in sapientia Solomonis 79. 11: 119. 22: 128. 2: 128. 13: 134. 4: 156. 17: 158. 21: 160. 7. Oddly enough, no less than three of these eight quotations (119. 22: 128. 13: 156. 17) belong really to the Book of Proverbs; not to mention the doubt as to what passage is meant to be cited in 134. 4.

¹ A has 'in Iob'; but the substitution of 'in' for 'apud' is one of its commonest errors, see p. 259 below, and it is quite unsupported here.

² For the quotations from the Psalms see further in § 4 of these Prolegomena, p. 264.

³ 'item apud eundem' is the reading here of L (Hartel gives the reading of L wrongly) P R T W X, and is undoubtedly right.

in sapientia 168. 18. This is the right reading, given by L P V R O T W B: 'apud Solomonem in paroemiis' occurs earlier in the chapter (168. 10), but two citations from the Psalms intervene. The instances next following will shew that, where the name of Solomon has preceded without interval, such a formula is not uncommon.

in ecclesiastico 181. 10 (in 181. 13, 16, the same words recur in Hartel's text, following A, but are not genuine), after 'apud Solomonem in ecclesiastico'.

item in paroemiis 164. 18 (after 'apud Solomonem in ecclesiastico'). Similarly in **paroemiis eiusdem** 134. 6 (after 'in sapientia Solomonis'): V B O omit eiusdem.

item in ecclesiastico 110. 8 (after 'item in paroemiis', see just above): 176. 19 (after 'apud eundem in ecclesiastico').

In regard to orthography, the spelling Solomon is universal in A, with I think only one exception 128. 13 'in sapientia Salomonis'. On 53. 21 Hartel notes that W regularly gives Solomon: and the same is, I think, true of P. L (always) and X (usually) give Salomon: but the evidence of the latter is *ex silentio*, as Salomon is always given in Hartel's text. As far as we can gather from Latini's procedure, V must have consistently given Solomon. For orthographical purposes the evidence of A V W P far outweighs that of L X, and I have no hesitation in giving 'Solomon' as St Cyprian's reading throughout.

'Paroemiis' is the form I have printed above as St Cyprian's equivalent for Παροιμίαις. A deserts us here, as it regularly substitutes 'prouerbiis': from the fact that Hartel in the later chapters of book iii gives no variant in his apparatus, it must not be deduced that the other MSS begin to agree with A, but only that Hartel tired of recording their difference. Outside of A there is absolutely no early evidence in the MSS of St Cyprian for 'in prouerbiis', except that Latini records it in his marginal notes on several occasions from 164. 18 onwards: and it is possible that the erratic MS V, which tried one variant 'in parabolis' in 154. 4, and omitted the word altogether in 120. 9 and 176. 17, experimented also on 'in prouerbiis': but Dr Mercati thinks it likely that Latini was here drawing on a secondary MS of his which agreed in its type of text with A.

Unfortunately the defection of A makes the decision in the question of orthography sensibly more difficult. V perhaps gave in general paroemiis, as Latini has noted no variant: and perhaps Hartel's apparatus may be trusted as evidence that W uses the same spelling. R too has paroemiis, except on one or two occasions (62. 3: 173. 9), where it gives paroemis: O is divided about equally between the two forms paroemiis and paroemis. Our other MSS all introduce the aspirate: P invariably reads parhoemiis (and this is the form given

in the Quirinian fragment, on which see just below, in 134. 6), L as invariably parhoemis: the first hand of T generally agrees with L, the second invariably with P. The Crawford MS, X, finds the word particularly puzzling, and rings various changes, until it solves the problem by omitting the word: 62. 3 parhemis X* paranomis X²; 64. 8 parohemis: 110. 3 paremiis X*, paroemiis X²: 134. 6 proemiis: 154. 4 parohemis: 164. 18 premis: 168. 9, and always from this point onwards, X omits.

Apud Esaïam 40. 16, &c. 'Esaïam' appears to be the regular spelling of the MSS, though R commonly writes 'Esaian' or (towards the end of the third book) 'Isaian', and T* in the first two books 'Aeseian': and the final n may possibly be original. The Quirinian fragment of portions of chapters 16–20 of Book III of the *Testimonia*, Hartel 132. 4–135. 21, 136. 28–138. 6 (discovered by Dr Mercati at Brescia and published by him in his *D'alcuni nuovi sussidi per la critica del testo di S. Cipriano*, Rome, A. D. 1899, pp. 49–54) gives 'Eseiā' in 134. 7.

Apud Hieremiam 39. 20: 41. 7: 42. 14: 45. 9: 46. 19: 48. 21: 55. 15: 69. 5: 74. 17: 80. 17: 85. 13: 87. 17: 91. 6: 121. 2: 121. 19: 144. 3: 146. 20: 156. 18: 168. 8: 182. 13. 'Apud Hieremiam' is invariable in A L¹: X, except in the latter half of the third book, consistently gives 'Ieremiam', and this is also not uncommon in P. R T again have predominantly a final n 'apud Hieremian' ('Ieremian' V in 41. 7, M in 85. 13, T* in 69. 5, 87. 17).

{ **Apud Ezechielem** 48. 17: 153. 12: 158. 15.

{ **Apud Ezechiel** 55. 11: 90. 6.

The double form, with and without case-ending, is surprising in so consistent a writer as St Cyprian: but the evidence appears to point unmistakably to it. At any rate no single MS gives the same form in all the five instances: while A L P W X supports the readings adopted above. The insertion of the aspirate (Ezechielem, Ezechihel) receives no support from our earliest MSS.

48. 17 Ezechielem A P X Ezechielem L B: Ezechielum *Latini* (and therefore probably V, see on 90. 6): Ezechiel M O T Ezechihel R.

55. 11 Ezechiel A V P X W M B O T Ezechihel L: Ezechielum R.

90. 6 Ezechiel A W M B O T X Ezechihel L R: Ezechielum V.

153. 12 Ezechielem A L P O T W X: Ezechielum R: Ezechiel M: Ezechiam B.

158. 15 Ezechielem A L P M* W O R T X: Ezechielum *Latini* (and so probably V) M*: Ezechihel B.

It will be noted that three times out of five V seems to have read 'Ezechielum': and it is conceivable that this should be restored in all

¹ Except, of course, where A wrongly substitutes the ablative 'in Hieremia'; on which see below at the end of their section.

cases, and that the variants 'Ezechielem', 'Ezechiel' represent two separate attempts to get rid of an unfamiliar form. This solution would bring the use for Ezekiel into harmony with that for Daniel, where I have with some hesitation adopted Danihelum throughout.

Apud Danihelum 42. 14: 84. 5: 92. 17: 121. 13. Here (unlike the last name) the extra aspirate in the middle of the word is well supported, by A $\frac{1}{4}$, L $\frac{1}{4}$, W $\frac{1}{2}$, R $\frac{1}{4}$. With regard to the termination, only once (84. 5) is there any real evidence for the indeclinable form: 'Danielem' (Danielem) can claim good authority in the other three instances: while 'Danihelum' (Danielum) has each time a small but weighty group in its favour, consisting generally of AM* R and Latini, i. e. probably V.

42. 14 Danihelum A R Danielum *Latini*: Danielem T Danielem L P M B O X.

84. 5 Danihelum A M* R Danielum *Latini*: Danielem O P: Danihel L B Daniel X.

92. 17 Danihelum R Danielum M* *Latini*: Danielem A L O W X Danielem T: Daniel B.

121. 13 Danihelum R (in Danihelo A) Danielum M*: Danielem L P W M B O Danielem T X.

Apud Osee 51. 24: 69. 15: 92. 6: 110. 19: 152. 13. In spite of the defection of A, this should probably be accepted as the right form of the name, as the following table will shew:

51. 24 Osee L P O R T: Oseae W M: Osseae A: Osae X.

69. 15 Osee V L P M O R* T W X: Oseae A: Ose R*.

92. 6 Osee M T W X: Oseae A L O: Ose R.

110. 19 Osee M P T W: Oseae L O: Osseae A: Osae X (R in this and the following passage has Esaiam).

152. 13 Osee L P M O T W X: Oseae A.

Apud Amos 91. 3.

Apud Micheam 46. 10: 77. 4. The final n is given in both places by the first hands of M and T.

Apud Iohel 85. 10. V reads Ioelem, and R Loth **.

Apud Ambacum 43. 16: 89. 3: 151. 1. Besides the LXX form 'Ambacum' and the Vulgate form 'Abbacuc', almost every possible combination of the two forms finds a place in the Cyprianic MSS.

43. 16 Ambacum V M P T* O*: Abbacum A: Abacum L: Ambacuc R*: Abacuc R* X: Abbacuc O*.

89. 3 Ambacum V M* T* W X: Abacum *ut uid* O*: Abbacum A: Ambacuc R T*: Abacuc L.

151. 1 Ambacum V L P* X M* T W: Abbacum A: Abbacuc R: *om* O.

Apud Sofoniam 153. 5: 165. 2: 180. 10. This, the regular spelling of A P(T) X, must be preferred to the Sophoniam of L.

Apud Zachariam 69. 9: 78. 16: 82. 13: 88. 12: 96. 15. Apart from minor variants (Zacchariam A in 96. 15: Iachariam P in 69. 9), the only point to note is the final n, which appears in 69. 9 T*, 82. 13 R T*, 88. 12 T*, 96. 15 W M R T*.

Apud Malachiam 50. 7: 94. 22: 97. 3: 114. 16: 157. 15. For Malachian the authorities are in 94. 22 and 97. 3 M T* R (and in 114. 16 Q). In 94. 22 W reads Malachym. Much more interesting is the variant Malachiel. But in spite of the sporadic occurrence of this form in early writers (Commodian, Lactantius, the Latin Irenaeus, the biblical catalogues of the council of Damasus in 382 and of the codex Claromontanus, the Speculum), it is not genuine in the *Testimonia*. Of the five passages above enumerated, it is found only once and that in one of our later MSS, 97. 3 B: significantly enough, the passages where it does occur in good MSS—68. 3 A W M T and 138. 19 W—are interpolations, though doubtless very early ones¹. On the other hand, in the *de dominica oratione* ch. 35 the name Malachi occurs in the nominative, and the authorities in Hartel's apparatus are divided between Malachin (S W) and Malachiel (V G). Whichever of the two is correct, we have here a curious diversity of usage between the *Testimonia* and the other treatises.

Taking the passages from the prophets as a whole, two general cautions must be given with regard to Hartel's edition. (1) The addition 'prophetam' frequently found there ('apud Esaïam prophetam' 'apud Hieremiam prophetam', and so on) is in no case genuine, but is one of the peculiarities of the text of A. (2) Similarly the readings 'in Esaia' 'in Hieremia', &c., found often in Hartel in the latter part of the *Testimonia*, are another freak of A. The rule is absolute for the Prophets that 'apud' with the accusative introduces the quotation: just as, on the other hand, for quotations from books which have no personal title, the invariable preposition is 'in', 'in Genesi' 'in Exodo' 'in Sapientia' 'in Ecclesiastico' 'in libro Iudicum'; or with libro omitted 'in Basilion' 'in Paralipomenon'. The combination of the two prepositions where both personal and impersonal title are given is illustrated by the phrases 'apud Solomonem in paroemiis' 'apud Solomonem in sapientia'. Difficulty in applying the principle only arises with books that are historical in character but bear a personal name for their title: and in these cases St Cyprian's practice is not wholly consistent. The book of Joshua is always 'apud Iesu Naue': but the books of Ezra and the Maccabees are 'in Hesdra' 'in Machabeis'. Job is generally 'apud Iob', but once 'in Job' (173. 7), probably by a slip of the pen: for Tobit 'apud Tobiam' and 'in Tobia' are each found twice.

¹ The passage 68. 3 is not found in L P [V] R B O X: the other is found only in W.

The instances are very rare where the author of the book is cited in the nominative, 'dicit' or 'dixit' following:—

Moyses dicit 45. 13.

Sofonias dixit 88. 9. (Soffonias A).

§ 2. FORMULAE OF QUOTATION FOR NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS.

In *euangelio* 43. 3: 43. 13: 44. 13: 44. 20 (Hartel's reading 'in euangelio suo' has no MS authority that I know of: A L P [V] R X read simply 'in euangelio'): 46. 7: 49. 15: 58. 15: 67. 22: 73. 8: 75. 10: 77. 7: 80. 3: 88. 16: 91. 9: 92. 10: 93. 19: 94. 3: 99. 21: 157. 17: 173. 8: 178. 16: 178. 17 (where 'item in euangelio' is right, rather than Hartel's 'item illic'). In the first two Books of the *Testimonia* this formula is almost as common as references to the individual Gospels by name. It is a distinct difference between these two Books and the third, that in the latter the formula occurs only four times (of which three are quite at the end of the Book): and the transition from the one method of quoting to the other is perhaps characteristic of St Cyprian's generation.

On two occasions, however, the vagueness of the general reference 'in euangelio' is qualified by the addition of further defining words 'post resurrectionem' 43. 3, 93. 19: which appear to be intended, in the absence of chapter-divisions, as a sort of time-mark indicating roughly what part of the Gospel is being cited. This seems to me to be a simpler and more probable interpretation than to attach any dogmatic meaning to the words.

The absence of the name of the particular Gospel cited adds, of course, sometimes an element of uncertainty in the identification of the passages. In 92. 10 indeed—where Matt. xvi 4 should be Matt. xii 39, 40—Hartel's error would not have been avoided, since it does not overstep the limits of the one Gospel. But in 49. 15 the two references Matt. xxiv 2, Marc. xiv 58, should both be struck out, and the single text Marc. xiii 2 substituted, as the evidence of *k* (*codex Bobiensis*) shews. In 44. 13 the two Synoptic texts Matt. xxiii 37, Luc. xiii 34, 35 resemble one another so closely that it is difficult to say which is meant. But the caution may be given that Hartel has made one mistake in the collation of A, which reads 'quotiens' not 'quoties', and two crucial mistakes in the collation of L. 'Noluistis' in fact is the reading of V L P B R X: and 'deserta' is omitted by V L * P B O X. The concluding words should therefore run 'et noluistis ecce remittetur vobis domus uestra'.

In *euangelio cata Mattheum* 46. 14, &c.

In *euangelio cata Marcum* does not happen to occur.

In euangelio cata Lucanum 76. 10: 113. 1: 114. 1: 139. 2: 153. 19: 154. 12: 155. 2: 165. 5: 182. 21.

In euangelio cata Iohannem 51. 13, &c.

[item] cata Mattheum 72. 13: 123. 9: 129. 15: 133. 16, 19: 153. 21: 177. 13.

[item] cata Marcum 139. 16: 142. 11: 150. 19.

[item] cata Lucanum 72. 18: 87. 7: 117. 18: 123. 5: 126. 16: 130. 6: 133. 22: 144. 20: 160. 1.

[item] cata Iohannem 47. 19: 63. 9: 96. 7: 98. 18: 142. 19: 160. 4.

These two sets of phrases vary according to a fixed rule: the first is employed when a quotation from the Gospels follows on a quotation from some other part of the Bible; the second indicates that the immediately preceding quotation or quotations are also from the Gospels. The only exception I have noted is 63. 9, where 'item cata Iohannem' follows a quotation from the Psalms.

The rule is absolute in the *Testimonia* that the name of the evangelist is preceded by the preposition 'cata' ('kata' apparently often in TR); Hartel follows A in substituting 'secundum' throughout (in 51. 12 both A and Hartel retain 'cata').

(1) The spelling 'Mattheum' rather than 'Matthaeum' rests on as strong evidence for St Cyprian as for the Vulgate. St Jerome appears to have systematically re-introduced the Greek orthography into the proper names of the Gospels: but the name of the evangelist was too securely established to admit of change, and 'Mattheus' therefore remained one of the few exceptions to the rule. As between 'cata Mattheum' and 'cata Matheum', the former has the better attestation: L consistently gives the double t, and Q R are on the same side¹; T and X prefer the single t; P wavers, but more often has the two than the one; A varies between an abbreviated form of the name with one t (Math), and the full form with double t.

(2) For 'Marcum' there is, so far as I know, no alternative reading.

(3) The Gospel of St Luke is quoted by name in the following passages: 72. 18: 76. 11: 87. 7: 113. 1: 114. 1: 117. 18: 123. 5: 126. 16: 130. 6: 133. 22: 139. 2: 144. 20: 153. 19: 154. 12: 155. 2: 160. 2: 165. 5: 182. 21. The following is the evidence in support of the form 'Lucanum', which I have ventured to restore to St Cyprian's text: the Crawford MS X, without a single exception: P, the sister MS of L, also without a single exception save that in 153. 19, 182. 21, the abbreviation Lucañ is given²: R, a collateral descendant of V, with no exception until the last three passages are reached, 160. 2, 165. 5,

¹ So, too, Mercati's Quirinian fragment of the fifth century, 133. 4, 16, 19.

² L P X (in fact the whole L group) omit altogether the Lucan quotation 72. 18-21.

182. 21, in all of which it has *Lucan*. Besides these, Hartel records W for *Lucanum* in 126. 16: and the Oxford MS O reads *Lucanum* in 72. 18, 76. 11, 87. 7, 113. 1. Indirectly the authorities in favour of '*Lucan*' may perhaps not unjustly be claimed as representing a stage of transition between a primitive '*Lucanum*' and a later '*Lucam*': and '*Lucan*' is supported by Mercati's Quirinian fragment (133. 22), by Q wherever I know of its readings (113. 1, 114. 1, 117. 18), and, from 114. 1 onwards, generally by O.

That '*Lucam*' should be the correct reading in St Cyprian the testimony of the other authorities for the Old Latin Gospels seems to me to render exceedingly improbable. I have so far in these notes abstained from citing evidence outside of the MSS of the *Testimonia*, as there was (it seemed) a distinct advantage in isolating the book and discussing it on its own basis alone: but the special interest attaching to the unfamiliar form '*Lucanum*' will excuse a departure from this general rule.

Speaking generally then the witness of the Old Latin MSS is divided between '*Lucanum*' and '*Lucan*', and gives little support to '*Lucam*'. *a*, *b* *e f g* have *Lucan*: *d* begins the Gospel with '*incipit euangelium secundum lucan*', but ends it with '*euang. secundum lucam explicit*'. On the other hand the Vercelli MS, *a* (saec. iv or v) has '*incipit secundum lucanum*' '*euangelium secundum lucanum explicit*': the Paris Corbie Gospels, *f*² (not saec. vii, as Gregory would have us believe, but saec. v) '*incipit euangelium secundum lucanum*' '*explicit secundum lucanum*': the Bobbio fragments *s* (Milan Ambros. c. 73 inf.: saec. vi) have the running headline '*secundum lucanum*'. Among the Latin fathers, Lucifer and Optatus apparently offer no evidence on either side: Tyconius has *Lucas*, *Lucan*. Tertullian, if we may trust the extant form of his writings, spoke of the evangelist as '*Lucas*': but in the first place the MS tradition of Tertullian is at best imperfect; in the second, Tertullian was too much accustomed to translate for himself direct from the Greek to be quite a competent witness to Latin usage; and in the third, there seems ground for suspecting that a quotation from the Gospel might be made in the terms '*cata Lucanum*' or '*secundum Lucanum*' by writers who would yet speak of the evangelist himself as '*Lucas*'. Such inconsistency is, as a matter of fact, represented by the unique fifth-century MS of Priscillian: *tract.* iii (ed. Schepss. 47. 4) he gives '*in euangelio cata Lucanum*', while later on (53. 7) he uses the words '*Lucae euangelistae testimonium*'.

It would be difficult, in view of this conspectus of the evidence, to think that St Cyprian's bible did not employ one or other of the forms *Lucanum*, *Lucan*: and as between these two, the MSS of the *Testimonia* give decidedly more support to *Lucanum*. And the representation of Λουκᾶς by its classical Roman equivalent or rather original *Lucanus* seems to me to be an echo of the freedom of the earliest biblical

interpreters. I confidently claim it as the true reading of the 'African' Gospels—if we must still use that misleading geographical term, for which for my part I should prefer to substitute 'Roman.'

(4) *Iohannen*, not *Iohannem*, is the reading of R pretty regularly, of O nearly always in the second half of the Third Book, of Q wherever I have record of its readings, and at least occasionally of M, the sister MS of Q: nor can we be sure that Hartel (on whose text I depend for M, as well as for W B) has always recorded a variant of this kind. As with some of the Old Testament books, so here, I cannot help suspecting that the form in -n is more original than the form in -m: but the MS authority is not yet perhaps sufficient to warrant its introduction into the text.

In *prece cotidiana* ('cotidiana' Quirinian fragment O X: *cottidia* A L) 133. 18: in *euangelio in prece cotidiana* (cott. A L) 139. This very noteworthy phrase for the Lord's Prayer should be compared with *de dominica oratione* § 12 (275. 3) 'et hoc cottidie deprecamur', § (283. 20) 'cottidie pro peccatis iubetur orare', and with *Didache* viii *τῆς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε* (where Harnack, to whom I owe the references to *dom. or.*, omits to notice the much clearer evidence of these passages in *Test.*).

In *Actis apostolorum* 82. 22: 116. 8: 127. 12: 144. 1: 165. 11: 175. 10: 178. 14: 179. 5: 184. 4.

In all these instances Hartel prints 'in Actibus apostolorum', which is certainly wrong: it is only given by A and once or twice by O, and even A deserts it in 179. 5 for 'in Actus apostolorum'. For this latter reading there is more to be said: the inherent difficulty of the accusative makes so far in its favour, for there is no obvious reason for its introduction: and the following MSS support it: A as above in 179. 5, P in 82. 22, 127. 12, R in 82. 22, T in 116. 8, 144. 1, 165. 11, 175. 10, 178. 14, 179. 5, 184. 4. But V appears to go with L X M B (and Q where I have record of its readings) in consistently giving 'in Actis apostolorum': and this form must for the present stand in the text.

In *epistula Petri* 94. 15: 124. 24.

in *epistula Petri ad Ponticos* 148. 16: 148. 23: 149. 6.

In three out of five cases Hartel follows A in substituting 'Petrus' for 'Petri', and in four out of five in adding 'apostolus' or 'apostoli' on the same authority, thus giving four different formulae, 'in epistula Petrus apostolus', 'in epistula Petri', 'Petrus apostolus ad Ponticos', 'in epistula Petri apostoli ad Ponticos'. These vagaries of A are quite unsupported: the words 'in epistula Petri' commence the formula without exception in every other MS¹. There remains however one

¹ The reader must not be misled by the absence of any notice of *varia lectio* in the apparatus to 148. 16. Since L P R T (V) X read there 'in epistula Petri ad Ponticos', it may be assumed that W M B do the same, and that Hartel has arbitrarily omitted

substantial variation, in which the testimony of A agrees entirely with the testimony of the other MSS, namely the addition 'ad Ponticos' in the last three cases. It might be tempting to see in this another distinction between the different Books, were it not that 124. 24 belongs to Book III but has the same formula as Book II. As the three instances of 'ad Ponticos' occur close together in the course of a couple of pages, the use of the phrase just there might be regarded as an experiment on the part of the writer, the object being to assimilate the method of quotation to that which was employed for the Pauline epistles. But the parallel use of the phrase in Tertullian *Scorpiae* 12 'Petrus quidem ad Ponticos Quanta enim, inquit, gloria' (1 Pet. ii 20, 21), makes it probable that this title was prefixed to the earliest Latin version of the epistle.

In *epistula Iohannis* 73. 14: 94. 18: 113. 22: 116. 1: 116. 16: 125. 4: 133. 24: 156. 9: 172. 13: 172. 18.

apud Iohannem 122. 3.

The vagaries of the A text are again faithfully followed by Hartel: nor does his apparatus always suffice to correct them, for in two instances, 172. 13, 172. 18, he leaves it to be inferred that his text readings, 'item Iohannes apostolus' 'Iohannes apostolus', are supported by all his MSS, and in a third 94. 18 'in epistula Iohannes apostolus' he notes the omission of 'apostolus' but no variant for 'Iohannes'. As a matter of fact, A seems to be the only authority for any reading other than 'in epistula Iohannis', save in the one case 122. 3 where the 'apud Iohannem' is quite exceptional: and just as the latter was an assimilation to the Pauline epistles, so is the former to be explained as an assimilation to the use for the Old Testament books.

The formulae for the Pauline epistles present a much more complicated problem. On the one hand, if the evidence of the MSS in the instances where they are unanimous, or all but unanimous, is to be accepted, it is clear that St Cyprian employed no one consistent formula. On the other hand there are a large number of instances—and these become progressively more frequent towards the end of the *Testimonia*—in which the MSS appear to be hopelessly divided between two or even three readings. It will therefore be best to begin with the less difficult ones, and to work from them to the more difficult.

Two classes of variations may however first be set aside. I shall attempt in § 5 of these Prolegomena—see p. 268 below—to make it at least probable that St Cyprian in dealing with dual books, i.e. the books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Maccabees in the Old Testament, and the epistles to Corinth, Thessalonica and Timothy in the New¹, to record the fact. For 'ad Ponticos' O on each occasion substitutes 'ad pontifices' or 'ad pontificos'.

¹ There is nothing which suggests that St Cyprian accepted more than one epistle of St Peter, and one of St John.

did not particularize the number of the book from which he was quoting, as 'First' or 'Second': and therefore I shall not deal at this point with the presence or absence of the words 'prima' 'secunda' in the quotations from 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and 1 and 2 Timothy. In the second place I shall give here the general caution that the title 'apostolus' (whether with or without 'Paulus'), which occurs frequently in A and therefore in Hartel, is absolutely unsupported in the other MSS, and consequently cannot claim to be considered genuine. With these premises, I proceed to enumerate those quotations from the Pauline epistles where the text offers no real ground for doubt.

Paulus ad Romanos 70. 12: 178. 10.

Paulus ad Corinthios [I] 63. 20.

Paulus ad Galatas 43. 18.

Paulus ad Efesios 94. 9.

Paulus ad Filippenses 79. 1: 141. 15: 149. 11.

Paulus ad Colosenses 45. 18: 63. 14.

Paulus ad Thessalonicenses [II] 73. 12.

Paulus ad Timotheum [II] 169. 3.

Ad Romanos 94. 12 (after another Pauline quotation): 117. 21: 118. 1: 119. 12: 126. 13 (after another quotation): 132. 1 (after another quotation): 164. 10 (after another quotation): 177. 10 (after another quotation).

{ **Ad Corinthios** [I] 115. 6: 159. 6 (after another Pauline quotation): 166. 14 (after another quotation):

{ **Ad Corinthios** [II] 42. 19 (after another Pauline quotation): 119. 8: 166. 18 (after another quotation).

Ad Galatas 115. 20 (after another Pauline quotation): 124. 7 (after another quotation).

Ad Efesios 124. 19 (after another Pauline quotation).

Ad Filippenses 124. 1 (after another Pauline quotation).

Ad Colosenses 124. 12 (after another Pauline quotation).

Ad Timotheum 124. 9 (after another Pauline quotation): 148. 12: 152. 6 (after another quotation): 156. 2 (after another quotation): 171. 20: 172. 5: 172. 16.

{ **In epistula Pauli ad Corinthios** [I] 42. 17: 75. 13: 116. 22: 139. 9: 145. 5.

{ **In epistula Pauli ad Corinthios** [II] 114. 10.

In epistula Pauli ad Efesios 126. 11: 150. 9.

In epistula Pauli ad Romanos 140. 4: 149. 3.

The results so far obtained indicate that St Cyprian used three distinct methods of citation from the epistles: but it should be noted that in the first two Books (1) the syncopated form 'ad Romanos' etc. only occurs where the Apostle's name is prefixed to the quotation

immediately preceding, and (2) the longest form 'in epistula Pauli ad . . ' is only used in connexion with the Corinthian epistle. From the end of the Second Book onwards (96. 10 is the earliest instance) we get the constantly recurring variation by which 'Paulus' ('Paulus apostolus' in A) is either substituted for the long form 'in epistula Pauli' or less often prefixed to the short form 'ad Romanos' etc. by a small but important group of MSS, of which A V are the most constant members, reinforced often by R, by B, and in the later chapters of the Third Book (from 155. 6 onwards) generally by X. All three forms are shewn by the list already given to be Cyprianic: and this makes the choice in cases of doubt the more difficult. A fresh element of uncertainty is the additional form found after a certain point, especially in the case of the double epistles to Corinth, Thessalonica and Timothy (141. 3: 141. 20: 151. 10: 152. 4: 159. 2: 167. 23: 169. 10: 169. 18: 171. 13: 175. 15: 177. 4: 177. 8), but also in the case of the Roman and Ephesian epistles (133. 7: 151. 20: 155. 16: 170. 14: 178. 6), in a group of MSS consisting of L, LP, or LPR, 'in epistulis Pauli ad Corinthios' 'in epistulis Pauli ad Romanos' etc.¹

With regard to the orthography of the names of the churches addressed in the various epistles, the following variations are represented in the MSS:—

Romanos is without variant.

Corinthios: this is indubitably the correct form, though L generally has *Corintheos*, X varies between *Corinthios* *Corintheos* *Corintios* *Corinteos*, while R is about equally divided between *Corinthios* and *Chorinthios*.

Galatas 43. 19: 115. 20: 120. 20: 124. 7: 156. 14: 167. 10. O and T have always *Galathas*, and so A in two or three cases. In 124. 7 W has *Calatas*, and in 120. 20 A has *Calatas* or *Calathas*.

Efesios 94. 10: 120. 4: 120. 13: 124. 19: 126. 11: 150. 9: 170. 14: 183. 3: (in 170. 19, 171. 3, 171. 8, the true text of the *lemma* does not contain the name of the epistle). A has always *Efesios*, except in 94. 10, where it gives *Effesios*. X has generally *Effesios*, but in 94. 10, 124. 19, *Efesios*. L varies between *Ephesios* and *Epheseos*. O P R T give *Ephesios*, except that T* in 94. 10 has *Effesios*. I have followed the orthography of A X in favour of f against ph, as being the two oldest MSS: for I do not think any certain inference can be drawn as to the reading of V in a case like this from the silence of *Latini*.

Filippenses 79. 1: 124. 1: 127. 15: 141. 15: 149. 11. In this and the next epistle the evidence of A is ranged against that of the other MSS: and it may seem inconsistent to propose to follow it in the one case and not in the other. But it may be noted that in the Colossian epistle the rest of the MSS are united on a single alternative reading, while here they are divided between *Filippenses* and

¹ See on this further in § 5 below, p. 269.

Philippines, P R leaning to the former, L O X to the latter reading, while T is divided.

Colossenses 45. 18: 63. 15: 124. 12: 172. 11: 180. 20: 184. 10. — L O P R T *X (and apparently M B: W is more doubtful, but is cited for it in 172. 11) give this form only: A on the other hand gives only Colossenses, and it is with some hesitation that I abandon its reading. — It is curious that in two out of these six cases the reference to the Colossian epistle ought to be to Titus, 172. 11 (where A O have corrected the mistake and substituted 'Titum') and 180. 20. Does not this suggest that the two epistles followed one another in St Cyprian's codex? A similar mistake between 2 Thessalonians and Galatians (73. 13) may have arisen from the same cause.

Tessalonicenses 73. 13: 159. 2: 169. 10: 175. 4 (in 175. 8 the *lemma* should be omitted). A has always Tessalonicenses, X Tesaloni—censes: O T are divided between Tessalonicenses and Thesalonicenses: all three forms are represented on one or other occasion by L: P R appear to give as a rule Thessalonicenses. Thus A is supported in the double s by P R, and in the omission of the aspirate by X.

Timotheum. The spelling is constant except in R, which rather more often than not gives 'Thimotheum'.

In Apocalypsi. A has always 'in Apocalipsi', but it seems hardly necessary to adopt its reading in that respect.

§ 3. ADDITIONAL MATTER (BEYOND THE NAMES OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS IN THE FORMULAE OF QUOTATION IN BOOKS I AND II.

Attention was called at the beginning of § 2 to one feature of distinction between Books I and II of the *Testimonia* on the one side, and Book III on the other, namely, the frequent use in the two former books of the formula 'in evangelio'. A further distinction—pointing not indeed to diversity of authorship, but to a different date of composition or possibly a different degree of originality in the authorship—is to be found in the additional phrases which under certain circumstances follow in the name of the biblical book in Books I and II, but which never occur in Book III.

Where the words cited in fact are not part in a historical book of the narrative, or in a prophetic book are represented as spoken not by the prophet but by God, then—unless the citation itself makes the matter clear—the name of the speaker and if an individual is addressed, then his name also is added. In one case, 55. 8, 'In

* As to single citation of the epistle to Titus by name occurs in the *Testimonia*, it looks as though the headline of the epistle in St Cyprian's codex had been continued by mistake as any one acquainted with ancient MSS knows happened not infrequently from the previous epistle.

Numeris de populo nostro dictum est', an interpretation of the persons meant in the prophecy is given. The following is a list of all these additions, arranged in order of the biblical books to which they refer: all of them, as has been said, come from Books I and II.

In Genesi ad Abraham 67. 7.

item illic ad Iacob 67. 11.

In Exodo Deus ad Moysen¹ 80. 23, 90. 12.

in Exodo dixit Moyses ad Iesum 89. 11.

in Exodo populus ad Aron¹ 38. 22.

item illic Moyses ad Dominum 39. 1.

In Numeris de populo nostro dictum est 55. 8.

In Deuteronomio Deus ad Moysen 51. 8.

item Moyses dicit (without the name of the book: see at the end of § 1: it may be a question here whether Moses is meant as the author of the book or the speaker in the particular passage) 45. 13.

In Basilion [primo] Deus ad Heli sacerdotem 50. 17.

In Basilion [tertio] Helias ad Dominum 40. 7.

Apud Osee Deus dicit 69. 15 (Dominus is read by W B M P R (V?): but Deus of A L T X is probably right).

Apud Zachariam Deus dicit 69. 9 (Dominus again W M P R T: Deus A L B X).

Apud Esaiam Dominus dicit 59. 5.

apud eundem Dominus dicit 41. 2.

Apud Hieremiam Dominus dicit 39. 20: 41. 7: 48. 20: 55. 15.

apud eundem Dominus dicit 41. 11.

Apud Ezechiel Deus dicit 90. 6 (Deus dicit V W B T X: dicit Deus A: Dominus dicit L R).

In euangelio Dominus dicit 44. 13: 49. 15: 58. 15: 88. 16 (and 93. 19 Dominus dicit post resurrectionem, where however dicit is omitted by A R T *).

ipse in euangelio dicit 67. 21.

in euangelio Dominus post resurrectionem 43. 3.

Dominus in euangelio 43. 13.

in euangelio Gabriel ad Mariam 75. 10.

In euangelio cata Mattheum Dominus dicit 48. 7.

in euangelio cata Mattheum Iohannes dicit 47. 15.

item cata Mattheum Gabriel angelus ad Ioseph 72. 13.

Item illic [*scilicet* cata Lucanum] angelus ad pastores 72. 21.

In euangelio cata Iohannem Dominus dicit 58. 5: 72. 11.

cata Iohannem Dominus dicit 63. 9.

¹ Of the orthography of the proper names used in these formulae (other than those which have been discussed in §§ 1, 2) I shall hope to say something in a future instalment of these Prolegomena.

item cata Iohannem dixit Iesus 98. 18 (in euangelio cata Iohannem W B M T, no doubt erroneously).

item in eodem Dominus ad Thoman, 70. 8.

Christus in euangelio cata Iohannem 51. 12.

ipse in euangelio cata Iohannem, 71. 6.

In Actis apostolorum Petrus 82. 22.

in Actis apostolorum Paulus 57. 4.

Finally it must be noted under this head that in three instances Hartel prints a phrase of this description as part of the formula of quotation (connected with the words that precede), when he ought to have printed it as part of the quotation itself (connected with the words that follow): 57. 13 'Apud Esaïam Sic dicit Dominus Ecce qui seruiunt mihi' (= Is. lxxv 13 τάδε λέγει Κύριος Ἰδοὺ οἱ δουλεύοντές μοι): 82. 5 'Apud Esaïam Sic dicit Dominus Ecce ego inmitto' (= Is. xxviii 16 οὕτω λέγει Κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω): 117. 12 'Apud Esaïam Sic dicit Dominus Deus Caelum mihi thronus' (= Is. lxxvi 1 Οὕτως λέγει Κύριος Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος). With the removal of the words in this last case from the category of quotation-formulae, the rule becomes quite absolute that these additional introductory phrases are never found in Book III.

§ 4. THE NUMERATION OF THE PSALMS.

The following is a list of the quotations from the Psalms in the *Testimonia*: and it will appear from it that there is good reason for thinking that St Cyprian, like some other African authors, used a Bible in which the Psalms, from the 2nd down to at any rate about the 112th, were reckoned by numbers one less than in the ordinary LXX texts and (from Psalm x onwards) two less than in our English Bibles. The divergence from the LXX texts commences at the very beginning of the book of Psalms, Ps. ii being incorporated as one Psalm with Ps. i, as in the Western (which perhaps is the original) text of Acts xiii 33 ὡς ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ πρώτῳ Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

The merit of having pointed out this feature of the Cyprianic Bible belongs to Dr Mercati, who took occasion to illustrate by reference to it the excellence of the text of V; see pp. 20-22 of his treatise *D' alcuni nuovi sussidi per la critica del testo di S. Cipriano*.

Ps. i ¹	Test.	iii 31	Hartel p. 144. 9	
		iii 120	184. 11	
	ii	i 13	48. 3	quoted as i by LPVO
		ii 8	73. 5	VRX (L*?)
		ii 29	97. 5	VRTX
		iii 20	134. 13	V

¹ The numbers of the Psalms in the left-hand columns are those of the ordinary LXX texts.

Ps. ii	iii 66	168. 12		VOX
	iii 112	181. 18		LVRMOX
	iii 119	183. 18		VX
iii	iii 24	91. 16	ii	VRO
iv	i 16	50. 6	iii	VM*OX
v	ii 29	98. 4	iiii	L[V] ¹ ROX (T*?)
vi	iii 114	182. 10	v	VBO(X <i>sexto</i> <i>in ras</i>)
xiv	iii 48	153. 10	xiii	[V]ROX (L <i>quarto</i> deci- mo <i>in ras</i>)
xv	ii 24	91. 13	xiiii	LVRO: xxiii X
xvii	i 21	55. 13	xvi	LPVMB
	iii 95	177. 2		VO
xviii	ii 19	85. 16	xvii	VO
	iii 20	138. 23		V O T X* (L*?):xxiiR
	iii 56	157. 6		VO
xxi	ii 13	78. 11	xx	LPVROX
	ii 20	87. 20		VR (<i>sup. lin.</i> , <i>sed manu</i> <i>prima</i>) X
	ii 29	97. 7		[V]ROTX (L*?)
xxiii	ii 18	85. 2	xxii	ALVROX
	ii 29	97. 10		VR*OX
	iii 79	173. 1		VOX
xxiv	ii 7	72. 8	xxiii	VRTX(L*?)
xxvii	i 3	41. 19	xxvi	VMBOX: <i>om</i> T (uicessi- mo quinto L xxv P)
xxix	ii 24	91. 15	xxviii	VB: <i>om</i> OX
	iii 114	182. 11		AVRWMB OX*
xxxii	ii 3	64. 18	xxxi	LPVRBX
xxxiii	i 22	58. 2	xxxii	V: xxxi O

¹ Where the testimony of V is adduced within square brackets, it is deduced either from the silence of Latini (where the edition with which he is collating gave the lower number in the text), or from his first inserting but afterwards deleting the higher number. For the parallels in Lactantius and Optatus the reader may be referred to Dr Mercati's lists, *op. cit.* pp. 20-22.

Ps. xxxiii	iii 5	118. 1		VROTX(L* <i>ut uid</i>)
	iii 6	118. 18		VROX(L*?)
	iii 13	126. 5		[V]OX
	iii 14	127. 10		VROX
	iii 20	138. 21		VROTX
xxxvi	iii 1	110. 12	xxxv	V:xxxiMQR: xxxii O
xl	iii 1	110. 15	xxxviii	V
xliv	ii 3	64. 17	xlili	VRX
	ii 6	69. 18		RX(L*?)
	ii 29	97. 16		L [V] R ^s X (O*?)
	ii 29	98. 8		VX
xlvi	ii 6	70. 2	xlili	L* P V R X: xlvi O
xlxi	i 16	50. 1	xlvi	VRBO: xlvii M: <i>def.</i> X
	ii 28	95. 2		VRO
	iii 30	143. 21		L*VMBO*
	iii 66	168. 15		VO
	iii 68	169. 13		VRBPOTX
	iii 107	180. 16		VRPOTB
1	iii 6	118. 16	xlvi	VRO*PT*X ^s (L* <i>ut uid</i>)
	iii 54	156. 7		VROX*
lii	iii 55	156. 13	li	L*P*RM O
lv	iii 10	121. 7	liii	VWMOPT (L*?): viii X
lxvii ¹	ii 6	70. 5	lxvi	VRMBO
	ii 28	95. 12		VR
	iii 86	174. 16		LPVRMBO X*
	iii 113	182. 7		BO
lxxi	ii 30	99. 8	lxx	L[V]ROX
	iii 33	146. 17		LP[V]RO* TX
lxxiii	ii 29	98. 12	lxxii	L[V]OX: xliiii R* xliii R ^s
lxxxi	i 3	42. 1	lxxx	LPVMB O X: xxx R
	ii 6	70. 3		VROP(L*?)
	ii 6	71. 1		ROP(L*?)
	ii 28	96. 3		LVMO

¹ In 121. 8 the true reading is not 'in psalmo lxi' (or 'lx'), but 'item illic'.

's. lxxxi	iii 5	118. 12		L* P V R O X
lxxxiii	iii 58	158. 23	lxxxii	V X
lxxxvii	ii 20	88. 13	lxxxvi	A L B O X :
			lxxv V	
lxxxviii	ii 1	63. 2	lxxxvii	V O X
	iii 57	157. 13		V O X : R *
				lxxxiii <i>uel</i>
				lxxxvii
xcv	iii 59	161. 5	xciii	V : cxiii W L
			(lxxxviii)	lxxxiii M X
				xlili P :
				xciii O
xcvi	ii 29	98. 7	xcv	[V] O X : lxxxv
			(lxxxv)	L B
cvi	ii 3	65. 1	cv	A V P B X :
				cdccv M :
				om O
cix	i 17	50. 15	cviii	A L V R O
	ii 26	93. 3		V R O X
cx	iii 20	134. 4	cviii	L* V M O
				Quirinian
				fragment ¹ :
				cxviii X*
cx	iii 1	110. 17	cx	L* P [V] R X
cxv	iii 16	129. 5	cxiii	none
cxvii	ii 5	68. 2	cxvi	O X : cxlii R
	ii 16	82. 8		none
	iii 10	121. 10		L* X : cxiii O
	iii 57	157. 12		PRMB:cxiiiO
cxviii	ii 20	88. 7	cxvii	none
	iii 16	132. 4		A M : cxiii O
cxv	iii 16	129. 7	cxix	none : cxii O
cxv	ii 11	76. 8	cxv	M : cxv B
cxvii	iii 86	174. 9	cxv	none : cxii
				A L P B O
cxv	iii 59	160. 22	cxv	none (cxiii B)
cxl	ii 20	88. 8	cxviii	none (cxviii B)

The sudden drop in the authorities for the lower numeration towards the end is very striking, and suggests that the Cyprianic bible reunited with the ordinary LXX texts by keeping the two Psalms which our English bibles number as cxiv and cxv distinct—of course under the numbers cxii and cxiii—instead of combining them into one as the LXX does: in this way our Psalm cxvi would be cxiv to both Cyprian

¹ But in 134. 14 the fragment gives 'in psalmo ii', not 'in psalmo i'.

and the LXX. Yet there is fair authority for the lower numeration in three out of the four quotations of Ps. cxvii.

§ 5. ON THE METHOD OF QUOTING FROM DOUBLE BOOKS (KINGS, CHRONICLES, EZRA, MACCABEES, THE EPISTLES TO CORINTH, TO THESSALONICA, TO TIMOTHY).

The suspicion has already been expressed in these Prolegomena (p. 259 above) that the true text of the *Testimonia* only gives the name of the biblical book quoted from, and does not proceed in the case of double books to particularize the number further, as 'first' or 'second'. This suspicion rests on the following grounds.

1. In many instances no MS whatever gives the number, so that no doubt at all can attach to the statement that St. Cyprian sometimes, at any rate, acted on the principle suggested. Thus (a) 'in Paralipomenon' is the reading of the single quotation from Chronicles, 142. 3: (b) 'in Hesdra' is the reading of both the references to the books of Esdras, 40. 11, 166. 8: (c) 'in Machabeis' is the reading of all four citations from the books of Maccabees, 117. 6, 128. 9, 151. 2, 155. 15: (d) 'ad Thessalonicenses' without addition is the unanimous reading of all MSS in two out of three citations from the Thessalonian epistles, 159. 2, 169. 10, although they differ widely in the introductory words of the formula, 'Paulus' 'in epistula Pauli' 'in epistulis Pauli': (e) 'ad Timotheum' is similarly the unanimous reading in four out of eleven citations from the epistles to Timothy, 124. 9, 148. 12, 152. 6, 156. 2.

2. In a still larger number of instances one or more of the better MSS omit the number. Thus (a) in the Books of Kings: 'in Basilion' without addition is given in 40. 6 by P, in 50. 17 by M B X, in 53. 9 by M X, in 117. 2 by B, in 142. 14 by A R, in 157. 2 by X, in 167. 1 by W X, in 173. 6 by X¹. And (b) in the Pauline epistles, we have 'ad Corinthios' without 'prima' or 'secunda' given in 42. 17 by M*, in 63. 20 by P R and the edition of Erasmus, in 75. 14 by B, in 96. 10 by L*, in 116. 23 by R W, in 125. 13 by R, in 139. 9 by R, in 141. 3 by L P B O T, in 142. 1 by A L P B O T X, in 145. 5 by A, in 151. 10 by X, in 152. 4 by R, in 155. 6 by W X, in 157. 7 by R X, in 159. 6 by X, in 164. 5 by R W X, in 166. 11 by A B X, in 166. 19 by X, in 167. 4 by A V X, in 167. 23 by X, in 169. 18 by T X, in 174. 12 by A B Erasmus (and L* V?); in 175. 15, and 175. 21, by X; in 176. 4 by A X; and in 176. 12, 177. 4, 177. 9 again by X. (c) 'ad Thessalonicenses' in 175. 4 by O T X Erasmus: in 175. 8 the whole *lemma* is

¹ Note too that in other writings St Cyprian uses the phrases 'in libro Regnorum' 470. 10, 'in libris Regnorum' 754. 18: though it should be added that in 386. 14 'in tertio Regnorum libro' seems to be without variant.

omitted by L P T V W X¹. (d) 'ad Timotheum' in 131. 17 by P, in 165. 15 by T W X, in 169. 3 by R X, in 171. 13 by X Erasmus, in 171. 20 by X, in 172. 5 by B X, in 172. 16 by X: while in 172. 8 none of the three words 'ad Timotheum prima' appears in L P B O R W X.

3. But beyond this it may be urged that the extraordinary diversity of readings in the best MSS in the *lemmata* to the Pauline quotations indicates the existence exactly at this point of deep-seated corruptions of the Cyprianic text, and warrants bolder action than would elsewhere be justifiable in the attempt to recover the lost original. In particular, besides the regularly recurring alternatives 'Paulus' 'Paulus apostolus' 'in epistula Pauli', the three following forms of variant are specially noteworthy.

(a) Cases where some MSS have 'prima' (·i·) others 'secunda' (·ii·). In 96. 10 (2 Cor. v 10) R has ·i·: 115. 6 (1 Cor. iii 1) L* has 'secunda' and T ·ii·: 123. 13 (1 Cor. vi 19) M has 'secunda': 157. 8 (2 Cor. v 10) B has ·i·: 167. 4 (1 Cor. vi 18) W has ·ii·: 169. 18 (1 Cor. i 17) M has ·ii·: 171. 13 (1 Tim. v 3) B has ·ii·: 175. 15 (1 Cor. vii 10) L* R have ·ii·: 176. 13 (1 Cor. xi 27) A has ·ii·: 177. 5 (1 Cor. xv 33) B O R have ·ii·.

(b) Cases where some MSS read 'in epistulis Pauli ad Corinthios' (or 'Thessalonicenses' or 'Timotheum') instead of 'in epistula . . .', for in such cases the addition of 'prima' 'secunda' seems obviously ungrammatical and unoriginal. This is the reading in 141. 3 of L³ P T: in 141. 20 of L P O: in 151. 10 of L P: in 152. 4 of L: in 159. 2 of L P R: in 167. 23 of L P R: in 169. 10 of L P R (O): in 169. 18 of L P R: in 171. 13 of L P R: in 175. 15 of L P R: in 177. 4 of L P R: in 177. 8 of L P R. It is fair, however, to add that the same MSS, or some of them, occasionally have this form in connexion with single epistles, where it is apparently as incorrect as the converse form with double epistles: 'in epistulis Pauli ad Romanos' 133. 7 L P, 151. 20 L, 155. 16 L³ P, 178. 6 L P; 'in epistulis Pauli ad Ephesios' 170. 14 L P R. And it is just possible that the formula is intended to be punctuated after 'Pauli', and to be read thus 'In epistulis Pauli: Ad Romanos'.

(c) Cases like 159. 6 'item ad Corinthios prima', where, though there is no variation in the MSS, the omission of the epithet would clearly improve the grammar of the phrase. The same argument would apply to the numerous cases where A V or A V X give the reading 'Paulus [+apostolus A] ad Corinthios prima' &c., if that reading is original rather than the alternative form 'in epistula Pauli ad Corinthios prima'.

It is not meant to be asserted that the case for the thesis here put forward is established on grounds which are absolutely conclusive: but it is believed that sufficient probability has been shewn in its favour to warrant an editor in enclosing the defining numbers 'prima'

¹ B O insert 'in euangelio', a reading which points also to omission in their archetypes.

'secunda' in all cases within square brackets, as being, if not certainly unauthentic, at least not certainly authentic¹.

C. H. TURNER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MSS OF ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM.

THE following notes and indices are the results of a visit to Grotta Ferrata made in accordance with a grant by Magdalen College during the Long Vacation of 1904. They were rendered possible by the kindness of Mr C. H. Turner, who supplied me with many valuable notes on the subject of Isidore's letters. To save space I shall throughout use the following symbols: G = the Grotta Ferrata MS of Isidore; *G* = the archetype of G, the Vatican and Ottobonian MSS; *S* = the original collection of 2,000 letters made by the Sleepless monks of Constantinople.

1. *The order of the letters in G.*

As Mr Turner pointed out in the last number of the JOURNAL, *S* contained 2,000 letters. According to the note in MS Cassin. 2 these were divided into four books of 500 letters each. No extant MS preserves the whole of *S*; but *G*, which can be reconstructed with certainty, must have done so.

There is no reason to doubt that the order of letters 1-1000 in *G* is an accurate presentation of the order in *S*; but the order of the second thousand must be wrong, as the total is three short of the full number. The problem, therefore, is to discover where the errors occur in *G*. The appended *indices* suggest the following places.

1. *G* omits Migne *P. G.* 78 iii 229, 374, iv 143, 144.
2. *G* passes over 1319 and 1377 in numeration.
3. *G* gives 1783 as the number of two consecutive letters.

But as Mr Turner has mentioned, this points to a total of 2,001, and it is necessary to investigate more closely in order to see which of these errors, suggested by a superficial examination, can be substantiated by collateral evidence, and which of them can be shewn to be merely apparent, for *ex hypothesi* one of them must be so in order to give us the number 2,000.

We have the following criteria:—

1. MS Paris Gr. 832 gives the order of Epp. 1-1213.
2. MS Laud Gr. 42 gives the numbers in *S* of thirty-eight letters on the Psalms (see Index C).

¹ As on other occasions, so here again I have to express my warmest thanks to my friend and old pupil, the Rev. C. Jenkins of New College, whose affectionate diligence has verified all references to Hartel's pages or apparatus in the foregoing paper. Where my readings of A or L differ from Hartel's, the difference may be taken to be due to an error or omission of Hartel's in collating these MSS.

It will be easier to consider the evidence afforded by these criteria by working backwards from the end of the collection.

The last letter in *G* is numbered 1998, and according to the note in MS Cassin. 2 this was the last letter in *S*. If, therefore, there were 2,000 letters in *S*, the numbers in *G* must be increased by *two* in order to correspond with those of *S*.

This is supported by MS Laud Gr. 42, which gives the following equations:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G. 78</i>
1906	1904	iv 107
1968 (l. 1868)	1866	iv 112

This confirms the suggestion that *G*'s 1998 is *S*'s 2000, and incidentally shews that MS Laud Gr. 42 is derived from *S* independently of *G*.

But in *G* 1783 is given as the number of both Migne P. G. iv 51 and v 408, therefore *G* 1782 ought to be *S* 1783, and the numbers up to *G* 1783 must be increased by one in order to give the numbers of *S*.

This again is confirmed by the equations found in Laud Gr. 42¹:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G. 78</i>
1718	1717	iv 173
1705	1704	v 359
1597	1596	iv 43
1525	1524	iv 149

In this way *G* 1378 = *S* 1379, but as *G* passes in numeration from 1376 to 1378 omitting 1377, *G* 1376 = *S* 1378, and *G*'s numbers must now be again increased by two in order to give those of *S*.

Once more Laud Gr. 42 confirms this by giving the equation:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G.</i>
1370	1368	iv 161

At this point, however, a difficulty arises. *G* omits 1319 in numeration, which ought to make its numbers up to that point smaller by three units than those of *S*, but Laud Gr. 42 does not confirm this and gives 1308 as the number of the letter, which is 1306 in *G*.

This at first sight seems to suggest that the archetype of the Laudian MS had here the same mistake as is found in *G*; but if we now turn round and examine the numeration of *G* from the beginning it seems clear that this is not the true explanation.

The orders of letters 1-1000 *G* is confirmed by Cod. Paris Gr. 832

¹ Prof. Dr K. Holl of Tübingen has very kindly pointed out to me that MS Coislin. 276 of the *Sacra Parallela* gives on f. 155 the following quotation, 'Ἰσιδώρου Πλουσιώτου ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐπιστολῆς: Ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίαις, κτλ. The letter quoted is Migne P. G. 78. v 303, which in *G* is 1631. This is an additional confirmation of the theory here suggested. For further details as to MS Coislin. 276 see Dr Holl's *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter in Texte und Untersuchungen, Neue Folge*, v 2.

and by the evidence of Cod. Laud Gr. 42; it may therefore be taken as certainly representing the order of *S*.

But the letters numbered 1029 and 1174 in the Paris MS are omitted in *G*, and therefore if the former MS represents the order of *S* the numbers of *G* must be increased by one from 1029 to 1172 and by two from 1173 onwards. This is confirmed by the equations in MS Laud Gr. 42:—

<i>Laud Gr. 42</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Migne P. G. 78</i>
1284	1282	iv 3
1307	1305	iv 148
1308	1306	iv 182

Thus arguing from the beginning we reach the conclusion that 1306 in *G* is 1308 in *S*, just as arguing from the end it appears that 1368 in *G* is 1370 in *S*. Therefore we seem forced to the conclusion that the omission in *G* of 1319 is not merely the omission of a numeral, but of the letter which is required to make up the number of 2000.

Unfortunately, however, this does not agree with the evidence of the Bavaro-Venetian MS, which supplies us with *two* letters (*Migne P. G.* iv 143 and 144) instead of the one which we require.

The obvious suggestion is that these two letters are not really two and have been wrongly divided, but this does not seem to be supported by their contents.

I do not think, however, that this difficulty is sufficient to invalidate the force of the previous arguments, and the numbers given for *S* in the notes to the following indices have a high claim to be regarded as established.

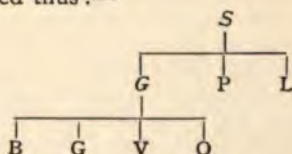
2. *The genealogical relations of some of the MSS of Isidore.*

Dr N. Capo has shewn that the Grotta Ferrata MS (*G*), the Vatican MS (*V*), and the Ottobonian MS (*O*) represent a lost original *G*.

The note in MS Cassin. 2 shews that all known MSS probably represent a MS (*S*) made by the Sleepless monks, extracts from which, direct or indirect, are found in MS Laud Gr. 42 (*L*), MS Paris Gr. 832 (*P*), and MS Paris Gr. 949 (*B*).

The investigation of the order of letters shews that the two first of these three are independent of *G*, and the third must be an extract from *G* because it has precisely the same numbers as *G*, which are deficient throughout the section which it contains (*S* 1544–1772) by one unit.

The relations between the MSS, so far as ascertained at present, may therefore be represented thus:—



It remains for more minute investigation of the text to define the relations more closely, and decide whether PLG are independent authorities for S, and whether BGV O are independent authorities for G.

3. *The immediate archetype of GVO.*

1. *Its tachygraphical character.* A small palaeographical point seems to establish the extreme probability that this archetype, which is not necessarily identical with G, was a minuscule written at least to some extent in a semi-tachygraphic hand.

One of the most noticeable features in V is that it frequently reads $\epsilon\kappa$ - in composition where G has $\acute{\alpha}\pi\sigma$ -. Moreover, in almost all cases it appears that the $\acute{\alpha}\pi\sigma$ - of G is written in the tachygraphic form $\acute{\alpha}$, which might be confused by a hasty scribe with a minuscule $\epsilon\kappa$.

I conclude therefore that the use of this, and possibly therefore of other tachygraphical forms in G, are derived from the common archetype of it and V O. This conclusion has some interest for the student of Greek Palaeography as many of us have been rather inclined to assume that the semi-tachygraphical writing is peculiar to the so-called 'Grotta Ferrata hand', whereas it would seem as though, in the present case, one at least of the forms characteristic of the Grotta Ferrata tachygraphy were found in one of the MSS used by the followers of St Nilus.

2. *Its provenance.* A comparison of the data afforded by the life of St Nilus shews that at the time when the Isidore MS was written the band of Greeks who attended the Saint was staying at Vallelucio, a small dependency of Monte Cassino.

There are two possibilities to choose between in considering how the monks obtained their archetype: (a) they brought it with them, (b) they found it in the neighbourhood in which they settled. It is perhaps impossible to decide between these alternatives, but it is worth noting that, if the latter alternative be taken, the archetype must almost certainly have come from Monte Cassino, where, as we know, an extract and translation from the letters of Isidore had already been made.

Connecting these facts, it is not unreasonable to think that *Acoemetensis monasterii codicibus* in the preface in MS Cassin. 2 means 'the MSS brought from the monastery of the Sleepless', and that the Greek MS used by the Latin monks of Monte Cassino for the purpose of translating, was borrowed by their Greek neighbours at Vallelucio for the purpose of copying.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

INDICES TO THE LETTERS OF ISIDORE.

Index A gives the series in G with the equivalents in Migne's *Patr. Gr.* vol. 78.

Index B gives the series in Migne with the equivalents in G.

Index C gives the list of the letters in Laud Gr. 42. In A the order of S is given in footnotes, where it differs from that of G.

INDEX A.

No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78
1-500 = i 1-500		1274 = iv 205	
501-800 = ii 1-300		1275 = iv 167	
801-1028 = iii 1-228		1276 = iv 68	
1029 ¹ -1172 = iii 230-373		1277 = iv 84	
1173 ¹ -1211 = iii 375-413		1278 = iv 38	
1212-1214 = v 1-3		1279-1280 = iv 33-34	
1215 = iv 82		1281-1282 = iv 2-3	
1216 = v 4		1283 = v 48	
1217 = iv 174		1284 = iv 128	
1218-1224 = v 5-11		1285-1287 = v 49-51	
1225 = iv 166		1288 = v 59 (<i>sic</i>)	
1226-1235 = v 12-21		1289-1290 = v 52-53	
1236 = iv 97		1291 = iv 160	
1237-1240 = v 22-25		1292 = iv 213	
1241 = iv 48		1293 = iv 215	
1242 = iv 60		1294-1295 = v 54-55	
1243 = iv 59		1296 = iv 10	
1244-1245 = v 26-27		1297-1299 = v 56-58	
1246 = iv 172		1300 = v 60	
1247 = v 28		1301 = iv 129	
1248 = iv 109		1302 = iv 45	
1249 = iv 141		1303 = v 61	
1250-1256 = v 29-35		1304 = iv 100	
1257 = iv 225		1305 = iv 148	
1258 = iv 9		1306 = iv 182	
1259-1260 = v 36-37		1307-1310 = v 62-65	
1261 = iv 221		1311 = iv 151	
1262 = v 38		1312-1313 = v 66-67	
1263 = iv 22		1314 = iv 154	
1264-1272 = v 39-47		1315-1318 ² = v 68-71	
1273 = iv 162		1320-1327 = v 72-79	

¹ G omits Migne P. G. iii 229. Therefore to obtain the numeration of S the number given by G must be increased by one until letter G 1173 is reached, when G omits Migne P. G. iii 374, and the numbers must be increased by two.

² G passes over 1319 in numeration, but as it is probable that this really represents the omission of a letter the numeration still requires to be increased by two in order to obtain that of S. In writing *αττη'* the scribe has apparently hesitated, for the *η'* is dotted to call attention to a *θ* written in the margin.

o. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.
1328	= iv 74	1418	= v 147
1329	= v 80	1419	= iv 102
1330	= iv 136	1420-1423	= v 148-151
1331	= iv 200	1424	= iv 230
1332-1333	= v 81-82	1425-1426	= v 152-153
1334	= v 84	1427-1428	= iv 64-65
1335	= v 83	1429-1433	= v 154-158
1336	= v 85	1434	= iv 58
1337	= iv 55	1435	= iv 153
1338	= v 86	1436-1441	= v 159-164
1339 ¹ -1341	omitted	1442	= iv 19
1342-1343	= v 87-88	1443	= iv 171
1344	= iv 110	1444	= v 165
1345-1350	= v 89-94	1445	= iv 7
1351	= v 113	1446	= v 166
1352-1353	= v 95-96	1447-1453	= v 167-173
1354	= iv 159	1454	= iv 202
1355-1356	= v 114-115	1455-1458	= v 174-177
1357	= iv 210	1459	= iv 177
1358	= iv 104	1460	= iv 178
1359	= iv 103	1461	= iv 146
1360-1367	= v 97-104	1462-1479	= v 179-196
1368	= iv 161	1480	= iv 5
1369	= iv 114	1481-1487	= v 197-203
1370-1374	= v 105-109	1488	= iv 117
1375	= iv 89	1489-1497	= v 204-212
1376 ²	= iv 115	1498	= iv 157
1378-1380	= v 110-112	1499-1503	= v 213-217
1381	= v 116	1504	= iv 92
1382	= iv 208	1505-1508	= v 218-221
1383-1386	= v 117-120	1509	= iv 116
1387	= v 122	1510-1512	= v 222-224
1388	= v 121	1513	= iv 27
1389-1396	= v 123-130	1514	= iv 20
1397	= iv 101	1515-1521	= v 225-231
1398-1403	= v 131-136	1522	= iv 121
1404	= iv 53	1523	= iv 150
1405-1408	= v 137-140	1524	= iv 149
1409	= iv 194	1525-1534	= v 232-341
1410	= v 141	1535	= iv 69
1411	= iv 67	1536	= iv 206
1412-1416	= v 142-146	1537	= iv 207
1417	= iv 12	1538	= iv 108

G 1339, 1340, 1341 = S 1341, 1342, 1343 are not contained in Migne, but given in Dr N. Capo's article in the *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* ix (Florence, 1901).

G passes over 1377 in numeration, so that only one need be added from this list to give the numeration of S. The last letter in the numeral *arros* seems to be written *in rasura*.

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No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P.
1539-1545 ¹	= v 242-248	1626	= iv 24
1546	= iv 39	1627-1633	= v 299-305
1547	= iv 191	1634	= iv 36
1548	= iv 185	1635-1636	= v 306-307
1549	= iv 228	1637	= iv 50
1550-1553	= v 249-252	1638	= iv 81
1554	= iv 28	1639	= v 308
1555	= iv 211	1640	= iv 219
1556-1557	= v 253-254	1641-1645	= v 309-313
1558	= iv 168	1646	= iv 6
1559-1561	= v 255-257	1647	= iv 23
1562	= iv 127	1648-1658	= v 314-324
1563-1564	= v 258-259	1659	= iv 35
1565	= iv 1	1660-1666	= v 325-331
1566	= v 260	1667	= iv 80
1567	= iv 134	1668-1676	= v 332-340
1568	= iv 14	1677	= iv 145
1569	= iv 86	1678-1681	= v 341-344
1570	= iv 78	1682	= iv 32
1571-1572	= v 261-262	1683	= iv 15
1573	= iv 203	1684	= iv 106
1574	= v 263	1685-1690	= v 345-350
1575	= iv 113	1691	= iv 75
1576	= v 264	1692-1694	= v 351-353
1577	= iv 187	1695	= iv 42
1578-1589	= v 265-276	1696	= iv 91
1590-1591	= iv 29-30	1697	= v 354
1592	= iv 220	1698	= iv 204
1593	= iv 21	1699-1702	= v 355-358
1594	= iv 209	1703	= iv 170
1595	= v 277	1704-1713	= v 359-368
1596	= iv 43	1714	= iv 8
1597-1600	= v 278-281	1715	= iv 96
1601	= iv 57	1716	= iv 94
1602	= v 282	1717	= iv 173
1603	= iv 214	1718	= iv 31
1604	= iv 201	1719	= iv 71
1605-1606	= v 283-284	1720	= iv 179
1607	= iv 169	1721	= v 369
1608	= v 285	1722	= iv 87
1609	= iv 111	1723-1724	= v 370-371
1610	= v 286	1725	= iv 165
1611	= iv 54	1726	= iv 16
1612-1615	= v 287-290	1727-1729	= v 372-374
1616	= iv 44	1730	= iv 98
1617	= iv 85	1731	= v 375
1618-1625	= v 291-298	1732	= iv 222

¹ The numbers of G agree from this point up to G 1770 with those in MS Gr. 949 (see Bourry, *de S. Isidoro Pelusiota libri tres*, Nemansi, 1884).

No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.
1733 = iv 216		1791 = iv 88	
1734 = iv 52		1792-1801 = v 413-422	
1735 = iv 223		1802 = iv 181	
1736 = v 376		1803-1805 = v 423-425	
1737 = iv 142		1806 = iv 137	
1738 = v 377		1807 = iv 155	
1739 = iv 77		1808-1811 = v 426-429	
1740-1747 = v 378-385		1812 = iv 105	
1748 = iv 118		1813-1831 = v 430-448	
1749 = iv 46		1832 = iv 40	
1750-1755 = v 386-391		1833 = iv 126	
1756 = iv 176		1834 = v 449	
1757 = v 392		1835 = iv 70	
1758 = iv 175		1836 = iv 212	
1759 = iv 164		1837 = iv 13	
1760 = iv 132		1838 = v 450	
1761-1763 = v 393-395		1839 = iv 135	
1764 = iv 189		1840 = iv 49	
1765-1768 = v 396-399		1841 = iv 25	
1769 = v 400		1842 = v 451	
1770 = iv 66		1843 = iv 183	
1771-1775 = v 401-405		1844-1845 = v 452-453	
1776 = iv 224		1846 = iv 83	
1777 = iv 192		1847 = iv 37	
1778 = iv 158		1848-1855 = v 454-461	
1779 = iv 63		1856 = iv 72	
1780 = iv 90		1857-1865 = v 462-470	
1781 = iv 140		1866 = iv 112	
1782 = v 406		1867 = v 471	
1783 ¹ = iv 51		1868 = iv 99	
1783 = v 408		1869 = v 472	
1784 = v 407		1870 = iv 184	
1785 = iv 18		1871 = v 473	
1786-1788 = v 409-411		1872 = iv 119	
1789 = iv 125		1873 = v 474	
1790 = v 412		1874 = iv 120	

¹ *G* gives 1783 as the number of two consecutive letters. To obtain the numeration of *S* it is therefore again necessary to add two to the numbers of *G*. This holds good to the end of the MS. The numeration of *S* may thus be conveniently summarized as follows:—

In Epp.	1-1028 no. in <i>S</i>	= no. in <i>G</i>
" 1030-1173	" <i>S</i> = "	<i>G</i> + 1
" 1175-1378	" <i>S</i> = "	<i>G</i> + 2
" 1379-1784	" <i>S</i> = "	<i>G</i> + 1
" 1786-2000	" <i>S</i> = "	<i>G</i> + 2

1d,

1029 *S* is not given in *G*.

1174 *S* " " "

1785 *S* is the second of the two marked 1783 in *G*.

No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.
	1875 = iv 138	1955-1956 = v 541-542	
	1876-1879 = v 475-478	1957 = iv 123	
	1880 = iv 17	1958 = iv 26	
	1881-1886 = v 479-484	1959-1967 = v 543-551	
	1887 = iv 11	1968 = iv 139	
	1888-1894 = v 485-491	1969 = iv 198	
	1895 = iv 76	1970 = iv 196	
	1896-1902 = v 492-498	1971-1979 = v 552-560	
	1903 = iv 93	1980 = iv 152	
	1904 = iv 107	1981-1982 = v 561-562	
	1905 = iv 217	1983 = iv 133	
	1906 = v 499	1984-1985 = v 563-564	
	1907 = iv 41	1986 = iv 95	
	1908-1912 = v 500-504	1987 = v 565	
	1913 = iv 4	1988 = iv 62	
	1914 = iv 186	1989 = iv 130	
	1915-1934 = v 505-524	1990-1991 = v 566-567	
	1935 = iv 218	1992 = iv 61	
	1936-1943 = v 525-532	1993 = v 568	
	1944 = iv 227	1994 = iv 178	
	1945 = v 533	1995 = v 569	
	1946 = iv 193	1996 = iv 73	
	1947-1953 = v 534-540	1997 = iv 163	
	1954 = iv 226	1998 = iv 47	

INDEX B.

No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.
i 1-500 =	1-500	iv 16 =	1726
ii 1-300 =	501-800	17 =	1880
iii 1-228 =	801-1028	18 =	1785
iii 229 =	omitted	19 =	1442
iii 230-373 =	1029-1172	20 =	1514
iii 374 =	omitted	21 =	1593
iii 375-413 =	1173-1211	22 =	1263
iv 1 =	1565	23 =	1647
2 =	1281	24 =	1626
3 =	1282	25 =	1841
4 =	1913	26 =	1958
5 =	1480	27 =	1513
6 =	1646	28 =	1554
7 =	1445	29 =	1590
8 =	1714	30 =	1591
9 =	1258	31 =	1718
10 =	1296	32 =	1682
11 =	1887	33 =	1279
12 =	1417	34 =	1280
13 =	1837	35 =	1659
14 =	1568	36 =	1634
15 =	1683	37 =	1847

letter P.G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.
iv 38	= 1278	iv 88	= 1791
39	= 1546	89	= 1375
40	= 1832	90	= 1780
41	= 1907	91	= 1696
42	= 1695	92	= 1504
43	= 1596	93	= 1903
44	= 1616	94	= 1716
45	= 1302	95	= 1986
46	= 1749	96	= 1715
47	= 1998	97	= 1236
48	= 1241	98	= 1730
49	= 1840	99	= 1868
50	= 1637	100	= 1304
51	= 1783 (1°)	101	= 1397
52	= 1734	102	= 1419
53	= 1404	103	= 1359
54	= 1611	104	= 1358
55	= 1337	105	= 1812
56	= 1532	106	= 1684
57	= 1601	107	= 1904
58	= 1434	108	= 1538
59	= 1243	109	= 1248
60	= 1242	110	= 1344
61	= 1992	111	= 1609
62	= 1988	112	= 1866
63	= 1779	113	= 1575
64	= 1427	114	= 1369
65	= 1428	115	= 1376
66	= 1770	116	= 1509
67	= 1411	117	= 1488
68	= 1276	118	= 1748
69	= 1535	119	= 1872
70	= 1835	120	= 1874
71	= 1719	121	= 1522
72	= 1856	122	= 1407
73	= 1996	123	= 1957
74	= 1328	124	= 1470
75	= 1691	125	= 1789
76	= 1895	126	= 1833
77	= 1739	127	= 1562
78	= 1570	128	= 1284
79	omitted	129	= 1301
80	= 1667	130	= 1989
81	= 1638	131	omitted
82	= 1215	132	= 1760
83	= 1846	133	= 1983
84	= 1277	134	= 1567
85	= 1617	135	= 1839
86	= 1569	136	= 1330
87	= 1722	137	= 1806

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No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in
iv 138 =	1875	iv 188 =	29
139 =	1968	189 =	1764
140 =	1781	190 =	1406
141 =	1249	191 =	1547
142 =	1737	192 =	1777
143 =	omitted	193 =	1946
144 =	omitted	194 =	1409
145 =	1677	195 =	4
146 =	1461	196 =	1970
147 =	1347	197 =	430
148 =	1305	198 =	1969
149 =	1524	199 =	1268
150 =	1523	200 =	1331
151 =	1311	201 =	1604
152 =	1980	202 =	1454
153 =	1435	203 =	1573
154 =	1314	204 =	1698
155 =	1807	205 =	1274
156 =	249	206 =	1536
157 =	1498	207 =	1537
158 =	1778	208 =	1382
159 =	1354	209 =	1594
160 =	1291	210 =	1357
161 =	1368	211 =	1555
162 =	1273	212 =	1836
163 =	1997	213 =	1292
164 =	1759	214 =	1603
165 =	1725	215 =	1293
166 =	1225	216 =	1733
167 =	1275	217 =	1905
168 =	1558	218 =	1935
169 =	1607	219 =	1640
170 =	1703	220 =	1592
171 =	1443	221 =	1261
172 =	1246	222 =	1732
173 =	1717	223 =	1735
174 =	1217	224 =	1776
175 =	1758	225 =	1257
176 =	1756	226 =	1954
177 =	1459	227 =	1944
178 =	1994	228 =	1549
179 =	1720	229 =	436
180 =	785	230 =	1424
181 =	1802	v 1-3 =	1212-1214
182 =	1306	4 =	1216
183 =	1843	5-11 =	1218-1224
184 =	1870	12-21 =	1226-1235
185 =	1548	22-25 =	1237-1240
186 =	1914	26-27 =	1244-1245
187 =	1577	28 =	1247

o. of letter gne <i>P. G.</i> 78.	No. of letter in <i>G.</i>	No. of letter in Migne <i>P. G.</i> 78.	No. of letter in <i>G.</i>
v 29-35 =	1250-1256	v 197-203 =	1481-1487
36-37 =	1259-1260	204-212 =	1489-1497
38 =	1262	213-217 =	1499-1503
39-47 =	1264-1272	218-221 =	1505-1508
48 =	1283	222-224 =	1510-1512
49-51 =	1285-1287	225-231 =	1515-1521
52 =	1289	232-241 =	1525-1534
53 =	1290	242-248 =	1539-1545
54-55 =	1294-1295	249-252 =	1550-1553
56-58 =	1297-1299	253-254 =	1556-1557
59 =	1288	255-257 =	1559-1561
60 =	1300	258-259 =	1563-1564
61 =	1303	260 =	1566
62-65 =	1307-1310	261-262 =	1571-1572
66-67 =	1312-1313	263 =	1574
68-71 =	1315-1318	264 =	1576
72-79 =	1320-1327	265-276 =	1578-1589
80 =	1329	277 =	1595
81-82 =	1332-1333	278-281 =	1597-1600
83 =	1335	282 =	1602
84 =	1334	283-284 =	1605-1606
85 =	1336	285 =	1608
86 =	1338	286 =	1610
87-88 =	1342-1343	287-290 =	1612-1615
89-94 =	1345-1350	291-298 =	1618-1625
95-96 =	1352-1353	299-305 =	1627-1633
97-104 =	1360-1367	306-307 =	1635-1636
105-109 =	1370-1374	308-313 =	1639-1645
110-112 =	1378-1380	314-324 =	1648-1658
113 =	1351	325-331 =	1660-1666
114-115 =	1355-1356	332-340 =	1668-1676
116 =	1381	341-342 =	1678-1679
117-120 =	1383-1386	343-344 =	1680-1681
121 =	1388	345-350 =	1685-1690
122 =	1387	351-353 =	1692-1694
123-130 =	1389-1396	354 =	1697
131-136 =	1398-1403	355-358 =	1699-1702
137-140 =	1405-1408	359-368 =	1704-1713
141 =	1410	369 =	1721
142-146 =	1412-1416	370-371 =	1723-1724
147 =	1418	372-374 =	1727-1729
148-151 =	1420-1423	375 =	1731
152-153 =	1425-1426	376 =	1736
154-158 =	1429-1433	377 =	1738
159-164 =	1436-1441	378-385 =	1740-1747
165 =	1444	386-391 =	1750-1755
166-173 =	1446-1453	392 =	1757
174-177 =	1455-1458	393-395 =	1761-1763
178 =	1460	396-400 =	1765-1769
179-196 =	1462-1479	401-405 =	1771-1775

No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in G.	No. of letter in Migne P. G. 78.	No. of letter in xxx
v 406 =	1782	v 475-478 =	1876-1879
407 =	1784	479-484 =	1881-1886
408 =	1783 (2°)	485-491 =	1888-1894
409-411 =	1786-1788	492-498 =	1896-1902
412 =	1790	499 =	1906
413-422 =	1792-1801	500-504 =	1908-1912
423-425 =	1803-1805	505-524 =	1915-1934
426-429 =	1808-1811	525-532 =	1936-1943
430-448 =	1813-1831	533 =	1945
449 =	1834	534-540 =	1947-1953
450 =	1838	541-542 =	1955-1956
451 =	1842	543-551 =	1959-1967
452-453 =	1844-1845	552-560 =	1971-1979
454-461 =	1848-1855	561-562 =	1981-1982
462-470 =	1857-1865	563-564 =	1984-1985
471 =	1867	565 =	1987
472 =	1869	566-567 =	1990-1991
473 =	1871	568 =	1993
474 =	1873	569 =	1995

INDEX C.

The letters in MS Laud Gr. 42.

No. in S.	No. in S.	No. in S.	No. in S.
2	331	672	1525
6	364	739	1573 [om. cod.]
81	400	851	1597
183	414	892	1705
273	457	929	1718
290	478	970	1760
301	566	1284	1868 [1968 cod.]
305	635	1307	1906
321	639	1308	
330	643	1370	

The folio references for these letters are given in the new catalogue of the Laudian Greek MSS in the Bodleian, the manuscript sheets of which are partially available to readers.

NOTES FROM COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES.

IN the *Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία* of Cosmas Indicopleustes are preserved almost all of the surviving Greek fragments of the Festal Letters of Athanasius. On collating the Laurentian MS of Cosmas I find another,

a reference rather than a fragment, which is not mentioned in Migne's edition. It does not occur with the others in the tenth book, but at the end of the παραγραφή on p. 161 of Migne, which runs as follows: *πρῶτος συγγραφεὺς ἐν κόσμῳ Μωυσῆς, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἀποδείκνυσιν καὶ Ἰώσηπος* [so Vat. and Laur. MSS Ἰώσηπος ed.] *ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν συντάγμασιν. ἐδήλωσαν γὰρ ὡς ἀρχαιότερος πάντων τῶν συγγραφέων ἐστὶν ὁ Μωυσῆς.*

L, reading *ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Μωυσῆς*, continues *ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ ἐνάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἐορταστικῇ, ἐνθα κανονίζει τὴν γραφὴν καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια λέγει ὅτι πρὸ Μωυσέος οὐκ ἦσαν γράμματα.*

Though I did not note these words in the Vatican MS, there seems no reason for doubting their authenticity, and their omission in the edition which elsewhere follows L almost exclusively, barely glancing at V, is quite inexplicable. A collation, however, of the two MSS has proved to me that it is by no means the only thing that is inexplicable in that edition.

L also reads at the beginning of the παραγραφή, *Μωυσῆς ἐγένετο* instead of *Μωσῆς καί.*

In the other Athanasian fragments (Migne xxvi 1432 fol.) both MSS read *κεκοσμημένοι ἐρχόμενοι* (1440 B): V and originally L *καὶ τῆς ζωῆς* for *καὶ ζώσης* (1433 B): and V *κατασκευάσῃ* for *καταστήσῃ* (1433 A) and *παραλαβόντες* for *παραλαμβάνοντες*.

What is printed (1441 C) as *ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς . ἃ . . .* appears to be *τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς* though it is very illegible in V. It is in red as all the other headings and subsidiary headings such as *καὶ πάλιν*.

Among the other Fathers quoted is Chrysostom, and with his text again Montfaucon has taken unaccountable liberties. The first fragment quoted is from the *περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης*, which Montfaucon has altered to suit the received text, thereby omitting several lines of the text as read by L. V the older MS is unfortunately deficient here. L inserts after *μέγα ἄνθρωπος καὶ τίμιον ἄνθρωπος ἐλεήμων* (Migne 429 B) the words *μεγάλα τὰ πέρατα τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης. τέμνει τὸν ἄερα. παρέρχεται τὴν σελήνην. τέμνει τὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ ἡλίου. εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνέρχεται τὰς ἀψίδας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ἀλλ' οὕτε ἐκεῖ ἴσταται. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παρατρέχει. καὶ τοὺς δῆμους τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τὰς ἀνωτέρας ὅλας δυνάμεις. καὶ αὐτῷ παρίσταται τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ. καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς διδάχθητι τῆς γραφῆς. τοῦτο φησὶ γὰρ [γὰρ *al.* M. *συγγρα*] Κορηλίε, αἱ προσευχαί σου καὶ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἀνέβησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.*

In the text of the sermon as printed in Migne's edition a somewhat similar passage occurs earlier: *ξυνωρίς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀδελφότης καὶ ξυνωρίς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄχημα. καὶ πόθεν τοῦτο; τῷ Κορηλίῳ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Αἱ προσευχαί σου καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἀνέβησαν εἰς μνημόσυνον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· πτερὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ*

ποιήσης πτερὸν τῇ εὐχῇ οὐ πέταται. ὅταν δὲ πτερωθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἔπταται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. But the whole sermon is designated as either spurious or a garbled version; it seems at least worth considering whether Cosmas may not have preserved part of the original version.

In the second quotation from Chrysostom (Migne, Chrysostom xi 14) L continues rightly after θελήματος αὐτοῦ with the words τουτέστι σοφοὺς καὶ φρονίμους ποιήσας. τῇ ὄντως σοφίᾳ, τῇ ὄντως φρονήσει. βαβαὶ πόση φιλία. τὰ γὰρ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν λέγει τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ φησίν, κτλ., only differing from the Chrysostom edition in reading τῇ σοφίᾳ and τῇ φρονήσει instead of τὴν σοφίαν and τὴν φρόνησιν.

The text of the frequent biblical quotations has been about as roughly treated by the editors as that of the patristic quotations. As a specimen I give a list of errors in passages of the Acts where Tischendorf has thought the authority of Cosmas worth recording, not by any means a complete list, but merely corrections of Tischendorf's *apparatus criticus*.

- Acts i 10 (Cosmas, p. 180) ἐσθήσεσι λευκαῖς V L with \aleph A B C.
 11 βλέποντες V L^s with \aleph^* B E.
- ii 22 (p. 293) ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ (ὑπὸ L) τοῦ θεοῦ V L with \aleph B C D^s.
 καθὼς (without καὶ) V L with \aleph A B C^{*} D E.
 23 ἔκδοτον (without λαβόντες) V L with \aleph^* A B C^{*}.
 33 τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου V L with \aleph A B C E.
 ὁ ἡμεῖς (without νῦν) V L with \aleph A B C^{*} D^s.
- iii 20 (p. 296) προκεχειρισμένον V L with \aleph A B C D E P.
 21 πάντων τῶν V L with E P.
 ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν V with \aleph^* A B^{*} C.
 (L reads τῶν ἀπ' with \aleph^c B^s E).
 24 κατήγγειλαν V L with \aleph A B C^{*} vid D E P.
 25 καὶ ἐν V L with \aleph A B C D E P.
- x 38 (p. 296) ὡς διήλθεν V L with \aleph .
 39 ἡμεῖς (om. ἐσμεν) V L with \aleph A B C D E.
 ὃν καὶ V L with \aleph A B C D E H L P.
 ἀνεῦλαν V with \aleph A B C D E.
- xvii 26 (pp. 177, 357) ἐξ ἐνός (om. αἵματος) V L with \aleph A B.
 παντὸς προσώπου V L (p. 177) with \aleph A B D.
 27 τὸν θεόν V L with \aleph A B H L.
 εἰ εὗροιεν V probably for ἡ εὕρ. as A D.
 καίτοι V L as A E Clem.
- 29 χρυσίῳ V (p. 177) with \aleph A E.
 ἀργυρίῳ V (p. 177) with A E.

This list, I think, is sufficient to prove that one cannot draw any conclusions about the text of the Bible, used by Cosmas, from the

quotations as edited by Montfaucon: and the absence of Western interpolations and the phalanx of uncials which support most of the corrections I have mentioned shew that that text was considerably better than his editor has allowed it to be. Whether as an Alexandrine he may have preserved anything of the Alexandrine text is perhaps worthy of the consideration of biblical critics, and I hope soon to print a collation of the two MSS which may at any rate supply them with a safer basis than Montfaucon's untrustworthy edition.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

REVIEWS

THE SYRIAC PSALTER¹.

DR BARNES is to be congratulated on the successful termination of what must have been a laborious though interesting piece of work. His text of the Psalms in Syriac represents the West Syrian or Jacobite recension, but in his apparatus he has gathered together the readings of more than twenty MSS, some Jacobite, some Nestorian, some Malkite. Besides these he has continuously consulted the Commentary of Barhebraeus, that veritable storehouse of grammatical and textual information about the Peshitta text; he has not neglected the chief Syriac writers whose literary method makes them useful authorities for the text, and he gives the variations of the printed editions. The work is done with the accuracy and thoroughness that we have learned to associate with Dr Barnes. Some of the singular readings of the various MSS are not recorded, especially where they seem to be mere clerical errors, but otherwise the variants are exhibited in full.

The MSS vary in date, from the Codex Ambrosianus (A) of the sixth century, down to Psalters younger than Barhebraeus in the thirteenth century. Three of the MSS, viz. the Codex Ambrosianus (A), the Buchanan Bible at Cambridge (B), and the Laurentian MS at Florence (F), are Bibles; the rest are Psalters, the oldest of these being B.M. Add. 17110 (C), a codex certainly written before 600 A.D. Other MSS were specially chosen as representatives of the texts current in the various branches of the Syriac-speaking Church.

It was known that the text of the Peshitta, as hitherto edited, rested upon a few MSS only, and these for the most part late and inferior. We therefore turn at once to see what increase of knowledge results from this large accession of material. And here it cannot be too strongly emphasized that if by increase of knowledge is meant a large crop of important variations in the text we must prepare to be disappointed. Of course there are variations, and the text of the Syriac Psalter as printed by Dr Barnes does differ now and again from the text as hitherto published. But in the main his MSS contain the

¹ *The Peshitta Psalter according to the West Syrian Text*, edited with an *apparatus criticus* by W. E. BARNES, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity: Cambridge, at the University Press, 1904.

text as we have been accustomed to read it: none of his authorities offers anything analogous to the Curetonian text of the Gospels.

The uniformity of the text presented by our MSS need not be regarded as a misfortune, if we can prove the antiquity of this ordinary text. For this purpose the evidence of Aphraates becomes of great importance, and it is the one serious omission in Dr Barnes's book that he has not given the evidence of Aphraates more fully. The evidence of so very ancient an authority—Aphraates wrote about 345 A. D.—is valuable for confirmation as well as for correction, and it would have been a welcome addition if the extent of Aphraates's quotations had been indicated in the margin. Thus, to take one instance out of many, in Psalm xxxiv 6 ('I will bless the LORD *at all times*, his praise shall *continually* be in my mouth'), the words corresponding to *at all times* and *continually* are different both in the Hebrew and in the Greek. They are, however, the same in Syriac, and the peculiarity of the Syriac is faithfully reproduced in Aphraates (Wright, p. 76). We shall notice presently a curious case where Aphraates deserts the Peshitta altogether, but this exception should not blind us to the general attestation which the earliest surviving Syriac author gives to the Old Testament Peshitta as a whole. The fact is of very great historical importance, for it brings the direct external evidence for the Syriac Psalter, practically as we know it, almost into the ante-Nicene age. Whatever Rabbula may have done to the New Testament, it is evident that he left the Old Testament alone.

The actual variations which meet us in the MSS are of two kinds. There are a certain number of palaeographical errors, some very curious, the work of chance or of misplaced ingenuity; and there are recensional changes designed to make the Syriac agree either with the Hebrew or with the Septuagint. These last can nearly all be traced back to an eclectic use of Paul of Tella's translation of the Hexaplar text, with its learned marginal notes. Sometimes we catch the alterations in the act of invading the text, as in Psalm ii 12, where the Peshitta read 'Kiss the Son', but the Greek rendering 'Receive chastisement' has been placed in the margin of Codex F and has actually been foisted into the text of Codex A by a later hand. In other passages the corruption is older than certain of our codices, and so the 'Greek' reading is then given by the first hand: Dr Barnes is well within the mark when he speaks of the influence of the *Yaunāyā*, i. e. the Syriac translation of the Hexaplar text, as an established fact (p. xliii). Besides this tendency there is another, of which Codex F is the chief example, to agree in small points with the Hebrew. I venture to suggest that this also is due to an eclectic use of Hexaplar MSS, rather than the result of a direct comparison with the Hebrew itself. It

would, in fact, be an interesting task to see how far readings of F which agree with the 'Hebrew' agree also with renderings of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, as preserved in the margins of our Syro-Hexaplar MSS. The Syro-Hexaplar text was a recognized critical authority, and individual scholars seem to have eclectically appealed to it, much as the Revised Version is appealed to by English writers to-day.

But, as I have already said, these later alterations are trifling in extent and importance. In all essentials our MSS present the same text, and that text we can trace back to the time, at least, of Aphraates himself. Nevertheless, what we have is clearly a mixed text. In the main it is a translation from the Hebrew; yet, as Dr Barnes says, it is 'a translation which bears upon it the marks of the influence of the Septuagint' (p. xxxv). Further, to quote Dr Barnes again: 'The influence of the LXX is for the most part *sporadic*, affecting the translation of a word here and of a word there'¹.

Surely all this points to an authoritative revision, made to accommodate the Syriac here and there to the Greek. Now there is one moment of crisis in the Syriac-speaking Church in the ante-Nicene age, and as far as we know only one, in which the historical situation was likely to call forth such a revision. That moment was the end of the second century A. D., when Pālūt returned to Edessa after being consecrated Bishop by Serapion of Antioch. So far as our scanty historical authorities allow us to see, Pālūt founded (or re-founded) the Catholic Church in Edessa about the year 200 A. D.² At the time of Pālūt's mission a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Syriac was in existence, for its influence is visible even in the earliest Syriac versions of the Gospel. But it seems to have been the work of a Jewish or Jewish-Christian school, and I venture to suggest that the Syriac Bible, like the Syriac Church generally, was somewhat Romanized under the inspiration of Serapion. Thus the Old Testament Peshitta, of which we have now in Dr Barnes's *Psalter* a well-edited specimen, represents a slightly revised form of an original translation from the Hebrew. The original translation can hardly be later than the middle of the second century A. D.; while the revision, which seems to have taken the form of eclectic accommodation to the Septuagint, may be dated with some confidence about the end of the second century.

One single point of considerable textual and literary interest may be noted in conclusion. Among the quotations of Aphraates is one from Psalm xxxvii (xxxvi) 35. Here the Peshitta has

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* ii 197.

² See the *Doctrine of Addai* (ad fin.) and Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 600 b.

is exalted amongst men is despicable before God¹. And again it is written: *Everyone who exalteth himself shall be abased, and everyone who humbleth himself shall be exalted*². Also Jeremiah said: *Let not the mighty glory in his might, nor the rich in his riches*³. And again the blessed Apostle said: *Whosoever glorieth, let him glory in the Lord*⁴. And David said: *I saw the wicked exalted and uplifted as the cedars of Lebanon*⁵. . . .

Aphraates then goes on in his characteristic manner to enumerate a number of Old Testament examples. But in the passage above quoted, the verse from Psalm xxxvii (xxxvi) 35 agrees with the Greek, as we have seen. The quotation from Jeremiah ix 23 also agrees with the Greek, for it has *ܫܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*, corresponding to *ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ*, where the Peshitta has *ܫܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*. These two verses, moreover, are quoted almost together, as here, in the Epistle of Clement of Rome, xiii, xiv, the passage from Jeremiah being also followed by the same quotation from St Paul. Finally, the 'apocryphal' saying of our Lord reappears in the 'Clementine' Homilies. It is evident that Aphraates is working on something more than his personal knowledge of the Bible, but what his immediate source was I have been unable to discover. It affords us a curious glimpse into the library of a Syriac-speaking Christian in the Nicene or ante-Nicene age, and it is a pity that we cannot identify it more closely.

But whatever this source may have been, it was obviously some Greek work which quoted the Bible from the Septuagint, and so the agreement of Aphraates with the Septuagint in this single passage proves nothing as to the text of his Syriac Bible. And as I have said, his other quotations agree very nearly with Dr Barnes's *Psalter*.

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RECENT ASSYRIOLOGY.

MR L. W. KING, Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, so well known for his *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* and *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, as well as for his many other useful works on Assyriology, has commenced what bids fair to be a most valuable series. It is to be called *Studies in Eastern History*, and the first volume is *The Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I* (published by Luzac & Co.; 6s.). The aim is to collect all the documentary evidence bearing on one epoch or reign. The British Museum is the greatest treasure-house of such documents, especially for Assyria, that is accessible to European scholars. The generosity with which these stores of information have been placed

¹ Lk. xvi 15.

² Lk. xiv 11.

³ Jer. ix 23 (LXX).

⁴ 1 Cor. i 31.

⁵ Ps. xxxvii (*Gr.* xxxvi) 35 f.

at the disposal of all who could profitably use them is proverbial. Instead of these treasures being reserved for the glory of England alone, or of the Museum staff in particular, any one, be he ever so hostile, has been allowed to exploit them for his own advantage. A foreigner had only to satisfy the authorities that he was a serious student, and every facility was given him to copy and edit what would serve him for his doctorate-thesis and establish his reputation as an Assyriologist.

It was magnificent, but it was not war. Certainly the world of scholars gained by an earlier acquaintance with the sources of knowledge than would have been possible if it had had to wait until the limited forces at the disposal of the Museum could overtake their colossal tasks. But careful as were most of these essays, and valuable for their revelation of the gems hidden away in the Museum cupboards, they were rarely more than first attempts. One of the most irritating things about Assyriology has been its method of progress by catastrophe. Each dazzling discovery has had to be revised by sober collation.

The publication of the vast Catalogue of the collections of cuneiform tablets from Nineveh was expected to put an end to this spasmodic sort of work. It was felt that henceforth the whole of a series of related texts would be published together. To some extent this has been realized. Such an important work as Professor R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, of which eight fine volumes have already appeared (Luzac & Co.; 25s. each), could never have been attempted without the Catalogue. When complete it may be expected to contain all the letters found at Nineveh, in the so-called Library of Ashurbanipal, so far as they are named in the Catalogue. Nevertheless, it is certain that there are many more such documents which have been catalogued under various other heads. These will be subsequently recognized as letters, by those who are engaged upon quite different documents. Even now, some of those published as letters by Professor Harper, because so described in the Museum Catalogue, are certainly nothing of the sort. In order to publish together all the documents of any one class, e.g. letters, it is necessary, not only to copy such as are called letters in the Catalogue, but also to look over hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other tablets, to see if they be of the same class or not. It is needless to say that few can be found able to devote the time and labour demanded for this task, even if the Museum authorities allowed such researches.

In the case of such literary remains as those of the Gilgamesh Epos or the Creation Tablets anything like a complete edition is rendered impossible, not only by the fact that the Catalogue does not register them all under the proper headings, but by the fact that the Museum

possesses at least as many more tablets, which did not come from Nineveh, and consequently have no place in the Catalogue. For example, Mr King's *Seven Tablets of Creation* publishes not only all the tablets said in the Catalogue to belong to that series, but as many more entered in the Catalogue under some other description, and an even larger number which do not belong to the Nineveh collections at all. No one who merely used the Catalogue to trace fragments of the series could have collected more than a third or perhaps a quarter of what Mr King has published.

The finding of these fragments must have involved long-continued search, which reflects the highest credit on the industry and acumen of the distinguished author. It would not surprise us, however, to learn that other scholars had chanced on further fragments of the series, while examining other groups. The conclusion is obvious—only those who are Assistants in the Museum can hope to produce any complete edition. We are therefore the more grateful to Messrs King and Thompson for the work they do. The latter scholar has just published three more volumes of texts of an explanatory nature, 'the earliest specimens of lexicography' (*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum*, Parts xviii, xix, xx). These give not only the already-published texts of the particular groups, but all the other fragments assigned by the Catalogue to the same groups, and further a number not in the Catalogue at all. The collection thus made of similar texts, in one accessible work, is most welcome. The previous publications are often out of print, costly to buy, and often not accurate. These are beautifully reproduced, probably faultlessly correct, and wonderfully cheap (7s. 6d. each part).

The series now started by Mr King is for the above reasons inimitable. The external appearance is delightful, the size convenient to handle, and the contents really a valuable contribution to Assyrian history. Tukulti-Ninib I—if that is really the way in which we should read his name—was son of Shalmaneser I and grandson of Adad-nirari I, and he reigned about 1275 B.C. His newly-found Annals form, therefore, a welcome addition to our sources of information concerning an obscure period of Assyrian history. One of the most interesting items is that Tukulti-Ninib carried away captive Bitiliashu the Kassite king of Babylonia. Why does Mr King cling to the old reading Bibeashu? The text published by Professor Scheil in *Tome II* of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, 1900, p. 95, does suggest the reading Bitiliashu, and this deserved notice as at least possible. None of the forms mentioned by Mr King excludes this reading.

The contributions which the Annals make to history are well summarized by Mr King and co-ordinated with what little was already

known from other sources. He has been able to fix the reading of a line in Sennacherib's record of his recovery of a seal, once belonging to Shagarakti-shuriash the predecessor of Bitiliashu, which Tukulti-Ninib carried off from Babylon to Assyria, which was again carried back to Babylon and there captured by Sennacherib. This line had baffled all previous attempts at decipherment, because it was an Assyrian scribe's attempt to reproduce the original inscription on the seal, written in characters which he did not recognize. Further, Mr King has succeeded in reading a hitherto misread passage of the Babylonian Chronicle which bears out Tukulti-Ninib's account of his defeat of Bitiliashu. He has thus set in order many things and made many corrections of earlier results.

This is a process which we must expect to go on perpetually. Results built upon one reading of a single sign stand on a very precarious foundation. They await confirmation. Of another class altogether are the careless errors due to misprints and bad proof-reading. The present writer has to mourn such in the passage from the article on Nineveh in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, which Mr King has so deservedly castigated on p. 124 f. As it stands, it looks like a badly-copied extract from Billerbeck and Jeremias's *Untergang Nineveh's* in the third volume of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* p. 108 l. 22 to p. 109 l. 5. Such atrocities are the despair of readers who cannot expect to verify them. Mr King deserves our gratitude for his corrections. He might have added that Adad-nirari's date could not be 1845 B.C.; the authors referred to give 1345 B.C. The reference to *K.B.* i 9 should be in the bracket after 1300 B.C., not where it stands in the article. Even the initials at the end of the article are wrongly given. I cannot too humbly apologize for such a conglomeration of errors.

The publication of Shalmaneser's bowl inscriptions (pp. 167-169 and 173) is very welcome, correcting as it does some mistakes in III. R. 3, nos. 3-5. The new text on p. 173 is interesting for the markedly unusual forms of the characters. One can hardly believe that it belongs to the same king as the others; perhaps that is why Dr Bezold, in the Catalogue, assigned them to a later king. The transliteration and translation are given on p. 135. In line 7 read *e-nu-ma* for *e-mu-ma*. The translation of such short ends of lines is naturally difficult; but why *šiddi naskute* should mean 'lordly districts' is not clear. The phrase *ihšabtu sigurrate* seems more likely to mean 'the clamps had parted', literally 'carried themselves away'.

Mr King's edition of the Bavian inscription will be awaited with great interest. His re-edition of part of the Babylonian Chronicle shews the need there is of collating even the most trusted copies. His full account of the nature and purpose of 'foundation deposits' in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt is an important monograph.

A few criticisms may be allowed. On p. 55 Mr King might at least have told us that the name Khallu has been called in question. A brick was brought from the East by Dr Sachau and is now in the Berlin Museum (V. A. Th. 2971) which in other respects is a duplicate of the British Museum No. 91, 130, from which the name Khallu has been read by Dr Winckler and more recently by Mr King himself in Budge and King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*. This seems to read *Ilu-šu-ma*, a name much more likely for the early period than the unique Khallu. See Dr B. Meissner's *Assyriologische Studien* pp. 16-18 in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1903, pp. 100-103. Also compare Dr F. E. Peiser in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1904, coll. 149-150. The photograph given in the *Annals*, p. xv, suggests that the inscription on the British Museum brick is somewhat damaged in line 4.

On p. 57 Mr King might have referred to another of Esarhaddon's texts, 81-6-7, 209, published after a copy of Dr Pinches by Professor G. A. Barton in *American Oriental Society's Proceedings*, 1891, no. 25, by Professor S. A. Strong in *Hebraica* viii, 1892, p. 113 f; and by Meissner and Rost in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* iii p. 351 f. There the name of Esarhaddon's remote ancestor is given as Bêl-banî son of Adasi.

On p. 60 the registration mark of the Babylonian Chronicle is given as 83-7-4, 38 instead of 82-7-4, 38 as on pp. 71, 73, &c. The very interesting inscription, relating the fortunes of the royal seal, contains the difficult line *kunukku annû ištu Aššur ana Akkadi garri iktadin*; which Mr King renders, p. 107, 'This seal the enemy carried away from Assyria to Akkad'. On p. 63 he says 'the meaning of the phrase *garri iktadin* is not certain'. He evidently takes *garri* as (perhaps plural of) *gâru*, 'enemy'. That is without parallel, but possible. One would expect *garru* to be from *garâru*, 'to run', or it may be for *karru* or *ḫarru*. The first suggests 'course', though *garru* is not found with this meaning. There are several words *karru* or *ḫarru*, one of which means 'a fastening', used once of the 'handle' of a dagger. A seal of the usual roller form probably had a metal handle or fastening. The verb *iktadin* is not easy to refer to known roots. Mr King does not say how he derives it. There does not seem to be any word for 'to carry' which would give it. The verb *kadânu* may mean 'to preserve or protect'. A verb *ḫatânu* would give *iktatin* and might mean 'was cut short' or 'deprived of'. The whole phrase might then mean 'its course was cut short', i.e. it was alienated from its purpose. Or perhaps 'it was deprived of its setting (and brought) from Assyria to Akkad'.

¹ But why not adopt the old reading, suggested by the *ductus litterarum*, of *šarîḫ*

On p. 79 note 3 Mr King makes the acute suggestion that *namû*, usually 'ruin' or 'waste', has sometimes the meaning 'plain'.¹ He might have added that *šadû* may mean 'field', as well as 'mountain'. As to the difficult word *šibbaš* suggested by Mr King on p. 81 note 1, there seems no reason why we should not read *metil*. The phrase *ina metil kiššutišu* would be parallel to the well-known *ina metil ḫardutišu* and mean 'in the power of his might' (see Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary* p. 623 a). If we read *ina šibbaš šibirria ašlula*, 'with the staff of my weapon I spoiled', instead of *ina mitil šibirria*, 'in the might of my weapon', in Sargon's *Cylinder Inscription* l. 73, we should have two words for 'club' or 'staff' coming together very awkwardly. On p. 83 l. 20 occurs a closely parallel phrase, *ina līt kiššutia šuturti*, which Mr King renders 'with the power of my abounding strength'.

The suggestion that *rappu* means 'flame', p. 82 note 1, is noteworthy, but the suggestions on p. 86 note 1 are very doubtful. The word *galtappi* on p. 87 l. 34 for which Mr King suggests the meaning 'refuse' is certainly the same which occurs under the forms *gišappu*, *gilsappu*, also *karšappu*, *karšubi*, *kiršibbu*, &c. (see Muss-Arnolt p. 440 b under *kiršappu*). The changes *g* to *k* or *ḫ*, *š* to *z* (or *ṣ*?), *p* to *b*, are common and cause no difficulty. The word means 'a footstool', which suits this passage well. The same word seems to be used as a title denoting probably one who carried the king's footstool, 'a groom of the stool', like the *amēlu ša kibsi*. But when a man expresses his humility by saying in a letter addressed to the king that he is *ḫardubi ša sistka*, he is more likely to mean that he was only worthy to be the footstool of the king's horses, i. e. be trodden upon by them, than that he was their groom. Here Tukulti-Ninib says of Bitiliasu, 'I trampled his lordly neck under my feet like a footstool'. As a sign of submission the captive allowed his conqueror to put his foot upon his neck.

It is certain that the *amēlu urigallu* was a priest of some sort; but on p. 102 l. 4 there is no *amēlu*, and the *urigallu* here was probably a 'standard', or portable tutelary deity. On p. 117 l. 47 for *mi-siḫ-ti* read *nī-siḫ-ti*. On p. 119 l. 51 there seems no reason to prefer *Gibil* to the usual *iṣātu*. That Adad-šum-ušur slew Bēl-kudur-ušur depends upon the completion of the verb, in l. 5 p. 161, to *i-du-ku*. This verb occurs in the line above, where Mr King renders it 'fought', p. 105 l. 4. But the text has clearly *DU-KU*, which can be read *ittallaku*, 'they came'. On p. 178 l. 24, p. 181 l. 38, p. 182 l. 9, read Tukulti for Tulkulti, and p. 184 l. 12, Ḳumanī for Kumanī.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

tadin! This gives good enough sense, even if rather concise; 'was stolen (and) taken'.

¹ We meet with *namû* as a synonym of *alu*, a 'city, or settlement'.

CHRONICLE

ASSYRIOLOGY.

A MOST valuable little work is Teloni's *Letteratura Assira* (Manua Hoepli, Serie scientifica, 337-338; 3s.). It has most helpful divisions and is written with a healthy scepticism of unproved theory. It is practically complete to date, 1903; only a few papers or memoirs in scientific journals have escaped notice. Up till now the only good collection of references was in Dr C. Bezold's industrious but pretentious *Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Schulze, Leipzig, 1886; 12s.). It made a great display of sprawling cuneiform characters, used in place of well-known transliterations. This affected accuracy was counterbalanced by a most uncritical adoption of the mere opinions of Assyriologists as to the nature of many documents. Further, no judgement was used as to what references should be included. A mere statement by some one that a tablet was unedited, but had, say sixteen, lines, was thought worthy of record. The industry displayed was great, however, and the work is still of use. Teloni is much more useful and complete, and would well repay translation into English.

An excellent book is Dr J. Nikel's *Genesis und Keilschriftforschung* (Herder, Freiburg, 1903; 5s.), which exhibits all the Babylonian parallels to the Book of Genesis and discusses the principal views which can be taken of their relationships. Dr A. Jeremias has written a richly illustrated account of the chief Babylonian parallels to the Old Testament—*Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1904; 6s.). He also lays Syria, Phoenicia, Arabia and Egypt under contribution. Without being as full as *K.A.T.*³, he gives all that a student needs. A useful pamphlet giving a concise view of the relations between Babylonian sources and the Old Testament—*Keilschriften und Bibel*—(Reuther & Reichard, Berlin, 1903; 1s.) by Prof H. Zimmern, is well worth reading.

Of the deepest interest for students of Biblical Archaeology is *Tell Ta'annek* in the *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosoph.-historische Klasse*, Bd. 1 (Gerold's Sons,

Wien, 1904; 14s.). Here Dr Sellin sets out the antiquarian's view of the excavations at the Old Taanach, and Dr Hrozný gives the cuneiform texts found there. The work is full of illustrations, shewing the nature of the culture from prehistoric times down to Greek times. The results rank with those at Gezer as witness to what the history of Palestine really was. Very important are the Yahweh names in the cuneiform texts.

The publication of C. Fossey's *Manuel d'Assyriologie* (Leroux, Paris, 1904; 9 vols. 8vo; 25 fr.) should greatly increase the confidence of scholars in the results of cuneiform decipherment. *Tome premier* deals with explorations and discoveries, decipherment, and the origin and history of the writing. It rescues many half-forgotten memoirs from scientific journals and shews how the results have been won. It is clearly and pleasantly written for those who have no special knowledge of the subject.

THE CODE OF HĀMMURABI has not ceased to interest. Dr Winckler has produced a most valuable little work, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis in Umschrift und Übersetzung* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 5s.), with introduction, register of proper names, glossary and very welcome appendices; to wit, the so-called Sumerian Family Laws and a later Code of the New Babylonian Empire. This gives all that a student who does not read cuneiform can require. Dr Winckler refers to the work done on the Code by J. Jeremias, J. Kohler, and F. E. Peiser, and a few suggestions made by R. F. Harper and D. H. Müller have reached him; but he does not take much notice of what has been written on the subject. The inscription quoted on p. v gives the name Ibirum, which is interesting as an Amorite name; the reading Ibiāšsum is most unlikely. On the other hand, Winckler does well to restore the name of the divinity as Ašratu, rather than King's improbable *šarratum*. The introduction is very interesting and discusses many questions about the history of these Codes, with Dr Winckler's characteristic acumen. There are also a number of valuable footnotes.

Professor Scheil has popularized his first great work on the Code by issuing a translation in a small book *La Loi de Hammourabi* (Leroux, Paris, 1s.), with some useful notes and an index of subjects. Professor D. H. Müller has followed up his important treatise by a lecture *Über die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Hölder, Wien, 1s. 6d.), before the Vienna Law Society; in which he has taken account of all recent work and pursues his comparisons with the Twelve Tables and the Mosaic Codes. It contains some important suggestions. He has also embarked upon a rather acrimonious controversy with Professor Kohler and Dr Peiser, *Die Kohler-Peisersche Hammurabi-Übersetzung* (Hölder, Wien, 1s.). Another Italian translation, *Le Leggi di Hammurabi* (Società Editrice

Libreria, Milan, 1s.), gives a short introduction and a few notes by Professor Bonfante. A very good English edition with some common-sense remarks on the relations to the Hebrew legislation is by Mr Chilperic Edwards, *The Hammurabi Code* (Watts & Co., London, 2s. 6d.). Mr S. C. Boscawen gives a fair rendering in *The First of Empires* (Harper & Brothers, London, 7s. 6d.), together with a large amount of interesting information about Babylonian life and customs. It is intensely interesting to read, but disfigured by an astonishing number of misprints. Dr T. G. Pinches has further given an excellent translation, and some interesting notes in his *Old Testament in the light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (S. P. C. K., London, 7s. 6d.). An attempt to set out the materials for the history of institutions in Assyria and Babylonia has been made by the present writer, in *Assyrian and Babylonian Laws, Contracts and Letters* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 12s.). This work includes a translation of the Code. Mr H. M. Wiener has written a most interesting book of *Studies in Biblical Law* (D. Nutt, London, 2s. 6d.) in which he treats the question from a lawyer's standpoint. He makes excellent use of the Code of Hammurabi. It is a noteworthy attempt to vindicate traditional views of the Hebrew legislation in a modern reading of them. Numerous articles in scientific journals notably Ungnad's 'Zur Syntax der Gesetze Hammurabis', *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, 1904, testify to the sustained interest in the subject. It is obviously impossible to do more than chronicle the fact of their appearance.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

LITURGICA.

A FULL and interesting sketch of the life and works of the father of modern liturgiology is given in *L'Abbé Eusèbe Renaudot* by the Abbé Ant. Villien of Tarentaise (Paris, 1904). Apart from his importance for liturgical studies, Renaudot is a very interesting figure by reason of his relations with the persons and events of the latter half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. He was born in 1648, of a family which had been protestant. His training he got with the Lazarists at the Collège de S. Charles, and then at the Collège de Clermont with the Jesuits, whom as a body he later cordially detested. In 1665 he joined the Oratory, in the following year received

minor orders, beyond which he never proceeded, and went to Saumur to pursue theology among the traditions of J. Morin and Thomassin ; and there he laid the foundations of his after reputation as 'the most learned orientalist of his day'. He was for a few years a teacher at the Collège de Juilly ; but in 1672 he abandoned the Oratory and returned to his home, and his father's position as royal physician gained him entry to the Court and to Bossuet's *Petit Concile*, where he associated with a brilliant society including Huet, Fleury, La Bruyère, Fénelon and d'Herbelot. He collaborated with Nicole and Arnauld in the *Perpétuité de la Foi*—and this was the origin of his liturgical interests and studies ; he was the constant protégé and ally of Bossuet, whom he assisted in the *Variations* and in the affairs of Richard Simon, Fénelon and Quietism, and the 'Chinese rites' ; and was the author of the opinion on Anglican Orders put forth by Le Quien, and of the traditional argument against their validity. His literary friendships and alliances included those of Mabillon and Montfaucon, Boileau, Racine, and La Bruyère. In 1679 he succeeded his father as editor of the *Gazette de France*, the prototype of modern journals, founded by his grandfather, and he continued to edit it for the rest of his life. This brought him into close relations with the Court and the Ministers, whom he constantly advised and especially on English affairs and the Court of St. Germain's, on which he became an expert. He was twice disappointed in his hopes of the librarianship of the Royal Library, in spite of the support of Colbert and Le Tellier. He became a member of the *Académie Française* and the *Académie des Inscriptions*, and assisted in the revision of the Academy's Dictionary, and contributed a number of memoirs on various subjects. In 1700 he accompanied the Cardinal d'Estrées to Rome as conclavist and was present at the election of Albano, Clement XI, who distinguished him with considerable attentions, and kept him some time in Rome and consulted him on French affairs. On his way home, he was entertained and fêted at Florence by the Grand Duke Cosmo III de' Medici, revised the catalogue of his library and was made a member of the *Accademia di Crusca*. In the last twenty years of his life he published his more important works, notably the *Défense de la Perpétuité* and the completion of the work itself, the *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* and the *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*. He and his family had always had ties with Port Royal and with prominent Jansenists ; he was himself the ally of Arnauld and Nicole, and was refused the royal librarianship ostensibly on the ground of his Jansenism ; with advancing years he became more and more Gallican and his Jansenist sympathies increased, and after the death of Louis XIV he took a prominent place among the 'appellants and opponents' of the *Unigenitus*. He died

September 1, 1720, and was buried at S. Germain des Près. He bequeathed his library to the Abbey: but it perished in the fire of 1794. His character is not very clearly marked in the Abbé Villien's book, but one gets the impression that he was rather stiff and polemical and a little touchy. The second part of the book deals particularly with the liturgical work of Renaudot. A chapter is devoted to a very useful sketch of what had been done up to Renaudot's time; and then his own publications are described, his fundamental ideas on liturgy extracted, and finally a chapter is given to criticisms, contemporary and modern, on his work; and in an appendix the liturgical texts which he translated are catalogued. A bibliography of materials for the life is prefixed to the book. Perhaps I may remark that the allusion, on p. 262, note 2, to my *Liturgies Eastern and Western* may be corrected by reference to p. lxxii of its Introduction.

It is satisfactory to record that an English translation of Mgr. Duchesne's *Origines du Culte chrétien* has appeared, as *Christian Worship: its origin and evolution* by M. L. McClure (London, S.P.C.K., 1903). At this time of day it is needless to bestow either description or compliment on Mgr. Duchesne's work, which one is disposed to think of as the only real book on its subject. The translation is well done, idiomatic and readable; and only a few corrections of small details are called for, so far as I have observed. On p. 59, note 1, 'in place of these' makes no sense: I do not know what Mgr. Duchesne's own words mean, and anyhow the remark seems to me to rest on a mistaken interpretation of the text. P. 64, the insertion of 'and' after 'ritual' makes the author use 'ritual' in the slang sense: in fact 'the arrangement of the prayers, their style and general tenor' is the 'ritual'. P. 65, 'Monothelism' is put for 'Monothelism'; p. 71, 'Eudoxius' should stand for 'Eudoxus'; p. 79, 'non-liturgical service' is misleading in English, the meaning being 'a service other than,' or 'not including, the mass'; p. 139, note, 'Felton' should be 'Feltoe'; p. 237 sq., read 'Asian', 'Alexandrine' for 'Asiat', 'Alexandrian'; p. 169, for ἀκροστίκια read ἀκροστίχια; p. 379, 'tunicle' is a singularly unfortunate rendering of 'tunique' in the sense of 'alb'; p. 431, 'Leonine' not 'Leonian' is usual and correct; and p. 447, *de ieiuniis* is the right expansion of *de ieiun.* If I may make a few suggestions as to Mgr. Duchesne's own work: p. 61, note, is not the reason the 'Clementine' preface ends with Joshua and the Conquest of Canaan, that this corresponds typically with the Ascension in the post-sanctus (cp. Heb. iv 8, 14)? P. 67, the Liturgy of S. James, so far as I could learn by enquiry on the spot ten years ago, is not in use in Cyprus, and its restoration in Jerusalem is very modern: p. 75, Dmitriewskij, not Wobbermin, discovered and first published the Serapion document, in which also more than two

prayers are ascribed to Serapion ; p. 156, a reference would be useful to Dr McCarthy's edition of the Stowe Missal (*Trans. Royal Irish Acad.* xxiii, Nov. 1886), which is better than Mr Warren's ; p. 168, it is the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* who has obviously manipulated the text of the *Gloria in excelsis*, while the Latin text corresponds closely to the original Greek ; p. 168, the O. T. lesson in the Byzantine mass is implied also in S. Maximus *Mystagogia*, while it is surely not the case that the Alleluia *before* the Gospel is peculiar to the Roman rite, since it is practically universal in the East ; p. 233, a reference to Dom Morin's article (*Rev. Bénéd.* Aug. 1897) on the origin of the Embertides would be in place ; p. 336 sq., Dr Wilpert seems to have shed more light on the origin of certain vestments ; and p. 524, a reference to Dr Riedel's translation of a new text of the Hippolytean canons (*Die Kirchenrechtsquellen d. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 200) would be useful.

Two more volumes of the *Alcuin Club Collections* have appeared. Vol. v is Mr Percy Dearmer's *Dat Boexken vander Missen* : ' *The Booklet of the Mass*' : by Brother Gherit van der Goude, 1507 (Longmans, 1903). Mr Frere identified the original of ' *L'interprétation et signification de la Messe* (Anvers, 1529)' used by Dr Rock in *The Church of our Fathers* as *Dat Boexken vander Missen* of Gherit van der Goude, of which there are three editions in the British Museum ; and Mr Dearmer further found in the Museum an English version, *The Interpretation and Sygnifycacyon of the Masse* by Frère Gararde, 1532. He has here edited the liturgical parts of the second book of the *Booklet*, consisting of thirty-three woodcuts of the successive actions of the mass accompanied by a short description of them. Since Gherit was an Observantine Franciscan and used the Roman use, Mr Dearmer treats the woodcuts as evidence of the Roman ceremonies of the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the rubrics of the Missal are insufficient as a description of what was done ; and he comments on each picture, indicating its points, and illustrating them by the help of the *Indutus planeta*, the *Alphabetum sacerdotum* and such rubrics as are available. The pictures are very interesting and cover much more ground than the series already published by the Alcuin Club in Vol. ii of its *Collections* : the editor's comments are good and to the point. But there are too many misreadings or misprints : I have noticed them on pp. 13, 17, 25 (two), 39 (two), 40, 43 (three), 71, 115, 135 (two). In two appendices are given the relevant parts of the English version of 1532, and the Ordinary and Canon according to the use of Utrecht (1540). Vol. vi is Mr Cuthbert Atchley's *The Parish Clerk and his right to read the liturgical Epistle* (Longmans, 1903), in which, in a more or less popular form, the author traces the origin of the parish

clerk and effectively proves his thesis, at least by authoritative precedent from the sixteenth century onwards.

The same subject is dealt with on a larger scale and with full detail in the introduction to *The Clerk's Book of 1549* edited by Dr Wickham Legg for the Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1903). The two books are not independent of one another, since Dr Legg would have us understand that his material is chiefly due to the researches of Mr Atchley. The text introduced is derived from a unique copy in the British Museum, and consists of the 'Book of Common Prayer' of 1549 (i. e. what appertains to the Divine Service), the Litany, and 'all that shall apperteigne to the clerkes to say or syng' at the Liturgy, Matrimony, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Burials, Churchings, and Commination. In a series of appendices are collected a number of documents bearing on the duties &c. of parish clerks; and the whole is concluded with a body of short notes and a general index.

Since our last Chronicle, the Henry Bradshaw Society has also issued four other volumes. First, the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert* (1903), edited by Mr H. A. Wilson. This, an English *Benedictional* and *Pontifical* combined, written in the latter part of the tenth century at the New Minster of Winchester, and taken to Rouen probably before 1050, where it became the property of the Chapter where it is now preserved in the Public Library, is familiar enough by name and in part by contents, but has never before been printed in length. In his introduction Mr Wilson considers the MS and its character and early history, the identification of Robert—whether Robert of Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury (+1070), or Robert of Normandy, Archbishop of Rouen (990-1037) and maternal uncle of S. Edward the Confessor—and discusses its relations to other English Pontificals; and in his notes he develops the comparison in detail. Sir E. Maunde Thompson has edited *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, Vol. i (London, 1902). This first volume comprises the text of the Canterbury book contained in the Cotton MS *Faustina* c. xii, which is to be followed by what remains of the Westminster book contained in Cotton MS *Otho* c. xi, and another, early, customary of S. Augustine's Canterbury contained in MS 211 of Gonville and Caius College. In the Preface the Editor describes the Canterbury MS and shortly catalogues its contents, reserving further remarks for the second volume. Mr W. H. Frere and Mr L. E. G. Brown have so far completed a weary ten years' work as to have brought out the first volume of the *Hereford Breviary* (London, 1904) containing *Psalterium, Commune Sanctorum* and *Temporale*. The text is that of the

printed edition of 1505, with the variants of the thirteenth-century MS *Breviary* at Hereford, the fifteenth-century MS at Worcester, the fifteenth-century Bodleian Psalter, and the fourteenth-century Ordinal in the British Museum, added in the margin. Happily and wisely the editors have not printed the text in full, but where it agrees with that of the Sarum use have made reference to Proctor and Wordsworth's reprint of the latter. In *Tracts on the Mass* (London, 1904) Dr Wickham Legg has edited, in whole or in part, eleven documents, being on the ceremonial of the mass, according to various uses, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; viz. two Sarum Ordinaries of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively, Langforde's *Meditations* (fifteenth or sixteenth century), a Carthusian Ordinary (English, fifteenth or sixteenth), *Alphabetum Sacerdotum* (French, fifteenth and sixteenth), an Ordinary of Coutances (sixteenth), a Dominican Ordinary (French, thirteenth), *Praeparatio Sacerdotis* (Italian or French, fifteenth), Burchhard's *Ordo Missae* (Roman, 1502)—which appeared in Roman Missals from 1541-1558, and probably suggested the *Ritus celebrandi* of the Pian Missal,—*Indutus planeta* (French, sixteenth) and L. Ciconiolanus *Directorium divinatorum officiorum* (Roman, sixteenth). To several of these Dr Legg appends other illustrative extracts; in an introduction he describes the origin and history of the tracts; and at the end comments on them in forty pages of notes.

The French Congregation of the Benedictines, under the leadership of Dom Fernand Cabrol and Dom Henri Leclercq, have inaugurated a vast, even appalling, undertaking, and one worthy of its great traditions, in *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica*, two parts of which have already appeared. It is intended to include the publication or republication of everything related to liturgy, Western and Eastern, up to the ninth century, not excluding even Biblical Versions. The first volume, of which the first section has been issued, is *Reliquiae liturgicae vetustissimae ex SS. Patrum necnon scriptorum ecclesiasticorum monumentis selectae* I (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1900-1902), by the editors themselves, consisting of a collection of the passages bearing on liturgy and its discipline from all Greek and Latin sources—the New Testament, ecclesiastical writers, martyrdoms, Church Orders, inscriptions, &c.—from the Apostolic Age to the Peace of the Church, quoted as fully as is necessary, and arranged according to the geographical distribution of the sources and following the accepted order of the works of the several writers. It is a work which very much needed doing, and every one interested in liturgical origins and early history will be grateful for it. The geographical arrangement is wholly to be commended: the practical neglect of local differences is a defect e.g. in Bingham's great work. Dom Leclercq's introduction covers a large area of varied

ground: his analytical table of the passages commented on in Origen's homilies and the references in them to 'lessons', with a view to the determination of the lectionary-system implied, and the comparison of those on the Pentateuch with the Jewish system, is a specimen of the sort of careful work he has done and of the sort of work that wants doing elsewhere, if the origins of lectionaries are to be studied. It is impossible at this moment to give any adequate appreciation of the volume: it is a laborious collection of materials, and it is only by long use that one will be able to appreciate it fully. There are two criticisms in detail I would venture to make. The first relates to the form of part of the volume. A large 4° page, of 59 lines 6½ inches in length, of modern Latin in rather small print on glossy paper, makes an unnecessary demand on eye and nerve. It would be a great relief if in future the editors could see their way at least to dividing the pages into two columns throughout. And secondly, it is not clear why the material supplied by the *Apostolic Constitutions* is included in this volume. As it stands it belongs to the second half of the fourth century and probably to the last quarter. Of course it incorporates older material, but there is no attempt here to distinguish the ground-documents from the interpolations which form the greater part of the matter; and the *Didaskalia* is not otherwise represented in this volume.

The fifth volume, the second to be issued, is *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1904), and its publication is an important event for liturgical studies. The Mozarabic *Manuale*, or *Rituale*, and *Pontificale*, a combination of which forms the *Liber Ordinum*, have hitherto been practically unknown: but Dom Marius Férotin, the present editor, has found four MSS of the book, of the eleventh century, three at Silos and one at Madrid; and one of them, the Silos MS of 1052, he shews reason to believe to be the copy which was sent to Alexander II for his scrutiny in c. 1065, when the suppression of the Mozarabic rite was proposed. The text of this MS is the basis of the present edition, the others supplying further matter as well as the variants digested in the *apparatus criticus*. In a lucid Introduction Dom Férotin fully describes the MSS, and in Appendices he gives, (1) nine Mozarabic kalendars; (2) a collection of material for the reconstruction of two pontifical rites not represented in the books, viz. the unction of kings and the dedication of churches; (3) the forms of denunciation of feasts; (4) a curious *Horologion* contained in some of the MSS, being a table by which to determine the time of day in the several months of the year by the length of the shadow of the human body; (5) various forms of doxology. The whole

is supplied with four admirable indexes, biblical, philological, liturgical and general. At present one can say nothing in detail, but only express gratitude for the new field opened up and the hope of opportunity to explore it. The description of unpublished Mozarabic material given at the beginning of the Introduction makes one's mouth water.

Dom Cabrol, with a list of thirty-nine distinguished collaborators, is also engaged on another great undertaking, the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, Letouzey, 1903, 1904). The scale of it can be estimated from the fact that, in the five fasciculi and 1504 columns already published, it has reached the middle of the article AME. It deals with liturgiology on all sides—ritual, ceremonial, music, ministers, language, apparatus, kalendar, biography, palaeography: and to its own treatment of the subject-matter, it adds elaborate bibliographies; and it is copiously illustrated throughout. There are some thirty-two articles so far on liturgical matters; the most important are those on the African (Cabrol), Alexandrine (Leclercq) and Ambrosian rites (P. Lejay), and they seem to be excellently done and practically to cover the ground so far explored.

Dr Ant. Baumstark continues the perpetual discussion of the origin and development of the Roman canon in *Liturgia Romana e Liturgia dell'Esarchato* (Rome, 1904). After summarizing and criticizing the theories already proposed, he discusses the 'fundamental questions' of the structure of the *eucharistia* and its several types; and then develops his own theory of the history of the Roman *eucharistia* or *canon missae*. The result he reaches is that the original Roman was related to the Syrian type, and consisted of a Praefatio of thanksgiving for creation, *Sanctus*, Post-sanctus (*Cum quibus et nostris . . . Vere sanctus*) consisting of a thanksgiving for redemption and culminating in the *Qui pridie*, followed by *Unde et memores, Te igitur* (in which occurred an Invocation), *Memento*, *Communicantes*, *Memento etiam* and part of *Nobis quoque*. That this was combined by S. Leo the Great with another type of canon (which Dr Baumstark argues to have been that of Ravenna) to which belongs *Hanc igitur* (in the extended intercessory form found in one or two sources), *Quam oblationem*, *Sanctum sacrificium*, *Supplices te* and the rest of what is now *Nobis quoque*, including the list of Saints. Finally this composite and partly reduplicated formula was rearranged and retouched by S. Gregory the Great, and so took its present shape. This result is reached by an elaborate argument; but, on a single reading at least, the argument scarcely leaves a sense of conviction. Dom G. Morin has dealt with it with some severity in *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1904.

Dr Jos. Freisen, Professor of Canon Law at Paderborn, has pub-

lished (Paderborn, 1904) three Scandinavian service-books, the *Manuale Lincopense* (Linköping) of 1525, the Manual portions of the *Breviarium Scarense* (Skara) of 1498, and the *Manuale Aboense* (Åbo) of 1522; with an introduction dealing with the Manuals, Breviaries and Missals of some Swedish and Norwegian dioceses, among them the Upsala Missal of 1483, which is not mentioned in Weale's *Bibliographia Liturgica*, and some notes. Dr A. Schönfelder, in the first volume of a new *Liturgische Bibliothek* (Paderborn, 1904), prints the text of the *Benedictional of Meissen* of 1512, the *Agenda of Naumburg* of 1502, and the *Ritual of Cologne* of 1485, with an introduction. The origin of Luther's Litany of 1529, which was largely drawn upon in Marshall's *Primer* of 1535 and Cranmer's Litany of 1544, has never been explained; it does not look like Luther's composition and its origin ought to be found in the litanies of the Saxon dioceses. It is notable therefore that in the short litanies of the Meissen and Naumburg books (pp. 15, 56, 70) there is one coincidence in the suffrage 'Per mortem et sepulturam tuam'. The normal litanies are not contained in these books or we might find more to the point. Mons. P. M. Lafrasse, honorary canon of Annecy and professor at the diocesan Seminary, has treated elaborately of the diocesan use of Geneva in comparison with Roman usage, in *Étude sur la liturgie dans l'ancien diocèse de Genève* (Geneva, 1904). He catalogues and describes the MS sources, and describes a printed Missal of 1508 not mentioned in Weale. I have not seen *Das Rituale von St. Florian aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert*, edited with introduction and elucidations by Ad. Franz (Freiburg i. B. 1904); but from a notice of it by M. Paul Lejay in *Bulletin critique* 19 Dec. 1904, I gather that, having in view a work on German *Ritualia*, the editor here prints the text of the monastic *Rituale* of S. Florian in Austria, an interesting feature of which is an *Ordo catechumenorum* of the type of those of the *Ordines Romani* but providing for only three *scrutinia*. In the introduction the editor describes another monastic *Rituale*, that of Lambach, of the same age; and he comes to the conclusion that, in Germany at least, secular *Ritualia* are much later in date than monastic.

Mr G. W. Hart and Mr W. H. Frere have reissued Dr D. Rock's *The Church of our Fathers* (4 vols. London, Hodges, 1903-4), making little change beyond improving the references, adding largely to the illustrations, and in a postscript noting the points requiring correction or supplement, and prefixing a short biographical notice of the author by Father B. Kelly.

The new *Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers*, edited by Mr V. Staley, Provost of Inverness (London, De La More Press, 1902-1904), is a series of well-printed and convenient volumes,

of which five have so far appeared, with short prefaces by the editor, giving all necessary explanation of authorship and sources. Vols. I, III, V are a reprint of the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, originally edited (1843-8) by members of the Cambridge Camden Society, and now re-edited by Mr Staley himself, who has re-classified the material, very largely increased it, omitted superfluous and unimportant passages, and added to the original illustrations a large number of photographs which are interesting and useful but generally not very good as photographs. The second volume is *The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI*, a reprint of Whitchurche's issue *Mense Martii*. It is described in the preface as a reproduction '*verbatim et literatim*', a description which might well have been truer than it is. The relations of types might have been better preserved: e.g. in the present volume the titles of the days, in the *de Tempore* and the *Sanctorale* are in black letter, and 'Collect', 'Epistle' and 'Gospel' are in capitals: whereas in the sixteenth-century texts—I have only the June issue of Whitchurche before me, but I do not think in this respect it differs from the March issue—the titles of the days are in the type of the text, and 'Collect' &c. in that of the rubrics. Again, in the original prints only one letter after the large initial of paragraphs is in capitals, and '&' is as common as 'and', and '&c.' is perhaps uniformly used; while in the reprint, the whole of the opening words is printed in capitals, and '&' and '&c' are always, so far as I observed, expanded into 'and' and 'etc.' These small details disguise the fact that the English books were printed in the same form as the contemporary Latin books, except that a small type was used instead of red in the rubrics. The fourth volume of the series is a collection of *Essays on Ceremonial*—viz. 'English Ceremonial', 'On English liturgical colours' and 'Some remarks on the Edwardian Prayer-book', by Mr Cuthbert Atchley; 'On some ancient liturgical customs now falling into disuse', by Dr Wickham Legg; 'Church vestments' and 'The altar and its furniture', by Mr Percy Dearmer; and 'The genius of the Roman rite', by Mr Edmund Bishop. Some of these are reprints and are already known; the character of others can be conjectured; and Mr. Atchley's 'Remarks on the Edwardian Prayer-book' recounts again the pitiable story of the years 1549-1552. For my own part, I cannot but wish that ecclesiastics would find other means of illustrating treatises on vestments than by portraits whether of themselves or of other clergymen.

The Scottish Church Service Society has issued an excellently printed and very convenient edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1637 (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1904), edited with introduction and notes by Dr James Cooper. The introduction is interesting and among other things deals at some length with the relation of Laud to the production

of the book and disposes of the legend of his responsibility for it. In an appendix to the introduction are printed Laud's letter to Wedderburn (1636), Mr Hill Burton's collation of the Lambeth Prayer Book in which Laud noted the changes made in the Scottish Book, and a detailed account of Charles I's autograph entries of 'the latest alterations and additions approved' by him, contained in a Prayer Book now belonging to Lord Rosebery. The notes deal chiefly with the relations of the Scottish Book to the successive revisions of the English and to the presbyterian orders of service, and with contemporary criticisms on the book of 1637. In Note E there is a curious slip: it is there said that until 1661 not 'a word was said' in the English book about the use of the Exhortation, Confession, &c., at Evensong; whereas in fact from 1552 onwards the direction for their use both at Matins and Evensong was given in the first rubric of Matins. In note F it is said that in the rubric before *Quicumque vult*, which in this respect is identical with the English rubric as it stood from 1549 to 1661, it is 'implied' that the *Quicumque* is to be said *instead of* the Apostles' Creed; whereas there is no such implication and for all that is said or implied to the contrary the ordinary use of Prime, in which both are said, is continued. And further on in the same note (p. 246) the Ember prayer *Almighty God the Giver* is held to be 'probably composed by Archbishop Laud'; whereas it is only a slightly varied form of the Ordination collect of 1550 and onwards. It need scarcely be said that Dr Cooper is thoroughly appreciative of the book and recognizes its superiority to the English book.

In the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, Mons. H. Labourt has edited the text, with a Latin translation, of the *Expositio liturgiae* of Dionysius bar Salibi (Paris, 1903), which gives valuable evidence of the stage of development reached by the Monophysite Syrian mass in the twelfth century. An extract of the *Expositio* is given by J. S. Assemani in *Bibliotheca orientalis* ii pp. 176 seq., and the tract attributed to John Maro, of which J. A. Assemani gives a Latin version in *Codex liturgicus* v pp. 227 seq., is a Maronite interpolation of Dionysius; but, so far as I know, Dionysius's own text has not been published before. The publication of the whole series of Eastern commentaries on rites is desirable if their development is to be traced in detail.

In *Die nestorianische Tauf liturgie* (Giessen, 1903), Dr G. Diettrich gives a German translation of the Nestorian baptismal rite, following the text published by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission (Urmi, 1890), and comparing it with that of eight MSS at Berlin, Rome, the British Museum and Cambridge. The authorship of the rite, i.e. of the revision of the original rite to accommodate it to the baptism of the children of Christian parents, is attributed on good grounds to the

Patriarch Ishoyabh III of Adiabene; and in his introduction and notes Dr Diettrich attempts by the excision of later additions and some rearrangement, to recover the rite as Ishoyabh left it; and his reconstruction seems probable, and at least he brings out the essential features and movement. The rite is unique in containing no exorcisms, renunciations (*ἀπορᾱγή*) or Confession of Faith (*συμᾱγή*); and in view of this and of the character of some of the paragraphs which must be attributed to the reviser, Dr Diettrich argues with plausibility, that the character of the revision was in part determined by the Pelagianism of the Nestorians. His strange interpretation of the baptismal 'offertory'—i.e. the part of the rite relating to the oil and the water, corresponding to the offertory in the liturgy of the mass, on the scheme of which the baptismal office is constructed—as implying an offering of our Lord in His Baptism, which is here commemorated and reproduced, can only be regarded as a *jeu d'esprit*, founded moreover on an obvious mistranslation; and his contention that the transubstantiation of the water is implied, is based on a very obscure phrase, which by no means necessarily implies it. I gather from Dr Funk's notice of the book in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, Jan. 1905, that this last point has been criticized at length by Dr Baumstark in *Oriens christianus* iii pp. 219 seq.

Mr C. F. Rogers's *Baptism and Archaeology*, being Part 4 of Vol. v of *Studia biblica et patristica* (Oxford, 1903), is an investigation of the method of the administration of baptism by the evidence of early pictorial representations and by measurements of existing early baptismal fonts; and he reaches the conclusion that the ordinary method both in East and in West was, not submersion, but affusion or rather perfusion—i.e. by pouring water over the head of the neophyte as he stood in water; and that submersion only came into any widespread use in the ninth century, apparently on the ground of a literal but perhaps not strictly necessary interpretation of the figure of burial used by St Paul (Rom. vi &c.). He reproduces and examines all the representations he has found both of our Lord's Baptism and of baptism in general in successive periods down to the ninth century, and a certain number of early texts, and gives detailed descriptions and measurements of a large number of fonts, a great proportion at least of which would seem not to admit of the possibility of submersion. The monograph might be described as a detailed commentary on Mgr. Duchesne's remarks, in *Églises séparées* pp. 89 seq., in answer to the Encyclical of the Constantinople Synod in 1895. Demonstration is no doubt impossible; the earliest evidence is exclusively Roman and for the earliest period there is practically no direct evidence; but Mr Rogers goes a long way towards proving his contention; and he forestalls the criticism that the traditional representation is only the result of the

difficulty of representing submersion; though perhaps in some cases it still needs considering whether the representation may not be merely of a moment in the process of submersion; e.g. in fig. 36. The evidence is at least sufficient to dispose of the quarrel which the Orthodox Easterns on occasion still keep up against the practice of the West. A table of contents would be useful; or failing this, the headlines might be varied. To the list of fonts on p. 354 may be added those of S. Frediano at Lucca and S. Giovanni in Fonte at Verona, both of the twelfth century. 'Ravennate', not 'Ravennese', is the adjective belonging to 'Ravenna'.

Father F. W. Puller's *The Anointing of the Sick*, issued by the Church Historical Society (London, S.P.C.K., 1904), is a very useful and characteristically careful and thorough piece of work. Its main object is a dogmatic one—to shew that the sacramental conception of Unction, as conferring sanctifying grace *ex opere operato*, is not original and did not prevail till the ninth century: with this we are not here primarily concerned. But naturally the book contains a good deal of matter touching liturgy. Fr. Puller first examines St Jas. v 13–16 and shews that the early commentators, and some later ones, no doubt rightly, interpreted it as referring to two distinct things, and not only one—viz. to Unction and to Penance; i. e. first, the sick is to be anointed, with prayer, with a view to recovery; and secondly, if he has committed grave sins, he is to be absolved on confession; and he traces the tendency to confuse the two and to make remission of sins part of the effect of unction. He then examines the forms of conferring unction in liturgical documents, from Serapion onwards: and adds a valuable collection of instances of the use of unction from the second to the ninth century. The following chapters v–viii belong to the dogmatic aim of the book: but ch. vii, on the number of the Sacraments, may be noted in passing. Ch. ix is a judicious discussion of the desirability of formally restoring Unction in the Anglican Church. Of the five appendices, the first is a collection of liturgical forms related to the Unction of the Sick, and the third discusses the forms of exorcizing and blessing oil in the Bobbio Missal; the second is a careful examination of Syriac evidence in the fourth to the sixth century; the fourth gives the relevant sections of the second Capitulary of Theodulf of Orleans; and the last the Tridentine decree. To the instances of bread blessed for the sick, to which Fr. Puller several times refers, may be added the *Benedictio panis ad infirmum* in the Pontifical of Egbert. Why are S.P.C.K. books so uniformly unsightly?

Mr H. L. Dixon's *'Saying Grace' historically considered* (Oxford, Parker's, 1903) is a useful catena of passages on the *benedictio mensae*, including pagan, Jewish, and Moslem, as well as Christian evidence,

and a collection of forms from the fourth century downwards. It is especially satisfactory to have the Graces of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and of the Public Schools collected in so convenient a form. The editor does not notice that the Oriel Grace *Benedicte Deus qui pascis* is only a translation of that of *Ap. Const.* vii 49 and of the Syrian monks which he quotes (p. 88) from S. Chrysostom; itself nearly related to a passage in the great intercession of the liturgy of S. Mark.

The Vatican *Studi e Testi* 13: *Catalogo sommario della Esposizione Gregoriana* (Rome, 1904) is a catalogue of the Vatican MSS of Lives of St Gregory the Great, Sacramentaries and Missals, specimens of Musical Notation and works on Music, exhibited during the Gregorian Commemoration in April, 1904. The most important of these is apparently the third section, being specimens of musical notation earlier than 1350 arranged according to their geographical distribution; and the editors acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr H. M. Bannister for his assistance in selecting and describing them.

The Benedictines of Solesmes continue their *Paléographie musicale*, and in 1903 and 1904 have issued Nos. 57-64 (Tournay: Desclée, Lefebvre & Cie.).

Dom Ambrogio Amelli, Prior of Monte Cassino, has edited a text of the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo (*Guidonis Monachi Aretini Micrologus ad praestantiores codices MSS exactus* Romae 1904), in fulfilment of a purpose announced more than twenty years ago, abandoned through the discouragement given to the rectification of the tradition of ecclesiastical music, but revived by the recent *Instruction* of Pope Pius X. One learns from the preface that the text of Guido was sadly in need of reconstruction; and the present edition is the result of a collation of nineteen MSS, of which a list is given on p. 11. It represents only results, giving the reconstructed text without *apparatus*; but it is intended to be coordinate with a scientific edition, to extend to the whole works of Guido, which will contain an *apparatus criticus*. *L'Apostolato della musica nel secolo xx, per un Solitario* (Monte Cassino, 1904) is a devout meditation and a cry of triumph on the reformation promised by the Pope's *Proprium motu*, and gives evidence of the acuteness with which the previous discouragement of a purification of the musical tradition has been felt by some in Italy.

Mr Edward Dickinson's *Music in the History of the Western Church* (London, Smith, Elder & Co. 1902) is a clear and interesting account of the development or revolution in ecclesiastical music which has resulted in the present situation. Of the quality of the musical technicalities and criticism I am unable to judge; but the story is intelligible apart from these. Remarks here and there do not inspire

confidence in the author's command of general history or knowledge of ritual matters. But perhaps a chief interest of the book in the present connexion is that it may be said to be a confession or a demonstration, however unintentional, of the incompatibility of modern so-called ecclesiastical music with the purpose it is made to serve. Mr Dickinson asserts over and over again in one form or another—on this point he is, as he would himself say, presumably in the American language, 'repetitious'—that the difference between ancient and modern music is, that whereas in the former the music is subordinate to the text and follows rhetorical laws, in the latter 'it strives to emancipate itself from the thralldom of word . . . and to exalt itself for its own undivided glory' (p. 18), 'the music is paramount, the text is accessory' (p. 97: cp. pp. 40, 99). Yet he does not draw the obvious conclusion. He recognizes the aim of the real ecclesiastical music, that it exists 'not for the decoration of the offices of worship . . . but rather for edification, instruction, and inspiration' (p. 175); that it expresses not individual feelings, but the temper of the Church as such, 'the mood of prayer, . . . and that not the prayer of an individual agitated by his own personal hopes and fears, but the prayer of the Church, which embraces all the needs which the believers share in common' (p. 198: cp. p. 69); he recognizes the beauty of Plain Song and that it merits the reverence which is given to it—its melodies 'have maintained for centuries the inevitable comparison with every other form of melody, religious and secular, and there is reason to believe that they will continue to sustain all possible rivalry, until they at last survive every other form of music now existing' (p. 100); and that the result of the mediaeval developement up to its climax in the sixteenth century was 'the most complete example in art of the perfect adaptation of means to a particular end' (p. 179); he recognizes also the opposition of the religious mind to the intrusion of developed musical art into worship (p. 18), and that the breaking of the ecclesiastical tradition in the seventeenth century was 'an outcome of the Renaissance secularization of art' (p. 93), coming about 'as soon as the transformed secular music was strong enough to react upon the Church' (p. 179), with the result that the Renaissance 'transformed the whole spirit of devotional music by endowing religious themes with sensuous charm and with a treatment inspired by the arbitrary will of the composer and not by the traditions of the Church' (p. 197), and substituted individualism for universality; and he is quite alive to the defects of the Anglican so-called chant (p. 340 sqq.). Yet he takes it all very quietly and seems to have no misgivings.

Dr A. M. Richardson, the Organist and Choir Director of S. Saviour's, Southwark, has published two small books on ecclesiastical music;

Church Music in the series of *Handbooks for the Clergy* (Longmans, 1904) and *The Psalms: their structure and musical setting* (London, Vincent, 1903). The first is a general practical manual. The historical sketch in chap. ii is quite second-hand and amounts to little and might have been omitted: and some of the historical statements throughout the book are more curious than true. The tone of Dr Richardson's advice to choirmasters is excellent. The practical directions are sensible and will be useful; but in respect of recitation they are sometimes wrong; and the insistence on the pronunciation of all consonants will tend, whether Dr Richardson means it or not, to encourage the shocking practice sometimes met with, which sets the teeth on edge, and is neither English nor endurable. In English in fact all consonants are not fully sounded, but some are practically elided: 'and to' and 'send down', rendered as Dr Richardson's directions will inevitably be understood, are merely intolerable. And Dr Richardson certainly at some points travels outside his sphere; the musician as such has no jurisdiction over the interpretation of the text or over ritual dispositions, and excursions into such regions are irrelevant to the theme, even if the directions are right in themselves, which here is not always the case. And with reference to this, it seems well to remark, in view of what is said on p. 139 and of other things, that the Lambeth Judgement, whatever its value may be, did not allow the *Benedictus*, but allowed the *Agnus Dei* on grounds which obviously exclude the *Benedictus* as commonly used. Dr Richardson's attitude to Plain Song, which he calls 'the crabbed and old-fashioned work of a bygone age', is intolerant and undignified. It is curious that the song of the greater part of Christendom at the present moment should be described as obsolete; and Dr Richardson's argument that Plain Song is characteristically neither religious nor Catholic, whatever the merits of the case may be, would prove equally well that a chasuble is not a sacred vestment and that he himself is not a Catholic.

Dr Richardson's second book, *The Psalms*, is essentially a criticism on 'the maltreatment of our beautiful language', the 'outrage upon good taste and common sense', the 'terrible artistic monstrosity known to many as "Anglican Chanting"'. And here in effect he draws much of the sting of his criticism on Plain Song, since he grants and urges that there is but one legitimate system of chanting and that a real chant has no fixed time or accent. If this is granted, scales and melodies become comparatively unimportant, so long as the melodies are religious and congruous and are kept within a sober compass, which is not the case with a large number of 'Anglican chants'. But it may be noted as curious that among his distinctions between the ancient tones and Anglican 'chants', he does not include the constant

change of the reciting note in the latter. A true chant, I conceive, is constructed on a single line, as it were; whereas in most Anglican 'chants', the reciting note is varied at every half verse. Apart from this, it is to be hoped that Dr Richardson's criticisms and instructions will be taken to heart; and that his little commentary on the Psalter will suggest to organists and choirs that the Psalter must be studied and understood, if it is to be properly recited. I do not remember that Dr Richardson has said what it would be well if he would say, that a real element in choir practice ought to be the intelligent and deliberate *reading* of the Psalms, without note. Dr Richardson's scheme for a sort of dramatic rendering of the Psalms, with continually varying melodies and so on, is quite another matter. It might be all very well for occasional use at solemn matins and evensong, but not for every day and twice a day; and it is not clear that in all respects it is consistent with the pointing of the Psalms 'as they are to be sung or said in churches'.

There are three points in which Mr Dickinson and Dr Richardson are agreed. They both ignore the famous passage in S. Augustine, *Confessions* ix 6; or rather Mr Dickinson ignores it, while Dr Richardson quotes it only so far as to leave quite a wrong impression of its import. Augustine in fact was seriously exercised as to whether anything so sensuous as the Milanese chant, however 'crabbed and old-fashioned', is lawful in Christian worship, and he can give no more decisive answer than a 'perhaps'; and he tells us incidentally that Athanasius only admitted a chant which was scarcely distinguishable from ordinary intonation. Both writers again allude to ancient prohibitions of singing on the part of the people as distinguished from the canonical clerks; Mr Dickinson interprets this as a 'sacerdotal' encroachment, Dr Richardson uses it to shew that singing in church has not necessarily been congregational. Neither seems to realize that people did not always possess Psalters, and largely, I suppose, could not have read them if they had, and consequently that the Psalms and still more Responds and so on were necessarily sung by a Reader or Singer, and the people could only respond with the constant 'acrostich' or refrain, the 'anti-phon' in fact. Again, in treating of music in England, neither writer takes any notice of the significance of the 49th Injunction of 1559, which expressly forbids the use of 'music' as distinguished from 'a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing', and only allows 'music' 'for the comforting of such as delight in' it, at the beginning or the end of service, i. e. what became the Anthem, and that only in a form which is violated by 'anthems' since Purcell at least, which certainly do not

'have respect that the sentence of hymn may be understood and perceived'. The Injunctions of 1559 are no doubt quite unimportant; only the Courts enforce them in matters where their violation is not popular. And anyhow this Injunction lays down an intelligible and reasonable principle, on which musicians would do well to reflect.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, October 1904 (Vol. lix, No. 117: Spottiswoode & Co.). Religion in Cambridge—The Christian Society: I The Jewish Community—Christina Rossetti—The Return of the Catechist—The Oxford School of Historians—The English Church in Syria—Church Reform: I The Increase of the Episcopate—Liverpool Cathedral and Diocese—The Virgin Birth of Christ—Short Notices.

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MOULTON Characteristics of New Testament Greek—J. B. MAYOR Notes on the text of the Second Epistle of Peter—A. CARR A foreshadowing of Christian Martyrdom—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St Mark—G. G. FINDLAY Studies in the First Epistle of John.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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(4) GERMAN.

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THE LAUSIAC HISTORY OF PALLADIUS.

HE who would adequately portray the meaning and character of the Christian life of the century that followed the conversion of Constantine—perhaps the most striking of all the centuries of Christian history—must find room in the foreground of his picture for full description of the great movement which we know by the name of monasticism. And when we talk of fourth-century monasticism, whether we are thinking of direct influence on the course of contemporary history or of the less immediate but ultimately not less real influence in distant countries, and especially in the Churches of the West, it is predominantly Egyptian monasticism that we mean. Yet it may be doubted if justice is really done to the subject whether in our manuals or in more ambitious works: nor are the reasons far to seek. If lack of sympathy with a movement that finds so little contact with modern tendencies and English ideals is partly accountable, it is probable that the comparative silence of some, at any rate, of our historians is more largely due to ignorance than to prejudice, and to ignorance that has hitherto been unavoidable. The inquirer, as he came to plunge into the study of monastic origins, found himself baffled at every turn by the intricacy of the literary problems that demanded solution, or daunted by widely spread suspicions of the authenticity and trustworthiness of the records. It is hardly too much to say that we owe it principally to the labours of an English monk, Dom Cuthbert Butler, a Benedictine of Downside, and till lately a resident at Cambridge, that these problems, or many of them, have been solved, and these suspicions laid finally at rest. In his two volumes on the *Lausiaca History* of

Palladius¹ he has unravelled some of the most tortuous threads of this complex skein of documents with a sureness and precision such that the most hostile criticism can hardly hope to question or even to modify his results.

It is not quite easy for a critic who is himself wholly in the position of a learner, to decide how best to approach his task. But if he may assume the same defects of knowledge to be true of his readers that were certainly true of himself before he began the study of Dom Butler's volumes, it will probably not be unwise to introduce the present article with some slight general sketch of this department of Christian literature, before coming to close quarters with the *Lausiac History*. And for this purpose no better starting-point can be found than the massive collection of material which the Flemish Jesuit, Rosweyd, the true founder and spiritual progenitor of the Bollandists, published at Antwerp in 1615 (ed. 2 in 1628) under the title of *Vitae Patrum*. Of the ten books into which Rosweyd's folio volume is divided, part of book i and the whole of books ii-viii (besides much of the Appendix) are devoted to the monks of Egypt: and though Rosweyd's texts are unfortunately all Latin, it is only within comparatively recent years that any serious advance has been made on them.

Book i, then, of Rosweyd consists entirely of biographies of individual fathers of the desert, not all of them Egyptian; and this book is by far the longest in the volume. Book ii is a (Latin) account of the visit of a party of travellers to various Egyptian monks and monastic centres, known as the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*. Books iii and v-vii are Latin versions of the collections of the sayings of the leading monks, which go under the generic title of *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Book iv consists of such portions of the writings of two Western authors, Cassian and Sulpicius Severus, as describe visits to the Egyptian monks. Book viii and portions of the Appendix contain three separate recensions of the *Lausiac History*².

¹ *The Lausiac History of Palladius: a critical discussion together with notes on early Egyptian monachism*, Cambridge, 1898; *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, II, the Greek text edited with introduction and notes, Cambridge, 1904: forming together vol. vi of the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, edited by Dr Armitage Robinson, Dean of Westminster.

² Butler I p. 6 n.

It results from the first glance at these headings that the literature that bears upon the monastic Egypt of the fourth and early fifth centuries falls into two main divisions, the biographies of individual fathers by their disciples or admirers, and the accounts written by travellers, especially Western travellers, of their experiences on the grand tour—the former more internal and particular, the latter more external and general—with the *Apophthegmata* as a sort of connecting link between the two; and the new material that has accrued since Rosweyd's time adapts itself easily enough to this classification, which will therefore be taken as the basis for the succeeding paragraphs.

I. Among the fathers of Egyptian monasticism five names stand out with special prominence—Paul and Antony, the first hermits; Macarius, the most celebrated of Antony's disciples; Pachomius, the founder of the Coenobites; and Schnoudi, Pachomius' most illustrious successor.

For Paul we have the Latin life by Jerome—who wrote also the life of Hilarion, the founder of Palestinian monasticism—and a corresponding document in Greek, as well as a shorter recension of the same biography extant in Latin, Greek, Coptic, and Syriac. It is clear that, if Jerome's book is the ultimate source of all this material, no first-hand authority can be claimed for it, since Paul's death (about A.D. 340) preceded by more than thirty years St Jerome's arrival in the East. The Bollandists had, however, suggested that the shorter Greek life, in which no mention is made of Jerome's authorship, was the original of the rest; and M. Amélineau makes a similar claim on behalf of the Coptic. If either of these theories had held good, the way might have been open for a further attempt to establish the contemporary character of the Life of Paul; but as a matter of fact both the Syriac and the Coptic narratives (which were unknown to the Bollandists) retain at the end of the Life St Jerome's statement of his own authorship, and the question of priority must be considered settled in favour of the Latin. And just as on external grounds the *Vita Pauli* cannot be regarded as strictly contemporary, so also on internal grounds it cannot be regarded as strictly historical¹.

¹ Butler I 230-232, 285.

'Huius vitae auctor Paulus, illustrator Antonius.' If Jerome's epigrammatic comparison of the two men may be trusted, Antony was a later arrival in the monastic life than Paul: but the difference cannot have been one of many years, for Antony is said to have been more than a century old at the time of his death (about A.D. 356), and he embraced monasticism in his youth. In any case his fame and influence were far greater than Paul's; and Dom Butler dates the 'Inauguration of Christian Monachism' from the time when, about A.D. 305, Antony began to organize the monastic life for the disciples who had gathered round him. Certainly we possess for the life of Antony a document much more nearly contemporary than anything we have for Paul; for the Greek *Vita Antonii*, whether or no it was written by St Athanasius, was undoubtedly translated into Latin by one Evagrius within a year or two of St Athanasius' death. A Syriac version, printed by Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* vol. v, represents an abbreviated redaction of the Greek; and the Coptic fragments appear also to be translated from the same language¹.

Macarius, the disciple of Antony—called Macarius the Great or Macarius of Egypt to distinguish him from his namesake of Alexandria—survived his master for more than thirty years, and his posthumous fame was so great that brief accounts of his life are included in both the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum*, though the author of neither work can actually have seen him. A fuller and independent biography by a certain Serapion, or Sarapamon, has lately been published in Coptic by Amélineau and in Syriac by Bedjan. But modern criticism has not been so busy with Macarius as with Antony or Schnoudi and while there is no reason to doubt in general the authenticity of the many *Apophthegmata* attributed to him, it is still uncertain whether the Homilies and Epistles that pass under his name are really his².

About the same time that Antony began his work among his disciples in middle Egypt, Pachomius was founding in the far south a monastery in the modern sense of the word, and at the time of his death forty years later, *i.e.* about A.D. 345, was ruling

¹ Butler I 227; II page c of the Introduction.

² Ibid. I 220, 225; II 43, 193.

over eight monasteries of a more or less uniform type. As would naturally be the case with the founder of an Order, the documents which deal with his life and work are more numerous and more complicated than the *Vita Pauli*, or even than the *Vita* and *Regula Antonii*. The various redactions of the *Vita Pachomii* can be traced back easily enough to two main sources, a Greek Life and a Coptic Life: but to decide upon the relative priority of these two is not quite so simple. The theory of Coptic originals would have more *a priori* probability here than in the case of Paul or Antony, since the scene of Pachomius' labours, being much further south, lay in a far less graecized district; and it is indisputable that all the material relating to Schnoudi is of Coptic *provenance*. Nevertheless, Dom Butler holds it to be certain that the *Vita Pachomii* was first written in Greek, and that this *Vita*, and another Greek document known generally as the 'Asceticon,' but called in the *Acta Sanctorum* the 'Paralipomena'—a collection of stories illustrative of Pachomius' life and character—are the ultimate sources not only of the Latin *Vita* but also of the Coptic. At the same time, as some of the Coptic fragments are little, if at all, later than A. D. 400, the latter version must have been almost contemporary with the Greek originals, and therefore any supplementary information which it contains has good claim to be taken into account¹.

With the biography of Pachomius was generally circulated the biography of Theodore—his successor in office during the years 350–368—as contained in the (Greek) *Epistula Ammonis ad Theophilum*, which describes the life of the Pachomian monasteries shortly after the death of their founder.

Last of the great monastic leaders whose biographies form the subject of this section is Schnoudi or Shenoute, the most celebrated abbot of the Pachomian monasteries after their founder. Within the last twenty years Amélineau has published a volume of nearly 500 pages, consisting entirely of documents relating to him; and quite lately an important monograph has appeared in Germany from the pen of Dr Leipoldt². But there is the less

¹ Butler I 159–171, 288–292.

² Amélineau *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au i^e et i^e siècles* I i (1888); Leipoldt *Schnoute von Atripe* in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* N. F. X i (1903). See Butler I 107; II Introd. xi, xii, ci, cii.

reason to speak of him here in detail, because on the one hand, as has been said, the Schnoudi literature is exclusively Coptic, and, on the other, the period of his influence falls well outside of the fourth century; his death took place about 451-452. At the same time, if he had then been, as his biographers state, a monk for no less than 109 years, he would have been, one would think, sufficiently important to be an object of interest to the travellers whose visits to Egypt at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century will occupy us in the next section of this paper. Yet no single visitor so much as mentions his name; so strong was the barrier which diversity of language was already raising, and which was to crystallize soon after Schnoudi's death into the permanent separation of Greek- and Coptic-speaking Christians.

With the Lives of these fathers may be fitly grouped the Rules which bear their names. These, however, must be sought not in Rosweyd but in Lucas Holsten's still invaluable *Codex Regularum* (Paris, A.D. 1663). The *Regula Antonii* is not original, but is made up out of the life of Antony and the sayings attributed to him. Of the *Regula Pachomii* various recensions are in print, and a genuinely Pachomian nucleus could probably be extracted from them: Palladius, who had very likely seen the original text, gives an outline of the Rule in the *Lausiac History*: the body of minute regulations which St Jerome translated into Latin as the 'Rule of Pachomius', he describes more fully and no doubt more correctly as 'praecepta Pachomii et Theodori et Orsiesii', so that the collection before him appears to have been not so much a formal Rule delivered once for all to the Order as a code admitting of indefinite development and expansion in the face of new needs—a code of which part no doubt did, but the whole certainly did not, go back to the original founder. Of this version of St Jerome two recensions are in print, differing, however, neither in subject-matter nor in language, but only in arrangement; and of the Greek text on which the version is based two forms also are extant, a shorter and a longer: the shorter Greek is represented also in Ethiopic. To the documents which come to us under the name of Schnoudi a still higher degree of authenticity may be ascribed, and Dom Butler reckons them among the most valuable of our authorities:

these, however, like his *Life*, are known to us neither in Greek nor in Latin, but only in Coptic. Mention should also be made here, for completeness' sake, of the *Regula Macarii*¹.

Between the material dealing with individual names, which has occupied us so far, and the more general and external impressions of Egyptian monastic life, which will claim our attention in a moment, a sort of intermediate position is filled by the *Apophthegmata Patrum*—‘short anecdotes and sayings of the chief fathers of the desert, often full of shrewdness and deep knowledge of human nature’. Of larger collections of these sayings three forms are extant: one in Greek, arranged alphabetically according to the names of the authors of the Sayings (so that the whole of Antony's would be found grouped under A, and so on), which was printed by Cotelier; one known in Greek to Photius, arranged according to the subject-matter of the Sayings, which has survived only in Latin (printed in Rosweyd, books v and vi) and in Coptic (printed by Zoega); and a third, also arranged according to subject-matter, and also printed in Latin by Rosweyd (book vii). The material contained in these three great collections is substantially the same, though in arrangement they are wholly independent of one another; and since the two Latin translations are not later than the early years of the sixth century—that of Rosweyd, books v and vi, was made by ‘Paschasius the deacon at the request of Martin the presbyter and abbot’, while that of book vii is cited in the Rule of St Benedict—the Greek collections must go back to the fifth century. But these Greek collections obviously grew out of a number of smaller collections (such as alone are extant in Syriac), which were combined and recast at pleasure; and if time is to be allowed for the process of growth and development, the commencement of the movement to preserve and record the ‘Sayings of the Fathers’ must be traced to the beginning of the fifth century and even to the end of the fourth².

II. The second main division of the literature concerned with the early monasticism of Egypt consists of a series of accounts of tours made by travellers from other parts of the Christian world,

¹ Butler I 197, 155–158; II Introd. p. xii.

² Ibid. I 6, 208–214, 283–285; II Introd. p. xii.

and especially from the West, to the principal monastic settlements and the most eminent ascetics of the Egyptian deserts. Pilgrimages to the holy places of Palestine had been in vogue among Greek Christians from the beginning of the third century; but it is only after the conversion of the Empire that we hear, in this connexion, of travellers from the West. The Bordeaux pilgrim of A.D. 333, with his terse record of distances covered, appears thoroughly conscious of the unusual character and magnitude of his undertaking; but half a century later the journey had ceased to be exceptional, and the Holy Land had ceased to be the only goal of the pilgrim. Egypt lay, in fact, so close to Palestine that it was natural to complete the devotional recourse to the sacred sites of the Christian past by similar recourse to the sacred sites of the present. A visit to Nitria or the Thebaid became almost as essential an element in the 'Grand Tour' of a Latin Christian as are Delhi and Agra in the oriental travels of an Englishman; and to write a record of experiences for the benefit of less enterprising friends at home was as fashionable then as it is to-day. We need not shut our eyes to the romantic and adventurous side of the business, if we are willing at the same time to remember that it had another and a more serious side, and that Egypt was a true Holy Land to the minds of these fourth-century Christians just because the spiritual conflict seemed more real and tangible there than elsewhere, and the powers with which the Christian saint is endued for it more visibly and more triumphantly exercised.

1. Few recent discoveries in the domain of early Christian literature have excited as much general interest as the fragmentary record of a lady's pilgrimage to Palestine, which Gamurrini found in a MS at Arezzo and published under the title 'Peregrinatio S. Silviae'. In its present mutilated form the story opens in the desert of Mount Sinai; but there is now good reason to believe that the lost opening included a visit to the Thebaid. For Gamurrini's identification of the pilgrim with Silvia was purely conjectural; Dom Butler, in his first volume, brought weighty arguments against it, and quite lately a new and much more acceptable solution has been offered by a French Benedictine, Dom Férotin¹. A letter is extant in which Valerius,

¹ *Revue des questions historiques*, Oct. 1903: Butler II 229.

a Spanish hermit of the seventh century, writing to the 'brethren at Vierzo', describes summarily the eastern travels of a certain virgin, also a Spaniard, named Etheria or (perhaps more probably) Egeria. What he tells us tallies well enough with the extant portion of the 'Peregrinatio'; and he tells us further that Egeria had travelled to the Thebaid, 'Thebeorum visitans monachorum gloriosissima congregationum coenobia, similiter et sancta anachoretarum ergastula'. The lady's travels took place about or soon after the year 380; and if she really was the Egeria of Valerius, the recovery of a complete MS of her pilgrimage would give us our earliest description from outside of Egyptian monasticism¹.

2. But if Egeria's account is lost, we have four extant records of the impression made on visitors whose experiences all fell within the same quarter of a century, A.D. 385-410: the *Instituta* and *Collationes* of Cassian, the (first of the) *Dialogues* of Sulpicius Severus, the *Historia Monachorum*, and the *Lausiaca History* of Palladius. And of these it will be convenient to speak in the order given.

John Cassian's ascetic writings—the *Instituta* or Institutes of the Monastic Life, and the *Collationes* or Conferences—were not published till the third decade of the fifth century, A.D. 420-430, when their author was settled at Marseilles and was doing his best to introduce the Egyptian type of monasticism into Gaul: but the residences in Egypt on which the latter work is wholly and the former largely based fall within the last fifteen or twenty years of the fourth century, during which Cassian and his friend Germanus twice visited the country. On the first occasion they stayed several years in the Delta; on the second they extended their travels to Nitria and Scetis, and from this second journey they returned apparently in 399. On neither occasion did they go as far as the Thebaid, so that Cassian's own experiences are confined to the monasticism of Northern Egypt and do not cover the coenobite monasteries of the Pachomian type.

Of the Conferences the second and third series (nos. xi-xxiv) represent discourses or instructions given to Cassian and his friend during their first journey by different monks whose acquaintance from time to time they made, while the series

¹ Butler I 296 n.; II 229, 230.

which comes first in order (nos. i-x) were later in actual date and belong to the second journey and to Scetis. The Conferences purport of course to represent the very words of the Egyptian ascetics: Cassian is only the translator from Greek or Coptic into Latin: it is not a history of monasticism, nor even a picture of its external side, that we are to look for in them, but a summary of the teaching in which the inner meaning of the monastic life revealed itself. What we get in Cassian in the way of biographical matter or illustrative details is to be found not so much in the Conferences as in the Institutes: and though the long interval of years which elapsed between his Egyptian experiences and the time when he made use of them in his writings must be taken into account in any estimate of the fidelity of the record, the absolute *bona fides* of both works has until lately been generally treated as above suspicion¹.

3. In the strict order of chronology the *Historia Monachorum*, or rather the travels which it recounts, would claim the next place: but the literary criticism of the *Historia* is so intimately bound up with that of the Lausiac History itself, that it will be convenient first to deal with Postumian, the story of whose journeyings during the years 402-405 in the East—to Cyrene, Alexandria, Bethlehem and the Thebaid—is embedded in the first of the three *Dialogues* of his friend Sulpicius Severus. The part devoted to the description of the monastic life (*Dial.* i 10-22) is rather a collection of marvels or miracles than a chronologically arranged record of travels or an ordered series of biographies: the heroes are generally left anonymous, and in fact the whole account is only introduced to serve as a foil to the histories that follow in the second and third *Dialogues* about St Martin of Tours. Sulpicius is too exclusively occupied with the marvellous to rank quite on a level with our other authorities: but in his case again there seems no reason at all to doubt the genuinely historical character of the background².

4. In the winter of 394-395 a party of seven persons from the monastery on the Mount of Olives made the Egyptian tour, and it is their experiences which are retailed to us in the so-called *Historia Monachorum*. This book is found in numerous Latin

¹ Butler I 203-208; II Introd. p. xii.

² Ibid. I 213, 231, 232.

MSS, and Rosweyd collated twenty when he incorporated the *Historia* as book ii of the *Vitae Patrum*. Rosweyd proved conclusively that the author of this Latin document was no other than Rufinus: Tillemont with equal conclusiveness proved that the experiences related by the writer in the first person did not tally with the known facts of Rufinus' life, and (on the strength of a notice in Gennadius' *de Viris Illustribus*) suggested that Rufinus was only the editor of materials supplied by Petronius of Bologna. But the true key to the problem was to be found in another direction. The *Historia*, in fact, is extant in a Greek as well as in a Latin form: even before Tillemont wrote, Cotelier had described four Paris MSS of a 'Paradisus', which turns out to be nothing else than the Greek equivalent of the *Historia*: and this Greek text has now been published complete by Dr Preuschen in his *Palladius und Rufinus* (1897)¹. But Preuschen still held to the originality of the Latin: it was left to Dom Butler to solve all the difficulties that attach to the Rufinian authorship by the simple hypothesis that Rufinus in the early years of the fifth century turned into Latin a Greek account of a tour that had been made some ten years before by members of his own monastery².

Dom Butler's position on this question appears to me to be in the main sound and unassailable: but at one point in his statement of the case hesitation may legitimately be expressed. Among the early witnesses to the text of the *Historia Monachorum*, Sozomen, whose Church History was written 440-450 A.D., holds a foremost place: and the curious feature about his evidence is that he shews in turn marked coincidences with the Greek form of the *Historia* against the Latin, and with the Latin form against the Greek. Dom Butler suggests that of the original Greek edition of the *Historia*, which both Rufinus and Sozomen had used, no MSS remain, all extant Greek MSS representing a revision in which the later chapters were abridged. But is not this explanation quite unnecessarily complicated? Is there anything which militates against the much simpler view

¹ It ought to be noted here that Dr Preuschen, on several important points connected with the *Historia Lausiaca*, arrived independently at the same results as Dom Butler.

² Butler I 10-15, 198-203, 257-277, 286.

that (1) Rufinus, in translating the Greek, expanded it in various places by drawing on his personal knowledge of Egyptian monasticism: (2) Sozomen, having access to both the original Greek and the version of Rufinus, and finding that on occasions they differed not inconsiderably, wrote with both of them open before him¹?

We are now on the threshold of the *Lausiac History*: but before crossing it, it may be well to pause for a moment and cast a brief glance back over the history of the literature just described. We shall find that the era of unhesitating credulity was succeeded by a generation of critics whose incredulity was quite as unhesitating: but we shall find that their day too is over, and that the reaction which has set in to saner views gives every prospect of being permanent.

Dr Weingarten was the leader of the critical assault. In his *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (A.D. 1877), and in his article *Mönchtum* (A.D. 1882) in the second edition of Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, he expressed himself decisively as to the worthlessness of one after another of our authorities. There never was such a person as Paul the Hermit. Though the existence of Antony must be admitted, he did not live till late in the fourth century, and the *Vita Antonii* is therefore not by Athanasius: nor is there any basis of fact in it whatever. The *Vita Pachomii* must go also, for there were no monks in Egypt at all before the year 340. The *Apophthegmata* are in no sense historical, but are a purely ethical composition, redolent of the best mysticism of the Greek Church, and certainly later than the fourth century. The Conferences published by Cassian were never delivered at all by Egyptian monks, but are his personal contribution to the Semi-Pelagian controversy: the setting of the story is all mythical, and the geographical details are as trustworthy as Homer's. The *Historia Monachorum* deserves no more credit than *Gulliver's Travels*. The monastic literature, as a whole and in its individual parts, is built up out of mere imitation of Greek

¹ One illustration may be quoted (from Butler I 275) which seems to me not merely to bear out but forcibly to suggest or even compel this view: Greek *Historia* πῦρ ἐν κόλπῳ ἐβάσταζεν: Rufinus 'ardentes prunas uestimento ferebat illaeso': Sozomen ὡς καὶ πῦρ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κομίζειν καὶ μὴ καίειν τὴν ἐσθῆτα.

romances. The sources of Jerome and Cassian, Rufinus and Palladius, are to be found not in historical facts but in pagan *Θαυμάσια* and *Μεταμορφώσεις*, and more particularly in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*¹.

Of Weingarten's followers the most important were Dr Lucius in Germany and Mr Gwatkin in England: and the scepticism of the followers appeared to outdo that of the master. Professor Gwatkin, in his otherwise admirable *Studies of Arianism*, wrote of the *Historia Monachorum* that it was 'past defence except as a novel', while in his later *Arian Controversy* he could still speak of 'the great hermit Antony who never existed'².

It is obvious that the attitude we adopt towards the surrounding literature must create some sort of *præiudicium* with regard to the *Lausiaca History*. If the verdict of critics stood unchallenged that the biographies of Antony and Pachomius, and the writings of Cassian and Rufinus, were fiction from one end to the other, there would be an antecedent probability that Palladius was no more to be trusted than his contemporaries. But if the efforts of Weingarten and his school, on the consentient testimony of all serious scholars of later years, have failed to shake the credit of the rest, we shall be free to approach the study of the *Lausiaca History* without committing ourselves to the belief that Palladius was a 'monkish falsifier of history', who relates other men's experiences as his own, and had perhaps never set foot in Egypt at all³. And for proof of this consentient testimony the reader need only turn to the impressive pages with which Dom Butler's second volume opens. The revolution of opinion is a significant one, and its significance is perhaps not exhausted in its immediate subject-matter.

Palladius, according to his own account of himself, was born in Galatia about 363, became a monk at twenty-three years of age, and after two years on the Mount of Olives spent some eleven years, *circa* 388-399, as an ascetic in Northern Egypt—in Alexandria, in Nitria, and in the region of the Cells. During one year more he resided in Palestine again, and early in 400

¹ Butler I 3, 215, 156, 208, 203, 195.

² Ibid. I 198, 216.

³ Ibid. I 4, 5 (from Lucius: even Weingarten does not go so far as this).

was consecrated bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, by the hands probably of St Chrysostom himself. At any rate he was one of that saint's most faithful supporters, travelled on his behalf to Rome, was sent into exile as a leading 'Joannite', and (if the *Dialogus de vita Chrysostomi* is rightly attributed to him) became ultimately his biographer. Six years of Palladius' exile, from 406 to 412, were spent in Upper Egypt, and he was thus enabled to round off and complete his knowledge of Egyptian monasticism in a way to which no other of our authorities can lay claim. Cassian had never visited Upper Egypt, Postumian had not been to Nitria: neither Egeria nor the party of the *Historia Monachorum* were much more than passing travellers. Although it was not till 419 or 420 that Palladius, at the request of his friend Lausus, chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II, put his recollections on paper, there is every reason to approach the book with a confidence in the general truth of the description, based on the unique opportunities of the writer. Nor will this confidence be found to be misplaced. Whatever may have been true of the *Historia Lausiaca* in the form under which it has hitherto passed, it would seem to be impossible for any one to rise from the perusal of the text which Dom Butler has given us without feeling the strongest and most vivid impression of the reality of the narrative and of the good faith of the narrator.

For there is just this much excuse for the faulty tendency of recent criticism of Palladius' work, that it was exercised on a text that was largely not Palladius' at all. It has already been mentioned that Rosweyd printed no less than three recensions of the *Lausiaca History*: and all subsequent scholars, with the exception only of Tillemont and one or two of Tillemont's followers, have accepted as the genuine form that one of the three which Rosweyd, possibly because it was the longest, distinguished as Book viii of his *Vitae*, while the other two were relegated to the obscurity of the appendix. Put in a nutshell, the difference between Rosweyd's text-document and his first appendix-document (the second is a mere fragment, both truncated and interpolated) is this, that the text-document contains the whole matter of the *Historia Monachorum* imbedded in the *Historia Lausiaca*, whereas the appendix-document gives a redaction of the *Historia Lausiaca* that differs from the other exactly by the absence of

everything that comes from the *Historia Monachorum*. In other words, the *Historia Lausiaca* of Rosweyd's appendix added to the *Historia Monachorum* make up between them the *Historia Lausiaca* of Rosweyd's text. It is strange that neither Rosweyd himself nor any of the scholars who followed him in the seventeenth century should have drawn what would seem to be the most obvious deduction from this state of the facts: it was reserved for Tillemont—whose greatness as a critic in comparison with predecessors, contemporaries, and successors alike stands out more clearly the more one knows of him—to anticipate, in the few paragraphs which he devoted to the subject, the main conclusion of Dom Butler¹. But while Tillemont's brief words failed to catch the ear of modern critics², it is impossible that there can be any one to whom Dom Butler's massive argument will not carry conviction. By one line of proof after another he demonstrates that Rosweyd's appendix is the real *Lausiaca History*, and that Rosweyd's text is a patchwork combination of the *Lausiaca History* and the *Historia Monachorum*.

The mere statement of fact, that we possess in Rosweyd's appendix and in the *Historia Monachorum* two absolutely independent documents which yet between them make up the whole of Rosweyd's text, is of itself so nearly conclusive that it will be sufficient to summarize the earlier chapters of Dom Butler's first volume very cursorily. But simple though the matter now seems, it is nothing less than a revolution in the criticism of Palladius that Dom Butler has here brought to pass.

First comes (§ 4) a table shewing the correspondence of the subject-matter of the Rosweyd text (A) with the Rosweyd appendix (B) and the *Historia Monachorum* (C): only in a few cases is it found that B and C so far overlap as to deal with the same topics, and even there the treatment is entirely independent. In three of these cases (the lives of John of Lycopolis, of Paul the Simple, and of Amoun of Nitria) the texts of A B and C are all printed side by side (§ 5): and as it is essential, for purposes of

¹ Butler I 44-46.

² Nothing can be more delightfully naïve than Weingarten's reason for brushing Tillemont's hypothesis aside (Butler I 44 n. 6): 'denn aus dem allein, was Palladius von sich selbst berichtet, ergiebt sich ein Charakter, der Wunder hernahm, wo er sie fand.'

detailed comparison, to test the documents in their original language—all three documents were not only composed in Greek, but are still extant in it—the parallel texts are given not from Rosweyd's Latin but from Greek MSS, with the addition, wherever he diverges far from his original, of the translation of Rufinus. In the result A is shewn to be a conglomerate of B and C, successful enough where B and C move on different lines, but awkward and inconsistent if they happen to give separate versions of the same incident. Further inconsistencies in A are enumerated in § 6: sometimes the difficulty arises merely out of the attempt to combine the first person singular of Palladius' story with the first person plural of the *Historia Monachorum*: or Ammonius the Tall is described in one section of A in terms borrowed from B, and in another context of A, as though he were another person, in terms borrowed from C: or the converse mistake is made, and a Nitrian monk of the name of Or, who was already dead when Palladius came to Nitria about 390, is identified with another Or whom the party of the *Historia Monachorum* visited in the Thebaid in 394. Finally it is shewn (§ 8) that the account of Sozomen, *H. E.* vi 28–31¹, is not adequately explained by the assumption of A as his single source: he certainly had C in his hands², and what does not come from C is wholly satisfied by B. In fact no early witness to the existence of A can be adduced: it is a secondary combination of two first-hand documents, which could only have acquired importance if one or other of the originals had disappeared.

Thus the first stage in reconstruction is (1) to alter wholly the received tradition as to the size and extent of the *Historia Lausiaca*, and (2) to make it therewith independent entirely of the *Historia Monachorum*. The next stage leads us on to enquire how far Rosweyd's Latin appendix-document B, which has been provisionally established as the true *Historia Lausiaca* in place of A, is itself a faithful representative of the Greek of Palladius. And the evidence will fall, according to the classification familiar to students of the Greek Testament, under the three heads of Greek MSS, Versions, and Quotations.

¹ The evidence of Socrates *H. E.* iv 23 is inconclusive: Butler I 47.

² I have argued above that he had before him not only the original Greek of C but also Rufinus' Latin version of it.

(a) *Greek MSS.* Dom Butler's list (II xiv) may be divided into two classes, those which he has inspected personally—that is, practically, those of Western Europe—and those which he only knows through catalogues. The former class consists of about fifty MSS (of which, however, some ten are only fragments), ranging in date from the tenth century to the sixteenth. But beyond these the libraries of Mount Athos contain no fewer than twenty-two, those of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai four each, while four other Oriental libraries possess one apiece. If indeed the Western class were more satisfactory in character, this wealth of the East might be treated as mere surplusage: but the number of those on which Dom Butler ultimately relies is so small, that the possibility still remains open that one or more of the Eastern MSS might sensibly modify in detail the text as he has now restored it. For the Western MSS fall into three groups, of which only one, and that the least numerous, preserves anything like the form of the book as written by Palladius. One group of MSS corresponds in Greek to Rosweyd's text-document, Dom Butler's A, incorporating the *Historia Monachorum* into the *Historia Lausiaca*: and not only is their general structure as a whole composite, but the text of the parts which correspond to the genuine Palladius is composite also, and combines the characteristic features of the texts of both the other groups. Thus the A group of Greek MSS, as being in a double sense secondary, may for the present be safely set aside. To Rosweyd's appendix-document, Dom Butler's B, corresponds another large group of over twenty Greek MSS. But there remains yet a third group of Greek MSS, called by Dom Butler the G group, represented (apart from fragments) by only three extant MSS and a lost one used by Rosweyd, which, while in general *structure* it ranks entirely with the B group (as being free from contamination with the *Historia Monachorum*), yet distinguishes itself from the B group in its form of *text*, which is 'simpler, shorter, and less rhetorical'¹. These qualities raise at once a presumption that we possess in this family of G MSS a truer representation of the

¹ Indeed these expressions of the editor seem to understate the nature and character of the divergence of these two types of text: from a comparison, for example, of the passage from B printed on II xix with the corresponding words of G on II 65, it results that the former is between three and four times the length of the latter, and is indeed a sort of 'metaphrastic' expansion of it.

Historia Lausiaca even than Rosweyd's appendix-document and the Greek MSS which lie behind it. At the same time, seeing that an interval of five centuries separates the date of Palladius from the date of the earliest extant Greek MSS of his book, an appeal to the collateral evidence of Versions and Quotations is more than usually imperative.

(b) *Quotations.* Unfortunately the evidence from quotations is divided and therefore so far inconclusive. The principal place belongs again to Sozomen: and the case for his adhesion to the G type of text is conclusive¹. On the same side are the quotations in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the Greek text of which must, as we have seen, go back to the fifth century, since more than one Latin version was in circulation soon after A.D. 500. Coincidences with the B text, on the other hand, are found in the Life of the younger Melania († 440 A.D.)—written by a personal friend of hers, and so before the end of the fifth century—and in Dionysius Exiguus' Life of Pachomius. It follows that both forms of the text of Palladius existed within some half-century of the time when he wrote, though the G text possesses in Sozomen the earlier attestation of the two.

(c) *Versions.* The popularity of hagiographical material of the class of the *Historia Lausiaca*, if it is well illustrated by the numerous recensions among the Greek MSS, is illustrated even more strikingly by the different and often independent versions of the whole or of parts of it which sprang up in all the chief languages of early Christian literature, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian. The Coptic and Armenian evidence indeed—apart from their versions of the chapter in the *Historia* on Evagrius, which demands separate treatment—is neither of sufficient bulk nor of sufficiently close bearing on the textual problem to delay us here: but both the Latin and the Syriac are of primary importance.

The *data* to be extracted, whether from Syriac MSS of Palladius or from the mass of Palladian matter incorporated in the *Paradise* of the Syriac writer Anan-Isho, are singularly complicated by the fact that no Syriac MS gives more than

¹ I suspect that even the few apparent instances to the contrary, in which he supports B against G, would disappear if we had access to earlier and better MSS of the G text.

a part of the *Historia Lausiaca*: nor are the difficulties of the critic lessened by the different numbering of the chapters of the *Historia* in Dom Butler's two volumes—in the first volume he uses Rosweyde's chapters, and in the second his own—or by a change of the editor's view on one point, induced by fresh evidence that came to hand in the interval between 1898 and 1904¹. But this much at any rate is clear. Anan-Isho, who wrote in the middle of the seventh century, was not the first translator of Palladius into Syriac, for we have at the British Museum three Palladius MSS of earlier date. Further, two of these MSS—Add. 17177, saec. vi, and Add. 12175, A.D. 534—overlap one another for several chapters of Palladius, and their versions of the matter common to them are quite independent². It is thus certain that there were very ancient and indeed not far from contemporary Syriac renderings of parts of the *Historia Lausiaca*, but it does not follow that there was ever a complete translation: a series of more or less independent biographies, such as make up the *Lausiaca History*, lent itself very obviously to a process of extracts or selections for purposes of edification. In any case Anan-Isho's *Paradise*, the nearest approach to a full version of Palladius which we possess, not only postulates the previous existence of partial versions by its references to more than one Syriac codex, but also (as now appears to be proved) itself co-ordinated and supplemented these imperfect Syriac

¹ Of course I must not be understood as in any sense blaming Dom Butler for either of these inconsistencies between his two volumes. They are exactly the sort of thing which is inevitable in the work of a pioneer.

² Dom Butler accordingly distinguishes them as s and s₂. The third MS—Add. 12173, saec. vi–vii—certainly does not belong to s₂: it nowhere overlaps s, but Dom Butler assigns it to the same version, on the ground that the Swedish scholar Tullberg, who in 1851 edited a few chapters of the *Paradise* from MSS of the British Museum and the Vatican, cites from a MS which he calls A readings that are found to be homogeneous in certain chapters with Add. 17177, and again in other chapters with Add. 12173, and thus in Dom Butler's words 'supplies the link that enables us to identify these two MSS as containing portions of the same Syriac translation'. But Dom Butler has himself examined the Syriac MSS of Palladius both in Rome and London: he has found nothing to correspond exactly to Tullberg's A, and can only say that it must have presented striking resemblances to Add. 12173. I suspect that Tullberg's A was not only like Add. 12173, but was Add. 12173 itself; and that it was only by confusion with some other MS that Tullberg cited it for chapters 22, 23, which Add. 12173 does not contain. If so, there remains no proof that Add. 12173 formed part of the same version as s, and it must be ranked rather as a separate entity, s₂.

sources by the help of a Greek MS. These difficulties and complications do not, however, detract from the value of the Syriac evidence for the problem before us: on the contrary they enhance it, for the more independent the different collections of extracts turn out to be, the greater is the weight of their consentient testimony to the underlying type of Greek text. And while Anan-Isho's Greek MS was of the B type, the whole of the Syriac evidence that lies behind him—the MSS that he himself used, and the MSS of a date earlier than his that have survived to our own times—points to a G text, and a G text only¹.

For textual purposes, however, the Latin version of a Greek work must ordinarily, from the nearer relationship of the two languages, have a considerable advantage over a version in any Oriental language: and of Latin versions of the *Historia Lausiaca* Rosweyd, as we have seen, printed no less than three. His text-document, Dom Butler's A, may indeed be dismissed at once, for it was only made, from still existing Greek material, in the sixteenth century. Both appendix-documents, on the other hand, are genuinely old translations. Even the second of them (Dom Butler calls it I₂), incomplete and corrupt as it is, appears in its biblical citations to be independent of the Vulgate, while its marked agreements with the readings of the Coptic fragments guarantee its descent from an early form of the Greek text. In the other and more important of the two appendix-documents the true structure of the *Historia Lausiaca* has been shewn above to be preserved. As this version stands in Rosweyd and in most of the MSS, it is relatively late: but a group of Italian MSS—two at Monte Cassino, and a Sessorian MS in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome—contain a more primitive recension (Dom Butler's I), which on the evidence of its biblical text must in Mr Burkitt's opinion be set as far back certainly as the sixth, perhaps as the fifth, century². Both I and I₂ are made from a G type of Greek text³.

¹ Butler I 77-96; II I, lxxvii-lxxx, lxiii-lxv.

² Perhaps the hand of a contemporary may be traced in the chapter on various holy women known to Palladius (II 128), where this version draws a distinction between Theodora the wife ('coniugem') of 'the tribune', and Veneria and Bassianilla, widows ('relictam') respectively of Vallovicus and Candidian, while the Greek has in each case only τὴν τοῦ τριβούνου, τὴν Βαλλοβίκου, τὴν Κανθιδιανού.

³ Butler I 58-76; II lxxv-lxxvii, lix-lxiii, lxv.

The preceding paragraphs have made it clear that, while an antique origin must be conceded to the expanded or metaphrastic B text, on the strength of indubitable though scanty traces of its early use, the G text can not only point in Sozomen to a witness earlier still, but in the Latin and Syriac versions can shew evidence of a much wider and more extended circulation in the generations that immediately followed Palladius. The external evidence of wider circulation combines thus with the internal evidence of higher originality to assure us that it is to the G text that we must look to restore the true form of the *Lausiaca History*. And the difficulty of the editor's task can be estimated when we add that he had to commence the construction of his text with only two Greek MSS anything like complete of the G type, and both of them quite late, Paris gr. 1628 (P) of the fourteenth century, and Turin gr. 141 (T, probably now destroyed) of the sixteenth. Obviously it is only by the most skilful and careful balancing of the respective weights to be attached to late Greek, and early Latin or Syriac, evidence that a satisfactory text can be produced.

Take for instance a problem that confronted Dom Butler at the outset. Down to chapter 39¹, the order of the contents of the *Lausiaca History* is the same in all our authorities whether of the B or of the G type: but from that point to the end the Greek MSS of the G text, supported by a Syriac version, give one order, and the Greek MSS of the B text, supported by the Latin version², give another and entirely different order. The *prima facie* deduction from the results so far attained would be that the combination of Greek G MSS with Syriac evidence was decisive. But Dom Butler elects to follow the B order, with no help from G except the Latin version, and there cannot be the least doubt that he is right: for he proves that, whereas the alternative arrangement involves us in a chaos of grammar, the order in B 1 is the natural order for Palladius, and for no one else, to have adopted, since it preserves roughly the sequence

¹ I use of course Dom Butler's new numbering of the chapters: Rosweyde's numbering depends on the A text, and includes so much that is not really Palladius that the only possible course was to abandon it entirely.

² The other Latin and Syriac versions (1₂, 2₂) do not contain enough of the later part of the book to shew which of the two orders they followed.

of his own travels and experiences¹. The immediate moral, though the editor does not draw it perhaps as clearly as he might have done, is to enhance enormously the value of I, as the only authority which gives at once the true order of the chapters and the true type of text. So important in fact does this Latin version seem to me to be, especially as represented by the readings of the Sessorian MS, that the most (and indeed the only) fundamental criticism I should pass on Dom Butler's edition is that the Latin text ought, in my opinion, to have been printed throughout opposite the Greek. But I willingly admit that the direction of my own studies may have led me to attach even more than their due weight to the historical and textual value of Latin versions; and I know with what reception any such scheme as I have desiderated would have met at the hands even of University Presses.

Of course when we descend from questions of substance to questions of verbal expression, there are scores of cases where a version, even a Latin version, fails to help us, and we are thrown back on our Greek authorities. In all such readings Dom Butler, in his laudable anxiety to present an objective text, determined from the first to follow the authority of his fourteenth-century Greek MS P; with the result, for instance, that both the text (p. 71, l. 4) and the *index graecitatis* are enriched with the novel form *ὑποπιάζειν*. It is all very well in theory to choose 'not that reading which seems in itself the best, but that one which seems best attested' (II xciii); yet on the other hand it is certain that the instinct of Dom Butler would often give us a more original text than the caprices of a fourteenth-century scribe. Fortunately it proved unnecessary to carry out the theory to the bitter end: not only are there some fragmentary G MSS of the eleventh century, but by one of those happy 'accidents' which, as a rule, befall only the right people, Dom Butler discovered at the last moment, in a tenth-century Wake MS at Christ Church which was supposed to be exhaustively catalogued, a large portion of the *Historia Lausiaca* with a purely G text. About half the book had already been printed off, so that for pp. 1-87 the readings of the new MS (W) must be found in the appendix (pp. 170-176): and it is an instruc-

¹ Butler II xlviii-lvi.

tive comment on the difficulties of Dom Butler's system that he there distinguishes no less than 170 instances where the evidence of W now turns the balance against a reading of P which appears in his text of these earlier chapters¹. Many of these differences are trivial enough: but there are some which are not, and one of them is sufficiently curious and instructive to be worth quoting at length. On p. 48 l. 12 we learn that the great ascetic, Macarius of Alexandria, in his efforts to reduce further and further his daily meal, determined to content himself with so much only of his allowance of bread as, after crumbling it into a jar, he could bring up in one handful; 'and he used to tell with a smile how he would clutch a number of pieces but could not get them out whole owing to the narrowness of the mouthpiece, τὸ γὰρ παντελῶς μὴ ἐσθίειν ὁ τελώνης μοι οὐ συνεχώρει'. But, in spite of P and Dom Butler, to say that 'the tax-gatherer did not allow me entirely to stop eating' is sheer nonsense: and though the general drift might have been correctly recovered from the Latin ('ut aliquis publicanus non sinebat me tantum tollere quantum quivissem tenere'), it required the evidence of W to establish the actual wording of the Greek, and to shew that the expansions in P and I are alike glosses and the former a misleading one. W has simply ὡς τελώνης γὰρ μοι οὐ συνεχώρει: the narrow opening of the jar 'took toll' of the handful of bread that had come up so far.

And yet, even after the new discovery, our Greek authorities for the *Lausiac History* still stand in need of reinforcement: for not only does W lack about half the book, but it shares the erroneous arrangement of the later chapters with the other Greek MSS of the G group. An approximately final text will only be possible if the libraries of the East yield up to the explorer better and completer MSS of this type than have been found in the libraries of the West. Only it may safely be asserted that the measure of advance which any future editor may make on Dom Butler's text will be absolutely insignificant in comparison with the measure of advance which Dom Butler has made on the work of all previous editors of the *Lausiac History*.

¹ Nor are the 170 instances exhaustive: the editor ought at least to have added p. 17, l. 14, where the reading adopted in his text, even if it is sense, is certainly not grammar; W, by omitting the word λέγοντες, restores the one without injuring the other.

Dom Butler is indeed probably stronger as an historical and literary critic than as an exact scholar. We have in the preceding pages threaded under his direction the mazes of the Palladian documents and literature with a practically implicit confidence. The points on which we have ventured to differ from him have been minor ones: we have followed him from one step to another, and have rarely had anything to do except to ratify his judgement¹. Even in the domain of exact criticism, what a little there really is to add! The total that one reader has accumulated by way of correction to a closely printed text and apparatus of 170 pages will be found at the foot of the page². But the core of the whole work are the 'Notes critical and historical', which are appended to the text of the *Lausiac History*, and occupy pp. 182-236 of vol. II. I do not know where else one could find so much matter packed together that either illustrates or rectifies the history of Palladius' times: the study of them is a genuine intellectual pleasure. I should confidently appeal to them as evidence of a marked development of Dom Butler's powers as a historian in the interval between the appearance of his two volumes: and I should instance in particular the treatment of all questions of chronology as far

¹ If one were told to find something to criticize in Dom Butler's Introductions, one might perhaps say that it is occasionally a little difficult in the first volume to see the wood for the trees: the multitude of minute data seem to obscure the course of the argument. But perhaps this is unavoidable; and at any rate, whether or no there is any lack of clearness in the method, there is never any in the conclusion. I sometimes fancy that the pages of *Texts and Studies* in general are made unnecessarily difficult to the reader by being broken up into too many paragraphs, with the result that they get a scrappy appearance.

² Questions of reading: 31. 6, 7 ἄλλο γὰρ σοι οὐκ ἔχω τί (for τι) καταλείψω: 38. 1 ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλου (for κατ' ἄλλο) διαφωνοῦντες: 66. 8 ἐμπεριβλαμμένον (for ἐμπεριβλωμένος): 87. 6 τοῦτω (for τοῦτο) μὴ συνθεμένη: 112. 7 τινὰ τῶν πρώτων (for τὸν πρῶτον) τῆς πόλεως: 128. 9 εὐφυστάτην οὔσαν (for εὐφυστάτη οὔσα): 132. 8 περὶ τὸ (for περὶ τὸν) Λαζάριον: 165. 7 οὐ μετὰ πολὺ or μετ' οὐ πολὺ (for οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ, a clearly conflate reading of P). Questions of punctuation: 129. 14 transfer comma from ἀμαρτίας to γενόμενοι: 134. 5 place ἐκωλύετο γὰρ within brackets 'for she would have been prevented': 152. 5, 6 comma after Διοκλῆς, none after τὰ πρῶτα, comma after φιλοσοφίαν (φιλοσοφία, does not, I think, in Palladius mean 'asceticism', but philosophy in our sense of the word): in I 138, l. 8 of the quotation from Socrates, comma, not full stop, after μαθητής—the usage of μέν . . . δέ seems in this and other places to have proved a stumbling-block to the editor. Question of translation: II 274 μίαν παρὰ μίαν (157. 1) cannot, I am quite sure, mean 'once a day', but only 'every other day'. There remain besides a few passages in Dom Butler's text which are almost certainly corrupt as they stand.

more satisfactory in this volume than in the first. In a word, Dom Butler was then still feeling his way: now he moves as the acknowledged master of his subject.

If there chance to be, among the readers of this article, any who are accustomed to contrast the study of the text with the study of the subject-matter of a book, and to lament as disproportionate the time devoted to the former, they must I think admit that the *Lausiaca History* forms an exception to their rule. The direct bearing upon history of questions of introduction and textual criticism, such as have been investigated at length in the foregoing pages, cannot be better illustrated than by the group of variations which I now propose to adduce. For these *variae lectiones* will take us straight to the heart of the most burning questions of Palladius' day.

Palladius' active life fell between the overthrow of the Arian and the outbreak of the Nestorian heresy. The half century which separated the council of Constantinople from the council of Ephesus witnessed no doctrinal crisis in the Eastern Church to compare with those of the preceding and succeeding generations; but it was a time far from free of personal jealousies and party passions which cloaked themselves under the mask of zeal for orthodoxy. The quarrel of Theophilus and the Egyptian monks over the name of Origen, the mutual invectives of John of Jerusalem and Epiphanius, Jerome and Rufinus, the persecutions directed against St Chrysostom, were symptoms of divisions among churchmen almost as bitter and as thoroughgoing as any between catholic and heretic. In all these developments Palladius, the disciple of Evagrius and biographer of Chrysostom, played his part; and his sympathies left their mark upon the text of the *Lausiaca History*. The verdict of posterity supported him in the cause of Chrysostom: but this was the one element in the troubles of the time which the subject-matter of the *Historia* necessarily excluded, and on which also in the *Dialogus de vita Chrysostomi* he elsewhere had his say. On the other hand, Evagrius, Didymus, Origen, the great masters of Alexandrine and ascetic theology to whom Palladius and his friends looked up as their guides and leaders, became the sport of heresy-hunters from the fifth century onwards: Palladius him-

self did not escape censure, nor his book mutilation, at their hands.

Origen's name occurs in Dom Butler's text of the *Historia* on four occasions¹. A certain Dominus, 'a disciple of Origen', was the leading ascetic found in Rome, perhaps about 300 A.D., by the wandering fakir Serapion Sindonita (ch. 37). Juliana, a virgin of Cappadocian Caesarea, received Origen when a fugitive from persecution and maintained him for two years; Palladius adds that he had himself seen an autograph note of Origen's ἐν παλαιστάτῃ βιβλίῳ στιχηρῷ, to the effect that the book had been given him by Juliana, who had 'received it from Symmachus the interpreter of the Jews' (ch. 64)². Ammonius, the Tall Brother, had learnt by heart the Old and New Testaments, and had (so the fathers of the desert bore witness) read 6,000,000 [lines]³ of the writings of famous scholars such as Origen, Didymus, Pierius, and Stephen (ch. 11). And in ch. 55 similar industry is credited to a lady 'who turned night into day in reading through every accessible work of the ancient commentators (ὑπομνηματισταί), including 3,000,000 [lines] of Origen, and 2,500,000 of Gregory, Stephen, Pierius, Basil and other standard authors: nor did she simply read them once and have done with them, but went through each book carefully seven or eight times'.

In no one of these cases is the name Origen left intact by all the leading authorities for the text. In ch. 37 the words μαθητῇ Ὁριγένους are omitted by the three principal MSS of the G group (W P T) and by the A group. The whole story of Juliana is absent, perhaps because the connexion with Origen was an integral feature of it, from one of the G MSS and from the Syriac.

¹ I take these and similar references from the editor's excellent Index III 'Personal Names'.

² From Eusebius *H. E.* vi 17 it is evident that Eusebius too had seen the book and Origen's note. Eusebius' words make it clear that the book was not only possessed but composed by Symmachus: and they seem to imply that it was his Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel.

³ μυριάδας ἑξακοσίας: so too, in the passage quoted immediately below from ch. 55, μυριάδας τριακοσίας, μυριάδας εικοσιπέντε. Presumably one must supply στίχων: even so, the numbers are enormous, though not beyond belief. Perhaps the number of στίχοι were noted, as in the Cheltenham list, in each book. Of the writer Stephen, mentioned both in ch. 11 and ch. 55, nothing appears to be known, which is certainly strange.

Ammonius' favourite authors in ch. 11, Origen, Didymus, Pierius, and Stephen, become in all the three extant G MSS and in some of the A group 'Athanasius and Basil', and in the inferior Latin version 'the holy ancient orthodox fathers', while the Syriac omits the whole sentence. The similar list in ch. 55 is docked of Origen's name by one of the G MSS, by the A group, and by the Syriac. With so little intelligence were these proceedings directed, that the references in ch. 10 to a namesake of the great Alexandrine, Origen the steward of Pambo, were deleted with almost equal care: some or all of the G MSS, together with the Coptic and lesser Latin version (whose close relationship to one another has been already emphasized), substitute on the first mention of the steward the name John, on the second and fourth the name Theodore, and on the third the name Macarius. The choice of these three names was apparently arbitrary: and the agreement of the offending authorities over them shews both that a systematic reviser has been at work, and also that the alterations must go back to a remote date. And the fact that the name of Didymus, except when brought into connexion with that of Origen in ch. 11, has been allowed to remain in the text¹, suggests that this dishonest recension was carried through before the time when Justinian's council joined Didymus in a common anathema with Origen and Evagrius.

If any one father of the desert may be called the central figure and hero of Palladius' story, that one is certainly Evagrius, his 'master' in the monastic life, and like him a foreigner from Asia Minor. The affectionate veneration with which Evagrius was regarded by his disciple is evident throughout, and adds a further feature of interest to the history of this extraordinary man. Posterity has done him scant justice². If Origen's name was too deeply imprinted on the history of Christian scholarship to be easily erased, the conspiracy of silence had better chances with a more recent author like Evagrius. It is probable that to him belongs the real credit of the first critical edition of the Pauline epistles: but if so, the suppression of his name in the

¹ It is only in some of the B group of MSS that the Life of Didymus (ch. 4) is omitted.

² No adequate account of Evagrius exists yet, as far as I know, in English. The merit of first calling attention to the importance of the subject belongs to Dr Zöckler's *Evagrius Ponticus* (Munich, 1893).

copies of the so-called 'Euthalian' apparatus has successfully imposed on all generations till our own¹. It was not to be expected that his position in the *Lausiac History* as Palladius wrote it would rest unassailed. On six occasions, outside the chapter specially devoted to him, is the 'blessed' Evagrius mentioned in Dom Butler's text: and on each one of them some of our authorities either omit entirely the mention of him or replace his name by 'Theodore' or 'Eulogius' or 'Macarius'. Chapter 38, which gives a history of his life, is silently dropped by two of the three chief G MSS and also (it would seem) by the chief Syriac version. On the other hand there were still all through the fifth century churches and monasteries, especially among non-Greek speaking Orientals, where Evagrius' works were held in high honour and studied as leading expositions of the ascetic life: and this curious result followed, that, while in some quarters the *Historia Lausiaca* began to be copied without the thirty-eighth chapter, in others exactly this chapter was excerpted from the main body of the work, and was then either incorporated among *Vitae Sanctorum* or prefixed as an introduction to Evagrius' collected writings. It is found separately in no less than three Syriac translations of which sixth-century codices are extant. It is found in Armenian with a peculiar colophon, which appears to be beyond doubt imitated from the colophon found under the name of Evagrius in codex H of the Pauline epistles². It is found in an expanded form in the Coptic: for where the *Lausiac History* only relates that 'Evagrius was accosted one day by three devils in clerical dress, who began disputing with him on

¹ In spite of the Dean of Westminster's criticisms in the October number of the *JOURNAL* (vol. vi, no. 21, p. 87), I am still of the opinion that the Evagrius origin of the 'Euthalian' collection affords the most probable solution of all the difficulties connected with this question. But I have to acknowledge gratefully a reference, which had escaped me when writing in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (v 524-529) on this subject, to a paper by von Dobschütz, where attention is called to Syriac evidence of the early date of the 'Euthalian' Prologue. Von Dobschütz's discovery does not of course affect the issue as between a fourth-century Euthalius and a fourth-century Evagrius.

² As far as it goes, the existence of this colophon seems to support the claim of Evagrius to the original authorship of the Euthalian edition of St Paul. Dr Robinson makes it probable indeed (Butler I 105) that, as appended to the Life of Evagrius, it does not go further back than an Armenian translator or scribe: but whoever added it must surely have known the Pauline colophon under the name of Evagrius and not of Euthalius.

religious topics, one posing as an Arian, another as a Eunomian, the third as an Apollinarian, but a few words of his inspired wisdom sufficed to refute them', the Coptic gives the whole of the discussion; and it must be added that its account, from whatever source it is derived, bears all the marks of truthfulness¹.

Of the genuineness of the chapter as part of the *Lausiac History* there cannot be the least doubt. Apart from the special versions just enumerated, the Greek MSS of the A group contain it, so do some of those of the B group, and one complete and two fragmentary MSS of the G group, as well as both Latin versions². Naturally the defection of the editor's leading MSS makes the construction of the text less easy: and if I now select this chapter for description and discussion, on account both of the interest attaching to Evagrius himself and of the historical and critical difficulties which the text raises, it must be remembered that it is in no sense an average specimen of the *Lausiac History*, and that there would be few other chapters in which one could record two separate instances of dissent from the judgement of the editor.

(a) Was Evagrius ordained deacon by Gregory of Nazianzus or by Gregory of Nyssa? In the article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* to which I have already referred, I followed the ordinary authorities in naming Gregory of Nyssa: but Dom Butler shews conclusively that Nyssa is an error of the B text³, while Nazianzus has the support of the extant G MSS and of all the versions, except one of the three Syriac.

(b) Evagrius was left by Gregory at Constantinople after the Council of 381, and enjoyed a great reputation there under Nectarius as a *malleus hereticorum*. He fell in love with a married lady, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγέσατο. ὕστερον ἐλευθερωθεὶς τὸ φρονεῖν, ἀντηράσθη τοῦτου πάλιν τὸ γύναιον. So Dom Butler prints the text: but why make Palladius guilty of a nominative abso-

¹ Butler I 131-148.

² And here let me note in passing that the principal Latin version, on the special merits of which I dwelt above, again distinguishes itself as the solitary representative of the G text which (save for a lacuna in chapters 11, 12) preserves uninjured every mention of Evagrius, Didymus, and Origen.

³ And presumably of the A text also. Butler states decisively that the A MSS contain this chapter (I 139): but he does not quote A anywhere in the *apparatus criticus* to it.

lute, when the interchange of the first full stop and the comma improves both sense and grammar, 'As he himself told us in after times, when his soul was freed from sensual passion' (cf. 122. 16)? For the story of his prayer and of the wonderfully vivid and thrilling dream which seemed to him a Divine call to flee from the city, the reader must be referred to Dom Butler's text.

(c) From Constantinople Evagrius fled to Jerusalem, only to suffer fresh trials, for he began to doubt his vocation and 'to change his clothes and his habit of speech'—apparently from the clerical to the lay. Illness came to his help, and he was nursed by his hostess, the noble Roman lady Melania, who urged him to dedicate himself to a monastic life, and 'then, said she, sinner as I am, I will pray that you may be granted *κομίματος ζώης*' (i.e. a 'commatus' or furlough: 120. 3), as Dom Butler happily restores the text from a combination of Greek and Latin evidence; not uninfluenced (as one may conjecture) by reminiscence of the imperishable language of the Acts of St Perpetua 'an passio sit an commatus'.

(d) On his recovery he 'changed his dress' again, and adopted once for all the monastic life of Egypt, first at Nitria and then in the desert. Every year he made use of his calligraphic skill for just so long as was needed to earn the cost of his scanty food; 'for he wrote beautifully *τὸν ὀξύρυνχον χαρακτήρα*' (120. 12). One would like to translate this remarkable but not quite unique expression—see the note, II 217—'the Oxyrhynchus character', nor does the form of the adjective (*ὀξύρυνχον* rather than *ὀξύρυνχίτην* or the like) seem a quite fatal objection. But the discoveries of papyri at Oxyrhynchus do not indicate any one style of handwriting as exclusively or especially characteristic of the place, and we must be content to say that the allusion is to some sort of uncial handwriting distinctive of manuscripts *de luxe*.

(e) Literary labours were, however, a more constant source of employment to Evagrius. 'He wrote three books *ἑρὰ μοναχῶν ἀντιρρητικά οὕτω λεγόμενα*' (121. 1), which could only mean 'three holy books for monks under the name of Answers'. Dom Butler has 'no doubt' that this is 'the original reading'. But the *Ἀντιρρητικά* are known to have consisted not of three but of eight books: the Coptic and Latin versions both understand the three

books to be three different works, 'Ιερέα, Μοναχόν, and 'Αντιρρητικά: and as regards the second of the three, this interpretation is borne out by the evidence of Socrates (*H. E.* iv 23), who gives Μοναχὸς ἡ περὶ πρακτικῆς as the title of one of Evagrius' writings. Except for Dom Butler's dissent, the evidence would seem to me absolutely conclusive. One book was the 'Answers': another was the 'Monk': whether the third was the 'Priest', as the versions imply, or the 'Sacred Things', according to the reading of the Greek MSS, is a problem which our present knowledge of the bibliography of Evagrius does not enable us to solve.

Evagrius, more than most men, was *felix opportunitate mortis*. He died at the age of fifty-four, worn out probably by austerities for which his early training had not fitted him, on the Feast of the Epiphany either in 399 or 400, only a few months before Theophilus of Alexandria kindled the flame which was to set the whole East ablaze over the name and memory of Origen. About the patriarch himself the *Lausiac History* preserves a judicious silence: but Palladius' estimate of the other protagonists of the controversy is clear enough. 'There was not to be found among men any one of greater knowledge or more modest temper' than Rufinus of Aquileia (136. 1). 'A certain Jerome, a presbyter', on the other hand, 'distinguished Latin writer and cultivated scholar as he was, shewed qualities of temper¹ so disastrous that they threw into the shade his splendid attainments', and exercised a fatal effect on the life and happiness of his disciple Paula (ἡ ἐλευθέρα, ἡ 'Ρωμαία: 108. 6-18; 128. 6-13). But of all the Western colony settled in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem it was Melania and her family who held the most prominent place in the reminiscences of Palladius. This illustrious lady, the friend of St Paulinus and St Augustine, was the first of a long line of Roman settlers at the Holy Places. Jerome in his *Chronicle*, under A.D. 373, had mentioned her settlement at Jerusalem, and had passed a glowing eulogy upon the virtues she there displayed; but she espoused the cause of Rufinus and the Origenists, and then no language was too virulent for him to use of her: 'her nature', he wrote, 'was as black as her name'.

¹ τοσαύτην εἶχε βασκανίαν . . . ἀπαλλαγείσα αὐτοῦ τῆς βασκανίας . . . τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασκανίᾳ (108. 8, 12; 128. 10). Of the two passages about Jerome P W omit the first, P W T the second.

What, by the by, was her actual name? It is a curious question no doubt to ask, in face of the long line of editors and historians, down to and including Dom Butler, who have accustomed us to the form 'Melania': but the enquiry is not without its bearing upon the text of the writings both of Palladius and of his contemporaries. Among the MSS of the *Historia Lausiaca* W gives Μελάριον, and Dom Butler admits that, if he had had this MS at his disposal from the outset, he would have accepted its reading. Μελάριον as a Greek neuter diminutive is intelligible enough; and if we had to do with an originally Greek name there would be good reason for accepting this form of it. But Melania was a Roman, and the Latin evidence must therefore be first consulted. For Paulinus of Nola we have now a critical edition by Hartel in the *Vienna Corpus*, and it is clear that Paulinus knew her as 'Melanias'. The MSS of Jerome, according to Dom Butler, vary between masculine, feminine, and neuter, but in the *Chronicle* 'Melanias' is certainly the reading of all the older MSS, including the Bodleian codex of the fifth century¹. For Augustine we have as yet no critical *apparatus*: but the evidence of the other two Latin fathers amply guarantees the correctness of 'Melanias', and this is also the form adopted in the Sessorian MS of the Latin version of Palladius. We are in fact reduced to no more than two alternatives: either the masculine is the genuine reading in Palladius, and we must restore it on the strength of the Latin (with some Syriac evidence also); or Palladius and the Greeks transformed the unintelligible masculine into a more intelligible neuter, and the Latin translator restored what he knew to be the Latin form of the lady's name. In favour of the first alternative is a curious phrase in ch. 9 (29. 10), which seems to me to gain in point if what Palladius wrote was really ἡ ἀνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ Μελάριος, 'that female man of God Melanias', rather than ἡ ἀνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ Μελάριον or Μελαρία. Why her contemporaries called her Melanias I am unable to say; and it would perhaps be pedantic at this time of day to alter the traditional form in speaking of her.

Palladius has a good deal to tell us about Melania, up and down the *History*, even in Dom Butler's text: but has not the

¹ See Schöne *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus* (Berlin, 1900), p. 106.

editor wrongfully deprived her of a whole chapter? For ch. 55, if I am right, is no new section on a fresh subject, Silvania, but a continuation of ch. 54 on Melania¹. It opens with the words *συνέβη ἅμα ὁδεύειν ἡμᾶς*, 'it happened that we were together on a journey, escorting the blessed Silvania the virgin, sister-in-law of the prefect Rufinus, on her way from Aelia to Egypt'; and the plural can only refer to Palladius and Melania. It closes with a eulogy couched in terms quite exceptional in the *Lausiaca History*, appropriate enough to Melania, but wholly inappropriate to a person like Silvania, of whom (now that the so-called *Peregrinatio Silviae* is attributed elsewhere) we know absolutely nothing to justify it. Nor do the contents of the chapter tell a different tale. The second half of it is the description of the lady's zeal for studying the ancient exegetes of the Church which has already been cited above (p. 346): the first half of it is a story of ascetic habits which, even in the palmy days of asceticism, can only have been true of a woman like Melania, whose self-renunciation was absolute. Among the company that escorted Silvania was one Jovinus, at that time deacon, but when Palladius wrote bishop, of the church of Ascalon, 'a pious man and a scholar'. 'The heat became terrific, and when we reached Pelusium Jovinus seized a basin and gave his hands and feet a thorough wash² in ice-cold water, and then threw a rug on the ground and settled

¹ The chapter numbers are of course not in the MSS, but are supplied by the editors for purposes of convenience. Dom Butler encloses them throughout in brackets.

² *Νίψασθαι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας πυγμῇ ὕδατι ψυχροτάτῃ* (148. 21). Has any one ever noticed this allusion (probably the only one in patristic literature) to Mc. vii 3? Unfortunately it does not settle the vexed question of the meaning of *πυγμῇ*, though the apparent contrast with *τῶν ἄκρων τῶν χειρῶν* (149. 7) perhaps supports the interpretation 'as far as the elbow' (and, in this case, 'the knee'). Dom Butler does not note the reference to St Mark, and it seems a pity that, by limiting his use of uncial type to actual quotations from the Bible, he calls no attention to the not infrequent echoes of Biblical language. Thus he nowhere indicates that the opening of the *Historia Lausiaca* is modelled on the prologue of St Luke's Gospel, *πολλὰν πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς συγγράμματα τῷ βίῳ καταλειπούτων . . . ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ τῷ ταπεινῷ . . . ἀνωθεν ἐκθέσθαι σοι ἐν δηγήματος εἰδει τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο* (9. 1, 10; 10, 8): add also 11. 18, Matt. xviii 24; 15. 19, Heb. xi 32; 19. 18, Ps. xxxvii 11, Matt. v 5; 30. 22, Marc. xii 42, Luc. xxi 2; 33. 10, Levit. xxi 17 seqq.; 38. 20, 21, Luc. xviii 22, ix 23, xiv 27; 44. 15, 4 Reg. v 20-27; 57. 2, Matt. xvii 17; 57. 9, Luc. xviii 43; 74. 8, Dan. iii; 115. 2, Gal. vi 14; 115. 6, Gal. i 10; 138. 23, Rom. xii 8; 144. 6, Tit. i 8, 1 Tim. vi 17, 18; 146. 13, Rom. viii 35; 149. 17, 1 Tim. vi 20; 151. 5, Eph. iv 26; 165. 2, Ezech. xxxiii 11.

himself comfortably to rest on it. She (*ἐκεῖνη*) began to upbraid his lack of hardness, assuring him that, though she was sixty, she never used a litter when travelling and never under any circumstances washed her face or her feet or more than her fingers.'

We know nothing, as has been said, of Silvanus, and therefore we cannot actually prove that the combination of asceticism and learning here depicted was alien to her character. But we do know that Melania was both a noted ascetic and a noted Origenist, and, even if female asceticism was no longer unusual, female study of Origen must have been always rare. The case for Melania, I feel confident, has only to be stated in order to be admitted, and that in spite of an argument which might conceivably be raised against it. The lady was in her sixtieth year when she made her profession of asceticism to Jovinus: but Melania was also sixty years old when she left Palestine to revisit Rome (ch. 54: 146. 20), and that journey took place not earlier than 398 and not later than 400 A.D. (Butler II 277, correcting II 227). Therefore if Melania is the subject of ch. 55, the episode at Pelusium must have taken place about 399. And in fact Palladius, between the years of his long residence in Egypt and of his episcopate in Bithynia, was just then in Palestine for a brief period (II 105. 5-8). But he had been sent from Egypt to Palestine, so he tells us, on account of ill-health: how then can he have been returning from Jerusalem towards Egypt in that particular year? The objection is specious rather than real: there may have been any one of countless reasons, necessarily unknown to us, to induce him to make the brief journey to Pelusium: we are not even told that he went on to Egypt, but only that Silvanus was going there and that they escorted her so far. Indeed the fresh data brought into account in favour of the objection seem to me to constitute an additional argument in support of the Melania hypothesis, since they bring out the coincidence that during Melania's sixtieth year she and Palladius were both actually in Palestine.

The reader whose ideas of the *Lausiaca History* are derived only from the foregoing pages would need to be warned that they would be leaving on him a false impression if he supposed that questions of controversy loomed at all largely in it. The

note of criticism is not the dominant one in Palladius' book, any more than it was in most of the men whom he set himself to describe. Rather his purpose is, writing himself as one of the secular clergy and addressing a layman in high office at the court, to depict a mode of life that stood in sharp contrast to the lives of bishops and chamberlains exactly by its aloofness from the controversies of the world and even of the Church.

There is much of interest that could be added on the characteristic features of the monastic life as depicted by Palladius: but it must be added, if at all, on another occasion. Enough at any rate has been said to shew under what a burden of obligation Dom Butler has laid us by the long and successful labours that have culminated in his edition of the *Lausiaca History*.

C. H. TURNER.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS.

THERE is a peculiar interest and fascination attaching to the lost Gospel known to us by the name of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is not shared by any one of the other Evangelical narratives outside the Canonical four. All the others are apocryphal, on a lower level of historical value; if indeed they can be said to possess any historical value at all. But the Gospel according to the Hebrews by its very title claims an authority equal to, if not actually greater than, that of the four which eventually received the approval of the Church. The territorial designation goes better with the preposition employed than does the name of an author, and Prof. Harnack's opinion that such titles were older than the personal ones seems likely to be well founded. We are transported back to a time, at the very beginning of the Church's history, before any one of the Gospel stories had attained to universal acceptance, but when each narrative was still the exclusive possession of the city or district for the benefit of whose inhabitants it had been originally composed, and was only known to other Christians as the Gospel used by such and such a people, or preserved in such and such a city. It was probably only at a later date, and possibly only after the four Canonical Gospels had been collected together to form a single volume, that these more ancient titles gave place to those which are so familiar to us to-day, the Gospels according to St Matthew, St Mark, St Luke, and St John.

Only two of these territorial titles have come down to us, though there may possibly have been others almost equally well known; the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and that according to the Egyptians; titles which thrill us with interest, and with curiosity to know what were the contents of the documents that were known by names of so suggestive a character. We feel ourselves carried back to those dim years, of which we know

so little and would wish to know so much, immediately succeeding the times of the Apostles, while the centre of the Christian religion was still for practical purposes in the East, and while the Temple at Jerusalem was still standing. Already, these titles seem to say to us, there were Gospels known in the infant Church—already the things which Jesus did and said had been committed to writing—and already two such narratives stand out prominent among the rest for interest and authority—the possessions respectively of the Churches of Jerusalem and of Alexandria—the ‘Gospel according to the Egyptians’, and the ‘Gospel according to the Hebrews’.

Of the original ‘Gospel according to the Egyptians’ we can form a fairly definite notion. It can hardly have been anything else than some form of the Gospel of St Mark. All Christian tradition is unanimous in assigning to St Mark the work of evangelizing Egypt and founding the Church of Alexandria. When we find, therefore, that a special ‘Gospel according to the Egyptians’ was in existence from very early times, and when we find St Chrysostom actually stating that St Mark wrote his Gospel in Egypt, we can hardly help coming to the conclusion that these two traditions are correlated. St Mark, we may suppose, left behind him in Egypt a Gospel narrative which may not indeed have been absolutely identical with that which we now call by his name, but which, on the other hand, it is natural to suppose had some close affinities with it, and this narrative became known to the Christians of the first century as the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

On this hypothesis it follows, of course, that the various scraps which are quoted by Origen and others from a Gospel which was known to them under this name, since they have no apparent affinities with the Gospel of St Mark, must either be additions made at a later date to the original narrative, or else, and perhaps more probably, be quotations from an apocryphal Gospel which usurped the name in the second century, after the original Gospel of the Egyptians had become known throughout Christendom as the Gospel according to St Mark. In either case they are of no value to the student who desires to recover the text of the original document, and the details in which it varies from that form of the Gospel of St Mark which we now possess.

These considerations on the Gospel of the Egyptians are not without value for our study of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Here again we are confronted by a number of extracts, purporting to be drawn from the Gospel in question, but which have all the appearances of a later and less authentic origin. It may be best for us to neglect these quotations for the present as being quite possibly later additions, or even quotations from an apocryphal document masquerading under a venerable title, and passing itself off as an authentic record of the life of Christ. In either of these cases they will only mislead us, and therefore for the present we put them aside, fully recognizing that they may be of value and interest, and intending to submit them to a careful examination at a later time, but for the present endeavouring to form for ourselves on *a priori* grounds some idea of the probable character of the original document, before we go on to consider whether any of the existing fragments may possibly have formed part of it.

We take then as our point of departure, a passage in the writings of Irenaeus, about the close of the second century, which is the earliest description which has come down to us of the Gospel whose nature and history we are trying to investigate. 'The Ebionites', St Irenaeus says, 'use no other Gospel except that which is according to St Matthew, and refuse the Apostle Paul, saying that he is an apostate from the law.'¹ It is not a very explicit statement, but it is sufficient to give us a starting-point for our enquiry, especially when we supplement it by a parallel passage from Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History. Eusebius is obviously basing himself on Irenaeus and his words are little more than a quotation from the earlier writer, but they contain the important additional information that the Gospel used by the Ebionites was not really the Gospel according to St Matthew, as Irenaeus had supposed, but was the Gospel according to the Hebrews. 'This Gospel', he says, 'is the only one that they use, for they reckon the others to be of little value.'² We learn from these passages that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was, in the latter half of the second century, the more or less exclusive possession of the Jewish community beyond the Jordan who were known as Ebionites, and that they

¹ Iren. i 26. 2.

² Eus. Hist. Eccl. iii 27. 4.

used it to the exclusion of the more widely known Greek Gospels, which were at that time just attaining the position of being admitted to the Canon of the Church, holding that it was more ancient and of greater authority than they were. It was connected with the name of St Matthew, so much so that Irenaeus supposed it to be actually identical with the Gospel which he knew under that name. From other and later sources we know that it was written in Hebrew, or rather in Aramaic, a fact which accounts at once for its limited diffusion, and for its gradual disappearance as Aramaic ceased to exist as a living language. As there is no reason to suppose that St Irenaeus knew Aramaic or that he had ever seen a copy of the Gospel in question, we cannot take his evidence as implying that there was any similarity of contents between this Hebrew Gospel attributed to St Matthew and the Greek canonical Gospel which bears his name. All that St Irenaeus really knew was, apparently, that the Gospel used by the Ebionites was by them attributed to the hand of St Matthew, and from that he not unnaturally jumped to the conclusion that it was identical with the one with which he was already familiar.

The people among whom this Gospel was preserved deserve a moment's attention. They were the descendants of the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem who had fled from the city on the approach of the Roman armies, and had taken refuge at Pella. From that place, when Jerusalem had been destroyed, and their return thither was thereby rendered impossible, they had gone on to the populous district beyond the Jordan and had settled down at Kokaba in Batanea. Among them were the descendants of the 'brethren of the Lord', who appear to have enjoyed a certain pre-eminence, and from among whom the Bishops who governed the community seem for a considerable period to have been chosen. This little colony of Christians, cut off as they were both by language and by race from the main stream of Greek-speaking and Gentile Christianity, in which the ideas peculiar to the new religion were rapidly developing themselves and assuming a permanent form, remained wholly Judaic and even reactionary. They looked back to Jerusalem as not merely the cradle but also the natural centre of their religion, and Christianity was in their eyes not intended to supplant Judaism

—that they regarded as a blasphemy and a heresy—but only to fill it in and to give a new direction to the tendency of its development. Hence they kept the Law as still binding upon them, and regarded St Paul as a heretic and an enemy, the *homo inimicus* of the parable, who had sowed tares among the wheat and so succeeded in crossing and bringing to nought the purposes of God. They kept the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Sunday, called their churches by the name of 'synagogues', and ardently expected a miraculous restoration of Jerusalem to be once more the centre of the religious world, Christian as well as Jewish.

This attitude of mind had its inevitable result on their views of the person and work of Christ. They regarded Him as the Jewish Messiah, but hardly as the Redeemer of the human race. He was a Prophet, the last and greatest of the Prophets no doubt, but still only a Prophet; that other Prophet whom Moses had foretold that God would raise up like unto himself. So 'the true Prophet' was the ordinary phrase by which they designated the Founder of their religion, rarely did they speak of Him as the Christ, or as the Saviour or the Redeemer. As time went on, and especially after the founding of Ælia Capitolina by the Emperor Hadrian on the old site of Jerusalem drew off from among them all who were not forbidden on account of their Jewish blood to return to the Holy City, they became more and more reactionary, more Jewish and less Christian, until by the end of the fourth century we find them regarded definitely as heretics and separated from the main body of the Christian Church, still clinging obstinately to their Jewish customs, and speaking of Christ not as God, although called the Son of God, but as born after the ordinary way of nature of Mary and of her husband Joseph.

Such were the people among whom the Gospel according to the Hebrews circulated, and such were the doctrines that they held. Let us see now whether we have sufficient material before us to enable us to arrive at any probable conclusion as to the nature and contents of the book which alone made up the whole of the sacred literature which they had added to those Scriptures of the Old Testament which had formed the Bible of their ancestors.

In the first place we may assume, I think, not indeed with certainty but at least with a strong degree of probability, that the original composition of their Gospel must be dated back to some time anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem. No book written in their exile would have attained so commanding a position, since it would have had to contend with others of an authority not much inferior to its own. Its unique position resulted from the fact that it and it alone had been accepted by their forefathers while they still dwelt at Jerusalem, and therefore it shared in the mysterious sanctity which invested all that was connected with the Holy City. We have then to picture to ourselves, if we wish to form an idea of this Gospel which has so unfortunately perished, an Evangelic narrative of the earliest period, written in the Aramaic dialect which was current at Jerusalem and was called by the name of Hebrew, owing its origin especially to the Apostle Matthew, and lending itself to a certain extent, by its omissions and fragmentary character to inadequate and even heretical notions about the Person and work of our Lord. We are at once irresistibly reminded of that other mysterious document, also written in Hebrew and assigned to St Matthew, our knowledge of the existence of which we owe to Papias, or rather to the 'presbyter' from whom he derived his information: 'Matthew then compiled the Discourses [of the Lord] (τὰ [κυριακὰ] λόγια) in the Hebrew tongue, and every one translated them as he was able.' Is it possible seriously to maintain that there were two separate documents, each of them written at Jerusalem during the Apostolic age and in the Hebrew tongue, each of them assigned to the Apostle Matthew, and each of them dealing in some way with the Gospel story? Or are we not rather forced to the conclusion that these two documents, whose descriptions are so strangely similar, must really be identical, and that the lost Gospel according to the Hebrews, in its earliest and uninterpolated state, was indeed none other than the Book of the Logia, the Discourses of Christ, drawn up by St Matthew at Jerusalem about A. D. 40, and carried with them into exile by the fugitive Christians when they left Jerusalem for ever, a little before its final destruction in the year 71?

If we can accept this identification of the Gospel according to the Hebrews with the *Logia* of St Matthew, we are at once able

to determine, at least roughly, the nature and the limits of its contents. I know that the Dean of Westminster has given his opinion that any such attempt to define the contents of the *Logia* is premature, and that he apparently doubts even whether the *Logia* ever existed as an actual document; but in this he seems to me, as to many others, to be altogether unduly cautious. It may be premature to attempt to define with exactness what the *Logia* contained, but we can be tolerably certain at least of this, that it had no narrative of the birth or early years, and that it lacked also any details of the crucifixion. It was devoted in the main, as its name implies, to the discourses of Christ, and dealt only in a secondary manner, if at all, with His actions. On these main points there is a very general agreement of all the critics, and we shall probably be fairly safe if we adopt them as the basis for our further investigations on this subject.

What, then, we have to ask ourselves next is whether we can bring any definite and external evidence which may lend support to the rather precarious edifice we have built up on *a priori* lines. An argument of this sort is useful as providing a working hypothesis, but is dangerous to rely on unless it fits in with and helps to explain the other facts which are already known to us. Is there then any sort of reason for holding that the continued existence of a Gospel of this kind, confined exclusively to the period of the public ministry, and not dealing at all either with the way in which Christ came into the world, or with His death upon the Cross, is rendered probable by actual facts by which the theory can be tested?

We may find, I think, such support, firstly, in the history of the Ebionite people, and of the heresy which was developed among them at a later date. It is a singular phenomenon in any case that a body of professing Christians should have gone back from the position held by the Apostles, so far as we know, even from the first days after Pentecost. Some of the tenets of the Ebionites were no doubt due to an excessive conservatism, and simply reflect the primitive conditions which the Catholic Church soon outgrew and broke loose from. But others, such as the obscuring of the sacrificial aspect of the death of Christ and of His work as the Redeemer of the human race, must, surely imply a definite falling away from dogmas that had once been

clearly held. The Ebionites on this point bear witness against themselves, by their insistence on the doctrine that all earthly sacrifice had ceased, while they denied the One Sacrifice which was the only justification for such teaching in the mouth of one of Jewish descent. They were, therefore, we are justified in saying, not merely conservatives who had failed to keep pace with the developements of the Church, but reactionaries who had given up and gone back from some of the truths they once had held.

Now such a falling away is made far more easy to understand, if indeed it is not altogether accounted for, if we can adopt the hypothesis that they were possessed only of a partial Gospel and that, on account of their excessive reverence for it, they despised and rejected the fuller Gospels which would have supplied material for the preservation of their faith. If the Gospel which they possessed had no story of the birth of Christ, and no details of His Passion, but confined itself wholly to the record of His teaching, is it not obvious that, as the years went on, there might easily have arisen a tendency to forget the doctrines for which that Gospel did not supply foundation, to exalt unduly the Prophetical office, and to leave out of account Christ's office as Victim and as Priest? The Ebionite heresy would be the almost inevitable consequence of such an incomplete and one-sided picture of the life of Christ as would have been afforded by such a book as we have reason to believe the *Logia* must have been, unless that picture was supplemented, and its shortcomings made up, by the additional teaching supplied by the other Gospel histories.

We shall be led again to a similar conclusion if we make a careful examination of the few Ebionite writings which have survived the passage of the centuries. The most useful for our present purpose are the so-called Clementine Homilies, which are full of quotations drawn either from our present Gospels or else from some other narratives which have very much in common with our Gospels. There are but few questions connected with our present subject which have been more fully discussed than this one of the Clementine quotations, the one side arguing keenly that they resemble the Canonical Gospels too closely to allow us reasonably to refer them to any other document, and

the other arguing equally forcibly that the divergencies from our Gospels are so constant, and the actual coincidences so few, that no theory of quotation by memory, or of unconscious combination of separate texts, is sufficient to explain them, unless we allow at least that one or more other gospels were also employed. The question is very much complicated by the fact that this book of Homilies, in the form in which it is known to us, is itself a composite document, and has been worked over and interpolated, probably more than once, by hands that are later than that of the original composer.

It is, I think, extremely difficult to draw any satisfactory conclusion from even a minute study of these quotations. Any conclusion we arrive at is liable to be vitiated by these interpolations. Nor on the other hand is it easy to pick out the interpolations with any certainty, on account of the loose and disjointed character of the argument. But if we do not make a minute study, but only try to get as it were a bird's-eye view of the general character of the quotations, paying but little attention to any occasional exceptions to our deductions with which we may happen to meet, we may, I venture to think, obtain results which are distinctly valuable and illuminating, and which altogether bear out the conclusions at which we have already arrived. These results we may formulate as follows:—

1. From the singular likeness *in substance* of the great majority of the Clementine quotations to passages in the Gospel according to St Matthew, we may conclude with practical certainty that the author must have possessed either the Gospel of St Matthew itself, or else one at least of the sources from which that Gospel was compiled, or else another Gospel which included one at least of those sources.

2. From the fact that the quotations, though so like St Matthew in substance, are hardly ever *verbally* exact, we conclude that the possession of a source, either in its original form or else as included in another Gospel, is more probable than the possession of St Matthew itself.

3. This last conclusion is materially strengthened by the observation that the quotations are by no means drawn equally from all the various portions of St Matthew, but are, on the contrary, almost strictly limited to those portions of the Gospel

which are probably taken from the *Logia*. There are no quotations from the first four chapters, nor any from those chapters which deal with the Passion and Resurrection. Very few of the quotations allude to any event in our Lord's life, almost all refer to words which He is recorded to have spoken. A very large proportion are drawn from the Sermon on the Mount.

If a reference be made to a list of these quotations, such a one for instance as may be found in Preuschen's *Antilegomena*, the facts to which I have drawn attention stand out with almost startling clearness. The quotations begin suddenly at the fifth chapter and end with equal abruptness at the end of the twenty-fifth. In the intermediate chapters some seventy quotations are noted, and of these seventy twenty-three, or just one-third, are from the Sermon on the Mount, and thirteen more are from chapters xxiv and xxv. The large majority of the others, if looked up in such a book as Wright's *Synopsis*, will be found to be assigned by him to the *Logia* as their source. There are exceptions, but they are very few in comparison with the others. When we consider that the *Logia* portions of St. Matthew do not amount to a third of the whole Gospel, we shall see at once that it can scarcely be due to chance alone that so very large a proportion of the quotations should be drawn from so small a portion of the Gospel. We can scarcely escape the conclusion that the writer could not possibly have had the whole Gospel before him, but was limited to one or more of the sources employed by the author of the Gospel.

The evidence of the second century seems, then, to be pretty clear and free from difficulty. But the question is complicated by some other evidence which comes to us from a much later period, the end of the fourth century and the time of St Jerome, which we must now proceed to examine.

St Jerome, in the course of his Biblical studies, had become aware of the existence of an Aramaic Gospel, written in Hebrew characters, which was preserved and used by the Christians of the Syrian Beroea. At a later date he found a second copy of the same work in the library of the priest Pamphilus at Caesarea. He had the highest opinion of the importance of his find, and he obtained leave to copy it, and then proceeded to

translate it both into Greek and into Latin. The result of this careful study was to convince him that he had made no less a discovery than that of the Hebrew original of St Matthew's Gospel. He seems to have retained this opinion for many years, possibly as many as thirty, but at the same time he identified it also with the Gospel according to the Hebrews¹, though of course this identification in no way excludes the other.

He quotes this Gospel no less than thirteen times, sometimes at considerable length, and from his quotations, especially when taken in conjunction with his opinion, expressed many times with great conviction and never withdrawn, that this was indeed the Hebrew original of the Greek Gospel, we can form a tolerably accurate idea of the contents of the document. It must have borne a very close resemblance indeed to St Matthew, or St Jerome could never have supposed it to be the original, but on the other hand it must have differed from it in some notable particulars, and in a good many small details, or he would never have put himself to the trouble of translating it into Greek.

Such a close resemblance to our St Matthew cannot possibly have arisen by accident, but must involve a close connexion, direct or indirect, between the two Gospels. There are only three conceivable ways in which the resemblance can have come about. The first is that apparently held by St Jerome, who thought this document to be the earlier, and the Greek Gospel to be a translation from it, or at least to be founded upon it. The second is that held by many critics of the last century, especially by Lightfoot, Westcott, and Salmon, and is that the Greek Gospel is the original, and that the Hebrew document is merely secondary, and either translated from or at least founded upon the Greek. The third, which is that which I desire now to put forward, is that both the Greek Gospel and the Hebrew document are independent compilations from the same sources, made probably the one in imitation of the other.

Modern critics are more or less agreed that St Matthew's Gospel is the result of a fusion of three main documents, the

¹ Compare St Jerome, *Catal. Script. Eccl.*, written about A. D. 392, with the same author's *Dial. adv. Pelag.* lib. iii. The passages may be conveniently read together with the others bearing upon the question in Nicholson's *Gospel according to the Hebrews* p. 20 sq.

story of the Birth; the Logia; and some form of St Mark. Any Hebrew document which so closely resembled the Gospel as this seems to have done must have been made up of the same three sources. And St Jerome's quotations seem to shew that this was actually the case. He gives two quotations from the first two chapters, and his document had also a story of the Passion which closely resembled that of St Mark. He notes one or two differences only, as for instance that the Lintel of the Temple was said to have been broken, when St Mark says the Veil of the Temple was rent. Had there been other really notable differences he could hardly have failed to note them in like manner in some one of his many writings. We have every reason to suppose therefore that each of the three main sources was employed in the compilation of both Gospels. But, next, the Aramaic does not seem to be a mere translation from the Greek, but on the contrary seems to be the original. The phrase 'He shall be called a Nazarene' is inexplicable in the Greek, when given as a citation from prophecy, but St Jerome found it quite clear in the Hebrew. 'He shall be called Nêtser, a branch', the reference being evidently to Is. xi 1, and perhaps, as Mr Nicholson has suggested, also to Zech. vi 12. The play upon the word was of course impossible in Greek, and hence the obscurity of the passage in St Matthew. This seems clearly to point to the Aramaic of *this* portion of the Gospel being earlier than the Greek, and this conclusion is strengthened by two other details which we also learn from St Jerome; the one that the reading 'Bethlehem of Judah', which he found there, is better than the 'Bethlehem of Judaea', which is the reading of the Greek, and the other that the quotations in this portion did not follow the Septuagint as they do in St Matthew, but were from the original Hebrew. On the whole then we seem justified in assuming that, at any rate as regards this introductory portion, St Jerome was right in his opinion and that he had discovered the Aramaic original on which the Greek Gospel was founded, and of which, indeed, it seems to have been a translation.

In the same way we can fairly argue that, if St Jerome's new Gospel is thus shewn not to have been *wholly* translated from the Greek, but as regards one portion to have incorporated the

original Aramaic, we shall probably be right in assuming that the same was true as regards another large portion; namely, that portion which was drawn from the *Logia*. We have no reason to suppose that there was a double translation, first from Aramaic into Greek, and then back again into Aramaic. It is obviously simpler and more reasonable to suppose that the compiler of St Jerome's Gospel here also made use of the original, with which, if our surmises in the earlier part of this article are well founded, he can hardly have been unacquainted, and that, consequently, St Jerome was right again as regards this second portion of the document he had found.

When we turn to the Marcan portion, which must have supplied the backbone of the narrative, the case is altogether different. Here we are still in possession of the source itself, though possibly in a slightly altered form, and that source, St Mark's Gospel, is generally believed to be an original Greek work and not a translation from the Aramaic. As regards this portion of the document St Jerome was in error, the Aramaic version must have been founded on the Greek, and not *vice versa*. The suggestion, then, which I desire to make is this. The Gospel document discovered by St Jerome was not either a translation from the Greek of St Matthew, nor the Aramaic original of that Gospel. It owed its similarity to St Matthew to the fact that it was compiled out of the same sources as that Gospel had been. But, whereas St Matthew is the result of a fusion of St Mark with Greek translations of a Birth Narrative and of the *Logia*, St Jerome's Gospel was the result of a fusion of the original Birth Narrative and the original *Logia* with an Aramaic translation of St Mark. In neither case can we use the word translation in any sense which will exclude a good deal of variation, and the incorporation of independent traditions. The value, therefore, of each one of St Jerome's quotations must be judged on its own merits. It is probable that we are possessed of all the most important passages in which the Aramaic document varied from the Greek St Matthew. Some of these are exceptionally valuable, as representing the original, and enable us to correct and explain the text of St Matthew. Some are possibly due to a mistranslation or a faulty text, and are, therefore, of no value at all. Some, again, may embody an independent and

genuine tradition, as, for instance, the narrative of the healing of the man with a withered hand, which is clearer and much more vivid in the Aramaic than in the Greek. Others again may be merely late traditions which have crept into a text that was insufficiently guarded by wide diffusion over the world. To examine them all in detail and to decide to which class each of them belongs would not be possible within the limits of such an article as this.

It is worth while, however, to point out that there is a certain amount of confirmatory evidence for the actual existence in Syria of just such a Gospel as that which we have been describing in the quotations from the 'Memoirs of the Apostles' to be found in Justin Martyr. There can be very little doubt that Justin was acquainted with three at least of our present Gospels, St Matthew, St Luke, and St John, and that he quotes from all three. It would be surprising if he did not, since all must have been known at Rome before the period at which he was residing there. But at the same time it must, I think, be admitted that he also quotes from another Gospel which is unknown to us, and that, in fact, it is from that other Gospel that most of his quotations are taken. This Gospel must have been singularly like the Gospel of St Matthew, for almost all his quotations agree with that Gospel in substance, but there is just the same constant disagreement in verbal matters, and sometimes in arrangement, which we find in the Clementine Homilies. Justin is not, however, quoting from the same Gospel as the author of the Homilies, for his Gospel included the Birth Narrative and the Marcan story of the Passion. Nor does it seem to be actually from St Matthew that he is quoting, for his Gospel has special details, such as the fact that the stable at Bethlehem was a cave, or that the wise men came from Arabia, which he could not have derived from St Matthew. Such a Gospel as we have described as being that found by St Jerome would exactly meet the case, and would account for all his quotations, two of which, indeed, not drawn from our Gospel, are actually to be found among St Jerome's quotations from his Gospel document. Justin was a native of Shechem, the modern Nablous, and was converted while still residing in his native place. He can hardly have failed, therefore, to understand Aramaic, which

indeed would probably have been his mother tongue, and there is no improbability in our supposing that he became so familiar with this Aramaic Gospel that he continued to quote it even after he had become acquainted with the other and more widely known Gospel in Greek.

Before we leave the subject it is necessary to say a few words on the Gospel used by the heretical Ebionites in the fourth century, our knowledge of which is almost wholly due to Epiphanius. This Gospel was certainly not identical with the document found by St Jerome, for it lacked any narrative of the birth. Moreover it was apparently of distinctly heretical tendency, while St Jerome's document had no heretical tendency at all. The absence of a Birth-narrative suggests the *Logia* as its parent, and this is what we should expect also from the place in which it originated and the sect whose tenets it expressed. A glance at the tables in Preuschen's *Antilegomena* will once more be found illuminating. The quotations from this Gospel given by Epiphanius are closely related to passages in *all* the Canonical Gospels. We may conclude, I think, that it was a secondary Gospel, probably based mainly on the *Logia*, but compiled at a comparatively late date by some one who was acquainted with the Canonical Gospels, and designed to forward the interests of the Ebionite heresy. If that be so the quotations from it are of little interest for our present purpose and need not be further discussed at present.

It may be well for the sake of clearness to sum up the suggestions which I have ventured to put forward and have tried to prove in this article. I suggest that we must distinguish three different documents, all of which were spoken of in ancient times as 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews'. The first was identical with the *Logia* of St Matthew; and was long preserved by the Jewish community, the remnant of the mother Church of Jerusalem, in their exile beyond Jordan. It was the source of the quotations found in the Clementine Homilies, so far as these are not due to later interpolations. This earliest 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' was the only Gospel used by those Jewish Christians who were cut off by their geographical position from intercourse with the Western world, but was soon felt to be insufficient by those who lived in Syria. This led to

the compilation of a fuller Gospel, possibly in imitation of the Greek Gospel of St Matthew, and out of the same sources. It is possible, on the other hand, that the Syrian compilation may have been the earlier, and that the Greek one was the imitation. In any case the time at which it was produced was probably not later than the close of the first century, while the various sources were still extant and available. The resulting document seems also to have borne the name of 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews', and to have been fairly widely known. It is probably quoted by St Ignatius (*Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 3); by Papias (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* iii 39); by St Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii 9); by Hegesippus (*Euseb. H.E.* iv 22); by Origen (*Comm. in Ioan.* ii § 63), and by Justin Martyr. These quotations seem to imply an early translation into Greek, but if so that translation was not known to St Jerome, who became acquainted with the document in Aramaic and translated it into Greek and Latin. Lastly, the original *Logia* Gospel became more and more corrupted and interpolated as the Ebionites separated themselves more and more from orthodox Christianity, and by the end of the fourth century seems to have become a mere heretical Gospel overlaid with matter drawn from other sources, apparently from the canonical Gospels amongst others, and deliberately corrupted to favour the tenets of the heretical sect by whom it was used.

A. S. BARNES.

DOCUMENTS

CODEX TAURINENSIS (Y)¹.

[At the suggestion of the Editors of the larger Cambridge Septuagint Dr Swete's symbol (Y) has been retained, though the Codex is not an uncial.]

History of the Manuscript.

OF the origin of this manuscript nothing is known; of its history but little. It belonged formerly to the Dukes of Savoy, and was kept in the library adjoining the ducal palace in Turin. In the year 1666 a fire broke out in the palace, and much damage was done to the library, which was partially destroyed; the MS under consideration suffered a good deal, but not so severely as one might be led to expect from Stroth's account, who speaks of it as 'ein leider sehr zerrissener Codex', and adds: 'er ist aber durch die vielen Risse nicht allein sehr unleserlich, sondern es fehlt auch vieles'². In the same year the MS, together with all that was left of the ducal library, was delivered over to the care of the University of Turin. Here it has remained ever since. It has been bound in very stout leather, and is secured with brass clasps; this binding is comparatively modern, and it is in part owing to this precaution that the MS escaped unscathed in the recent disastrous fire. Fortunately its place was on a low shelf, from which it was easily snatched soon after the fire broke out; all the manuscripts on the upper shelves of the block were either wholly destroyed or very seriously damaged. The only signs on this MS of its recent narrow escape are some marks of water; but these happen to be only on such parts of the vellum as have no writing on them; the binding is considerably discoloured by water, and but for its stoutness the MS would assuredly have suffered further damage.

But though so providentially preserved from the fire of the year 1904, it nevertheless bears grievous marks of that of the year 1666. The fire must have attacked the MS at the right-hand corner, at the bottom, and must have been extinguished before it was able to make its way through; for, while on the first few pages scarcely anything of the biblical text is wanting, there are increasing lacunae as each leaf is

¹ I desire to express my hearty thanks to the Managers of the Hort Fund for their kindness in giving me a grant towards the expenses involved in the journey to and sojourn in Turin.

² Eichhorn, *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur* viii pp. 202 ff.

turned; and this is continued up to the last few pages, which again become practically intact, as far as the biblical text is concerned. The damaged zone cuts diagonally across the page, respectively from right to left and left to right.

Date of the Manuscript.

Stroth¹, Pasini², and Swete³ all assign this MS to the ninth century. Though the Introduction to Theodoret's *ὑπόθεσις* is in part written in uncials, the MS itself is in cursive handwriting, with the exception of the headings to the various books, which are written in gold uncial characters. In spite of this, however, there are a number of considerations which point to the date given above, or at latest to the tenth century:

(a) The handwriting itself is certainly a very early form of cursive; it is fairly upright, for cursive. The individual letters are carefully made, the exact finish of α and δ is noteworthy, and many of the letters are not joined to one another.

(b) In accordance with the general rule which prevailed down to about the ninth century, the writing is continuous, without separation of words, or divisions of verses, or even chapters; one exception to this latter is to be found at the end of Hos. i, where a very small blank space is left. There are no coupling-strokes between parts of the same word on different lines; these being unknown before the eleventh century, one may assume that the date is at any rate not later than the tenth century.

(c) There are no signs of the division of paragraphs; occasionally, and without any assignable reason, a capital marks the commencement of a line; but this capital, though sometimes the beginning of a verse, is frequently in the middle of one; sometimes it is found in the middle of a word⁴. No proper names commence with a capital.

(d) The very frequent occurrence of the middle point (στίγμα μέση), which, soon after the ninth century, gave place to the comma; also the sparing use of the note of interrogation, which is only found twelve times in the whole MS. The double stop (:) occurs only at the end of a book.

(e) The square form of the breathings (· ·) would also point to a comparatively early date.

(f) The contractions which are so marked a characteristic of the later cursives are almost entirely absent; and the abbreviations are such only as occur in early MSS (see below).

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 202.

² *Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei* p. 74.

³ *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* p. 145.

⁴ Once only does a chapter commence with a capital, viz. Hos. v.

The MS may therefore be assigned with some probability to the ninth century; there seems, at any rate, no adequate reason for regarding it as later than the tenth century¹.

General Description of the Manuscript.

The Codex consists of ninety-three leaves of fine vellum, the polished surface of which is characteristic of Italian preparation. The size of each leaf is 34 x 25 cm.; it is possible that the original sheets may have been a trifle broader. The pages have been skilfully restored by sticking triangular pieces of parchment on to the damaged parts of the original; thus the jagged edges left by the fire are prevented from being torn further. This has sometimes necessitated the covering over of letters at the end of a line; but it was clearly unavoidable.

The text is, as a rule, quite easy to read; it becomes difficult at times, however, to decipher words, or letters, at the end of a line within the damaged zone; for here it is not only the fire which has turned the vellum to different shades (from light brown to black), but water has made the ink run, so that in some instances (though fortunately only a few) decipherment was found to be impossible. This became especially annoying when it appeared from the legible portion of the line that some peculiar reading was involved². On the other hand, it happened over and over again that on portions of the MS which were almost black the action of the fire had turned the letters white, which were therefore as clear as possible. With the help of a magnifying-glass and a pocket electric light many words which at first sight appeared quite illegible were able to be deciphered.

There are generally twenty-two lines to a page, this number is of course reduced on those pages which contain the title of a new book; these titles occur at the top, in the middle, and even towards the bottom of a page. The line has thirty to forty letters; a few lines were noticed which had even less; forty is the outside limit; it may be safely said that most of the lines have thirty-two to thirty-four letters.

The accents and breathings are marked throughout, both in the uncial and in the cursive portions; in a few cases they are incorrect, e.g. Jon. iv 5 $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon$ for $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon$; apostrophes (e.g. $\epsilon\phi'$) and marks of diaeresis occur but rarely; ι adscript is invariably used when the letter to which it belongs ends a word, while if a letter requiring it occurs anywhere but at the end of a word the ι subscript is omitted.

¹ Even if intact, the date which stood at the foot of the MS would not be of much value, as the writing is of much later date than that of the MS. The vellum, which is of good quality, is however not sufficiently distinctive to enable one to fix its date to a century.

² e.g. in Zech. vi 10, Mal. iii 8.

The letter η is sometimes written H. Final ν is, in the earlier parts of the MS, omitted; not infrequently it was written by the original scribe, but erased later; in the later pages final ν is often inserted, but as frequently omitted. Final ς is never used; but both ν and σ are sometimes represented by — at the end of a line above the final letter.

Abbreviations are— $\overline{\theta\sigma}$ $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ $\overline{\sigma\nu\sigma\sigma}$ $\overline{\alpha\nu\sigma}$ $\overline{\delta\alpha\delta}$ $\overline{\pi\rho\sigma}$ $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$ $\overline{\mu\rho\alpha}$ $\overline{\iota\upsilon}$ (*Ιησουν*) $\overline{\sigma\rho\iota\upsilon}$ $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$ ¹ $\overline{\lambda\eta\mu}$ (on one single occasion, Zech. xiv 12, *Ιερουσαλημ* is written in full), κ and once or twice the sign ς (*καί*) occurs. These are the only abbreviations contained in the MS.

The only itacism that occurs is the substitution of ϵ for α (*Σειων* only occurs twice, Joel ii 15, 23, otherwise always *Σιων*).

The Marginal Notes.

The marginal notes are of four kinds:—

(i) Additions to the text; made by the original scribe, apparently; there are only two of these additions. Words are in a few cases added by being placed over the line. All these are noted in the *App. Crit.*

(ii) Very short comments on some word or words in the text; they are by a later hand, and do not by any means occur on every page; moreover, many of them are too close to the binding to be read; they were apparently intended to answer the purpose of ornamentation, as well as explanation, for they all take the form of a perpendicular line intersected midway by a circle. The comments are not illuminative.

(iii) Originally there was a commentary in the real sense of the word, that of Theodoret², surrounding the text on three sides; nine-tenths of this has been destroyed. The bulk of this commentary was at the bottom of the page; this is seen by the commencements of the lines, of which there are eleven or twelve, whereas at the top of the page there are only about half this number; unfortunately it is just the lower half of the MS which has suffered most. The commentary is in a handwriting smaller than that of the text, but evidently both are by the hand of the same scribe.

(iv) At the top of a few pages there are the remnants of what appear to have been marginal notes to the commentary; on the right-hand side of the pages in question one sees the top of what must have been a narrow column; this column is always on the outer side of the commentary, hence the supposition that it refers to this rather than to the text.

Owing to the extremely meagre remains of the marginal notes, and

¹ *Ιωσηφ*, *Εφραιμ*, *Ιακωβ* are invariably written in full.

² Theodoret's Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets is published in his complete works, edited by Schulze and Noesselt (Halle, 1769-1774), and in Migne's *Patr. Graec.* vol. lxxxix pp. 1546-1987.

the difficulty of making anything of them because of their mutilation, they have not been taken into consideration. One thing appears quite certain, however, that they are of no value from a text-critical point of view.

The Lacunae.

The lacunae, which are to be found on almost every page, in every line on most pages, vary from one letter to almost the whole line. It is always at the lower parts of the pages that the larger lacunae occur. But these lacunae are not so serious as would at first appear; the writing is so uniform that one can very nearly always tell how many letters are missing; I have again and again estimated the number of letters missing in a line, and found later on, when collating this MS with others, that in most cases the estimate was correct. It follows, therefore, that, generally speaking, missing words can be supplied by some other MS. One or two instances may be given:—

Hos. xi 10: . . . *****σθε: the words previous to this which are missing (εις πο[λιν] 10 οπισω κυ]) are common to all the MSS, and therefore in the transcription they are represented by . . . ; the word of which σθε is all that remains differs from B (with which the MS was first collated), which reads πορευομαι (so too A Q); the letters were, however, most likely correctly estimated, as a number of cursives (22 36 51 62 147) read πορευεσθε.

Amos iv 15: και σ*****ψω: the reading of B A Q is συνχω, only six letters, while Y has eleven; but Q^{ms} reads και συντριψω.

As a rule, however, when a lacuna is seen to contain a various reading, the process of deciding what that reading was cannot be immediately concluded; an instance of this may be seen in

Mic. vii 1: ος του φαγειν τα πρωτ [15 litt.] = 32
η ψυχη μου οιμοι ψυ [17 litt.] = 32.

Taking thirty-two letters as constituting a line, there was clearly something in the text of Y which was wanting in B A Q, for these read:

ος του φαγειν τα πρωτογονα. = 22
οιμοι ψυχη . . .

In the former of these two lines Y had ten more letters than would be the case if it agreed with the other MSS (there might have been more, but I usually started with thirty-two); on examining this reading later on in other MSS I found that several Lucianic MSS read επεποθησεν after πρωτ[ογονα]; this gave exactly the estimated and required number of letters.

One other example may be given, again from Hosea:

viii 1: ***φαρυγ****ως γη αβατος ως σαλπιγξ· ως, etc. (Y)
εις κολπον αυτων ως γη· ως, etc. (B A Q).

Here the number of letters in the line was under-estimated, as the reading of Y must assuredly have been that of the group 22 36 62 95 147 153 185 (all Lucianic): *ἐπι φαργγι αυτων ως γη αβατος. ως σαλιγξ ως*, etc.

Very many further examples could be given, but it is unnecessary here, as plenty will be found in the *Apparatus Criticus*. But even from these few instances it will be seen that, in spite of the *lacunae*, the readings can generally be fixed with reasonable certainty.

Character of the Text.

That Codex Y gives the text of the Lucianic recension becomes obvious after a very brief examination. The main importance of the MS lies in the fact that it is the earliest known text (of the *Δωδεκαπρόφητων*) of the Lucianic recension in existence. It is unnecessary to give instances here of this textual character, a few references to the text will suffice: Jon. ii 10, Mic. i 14, iv 13, vi 13, Zech. iii 5, vi 7, xiv 7, etc., etc.

There are many points of much interest in the relations of this MS with others; but as the details of these have not yet been fully worked out, nothing more than a reference is here made. Thus, Q^{ms} often agrees with Y against B^{NA} Q* (Γ), e.g. Mic. i 15, 16, vi 15; again, while N very frequently differs from Y, there is much affinity between N^{c.a} and N^{c.b} and Y. Very striking is the constant agreement of Y with the Lucianic group of MSS 22 36 51 62 147 153, in a somewhat lesser degree with 95 185, also reckoned as Lucianic, but with a special individuality of their own.

Contents of the Manuscript.

1. Theodoret's Introduction and Commentary commence on p. 1, under the title:

+ τοῦ μακαρίου θεολογίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κύριου ἐκ τῆς β. προφῆτιος Ἠοσέ:

On pp. 2, 3 are miniatures of the twelve prophets, all in perfect condition. Theodoret's Introduction is taken up again on p. 4, and continues to p. 13^a: his commentary occupies the margin round the biblical text, where not destroyed.

2. On p. 13^b is a large illuminated title to the book of Hosea.

3. The text proper begins on p. 14^a and goes on uninterruptedly to the end, p. 93^b.

Before the leaves of this MS were bound a few got misplaced, thus causing some confusion in the text:

Zech. xiv 12 breaks off on p. 88^a in MS and is continued on p. 90^a in MS; Mal. i 11 breaks off on p. 89^a in MS and is continued on p. 91^a in MS.

The Apparatus Criticus.

(i) Besides the various readings of B^NATQ, for which Swete's edition has been used, the *App. Crit.* contains readings from the following authorities:

(ii) All the Lucianic MSS at present known, viz. (Holmes and Parsons') 22 36 48 51 62 95 97 (= 238) 147 153 185 228 233. That all these MSS have undergone considerable revision in what may be called a 'Hesychian' direction scarcely admits of doubt; but this process is more strongly marked in 48 97 228 233 than in the rest; indeed, but for the fact that in some of the books, e.g. *Amos*, 48 agrees somewhat more closely with the other MSS of the group than in e.g. *Hosea* and others, it would be questionable whether 48 ought to be reckoned among the Lucianic MSS. The same must be said of 233, while 95 185 offer many individual readings of a perplexing character. As regards 97, Klostermann (*Analecta*, p. 11) has pointed out that the two Vatican numbers gr. 1153 and gr. 1154, which are parts of the same MS, are equivalent to 33 97 238 of Holmes and Parsons, these being likewise parts of the same MS; 1153 = 97 and 1154 = 33 238; of these, 33 contains Jer., Dan., 97 the Min. Proph. and Is., 238 Ezekiel. Here the number 97 is used instead of Holmes and Parsons' 238. The readings of all these MSS are taken from Holmes and Parsons, excepting 22 (Cod. Pachomianus), for which I have used the original in the British Museum (I. B. ii), and the *Amos* portions of 62 (New College, Oxford, XLIV) and 147 (Bodleian, olim Laud. K 96 nunc Graecus 30), which I have collated myself.

(iii) The Old Latin texts; these have been gathered by the writer, and can be found in the *JOURNAL* (vol. v pp. 76 ff, 242 ff, 378 ff, 570 ff; vol. vi pp. 67 ff, 217 ff), where the references to the patristic quotations are also given.

(iv) Hexaplaric readings; these are gathered from Field *Hexapla* (Oxford, 1875); Klostermann *Analecta* (Leipzig, 1895); G. Morin *Anecdota Maredsolana* III, parts i-iii (Maredsous, 1895-1903). To these have been added the readings of the hexaplaric MS, Cod. Barberinus.

(v) The readings of Chrysostom, gathered from Montfaucon's edition (Paris, 1839), and of Theodoret, Migne *Patr. Graec.* vols. lxxx-lxxxiv.

In order to avoid any ambiguity as to whether any of these authorities support or differ from Cod. Y, it should be added that, as regards (i), where B is wanting Γ supplies its place, namely in the following passages: Hos. x 2^b-9^a, Amos i 3 (εχουσας)-10 (επι τα), Zeph. ii 11 (θεους)-iii 9 (παντας), Hag. ii 4-18 (καρδιας), Zech. i 21 (επαυρομενα)-ii 4 (λεγων), iv 9 (επιτελεσουσιν)-viii 16 (τον), ix 7 (ως 1^o)-xi 6 (επι τους), xi 17 (τον δεξιον)-xiv 21, Mal. i 11 (λεγει)-iv 6; ^N is wanting in the whole of

Hosea, Amos, Micah ; A Q have all the books complete. Regarding (ii) it will be noted that all the Lucianic MSS have the Minor Prophets complete, excepting 153 which lacks *Zechariah*. As regards (iii), the Old Latin texts are noted when they differ from Cod. Y as well as when they support it ; for references to the Old Latin authorities recourse must be had to the numbers of the JOURNAL cited above. All the Hexaplaric readings (iv) which have been gathered are added, whether they agree with the text of Y or not ; an exception to this is made in the case of Cod. Barberinus (86), where the same system is followed as in (ii)¹ : it contains all the books of the Minor Prophets complete.

Lastly, as regards the patristic quotations (v), references will be found below the text, as was done in earlier numbers of the JOURNAL with the Old Latin texts.

The following symbols are used :

B = Cod. Vaticanus.

Ⲛ = Cod. Sinaiticus.

A = Cod. Alexandrinus.

Γ = Cod. Cryptoferratensis.

Q = Cod. Marchalianus.

Aq = Aquila.

Σ = Symmachus.

Θ = Theodotion.

Quint = Quinta.

Sext = Sexta.

OL^w = Cod. Weingartensis.

OL^h = Cod. Wirceburgensis.

OL^c = Old Latin texts from Cyprian.

OL^t = " " " " Tyconius.

OL^s = " " " " Speculum (Pseudo-Aug.).

OL^{sa} = " " " " Speculum (Augustine).

OL^{tert} = " " " " Tertullian.

OL^{co} = " " " " Collatio Carthaginiensis.

OL^f = " " " " Contra Fulgent. Donat. (Donatist quotations).

OL^m = " " " " Mozarabic Breviary.

OL^{am} = " " " " Anecdota Maredsolana (ed. G. Morin).

OL^b = " " " " the MS Auct. F. 4, 32 in the Bodleian Library.

ℒ = the entire group of Lucianic MSS.

86 = Cod. Barberinus.

¹ For this MS Holmes and Parsons' collation and Field's notes have been used, excepting for Hab. iii, for which Klostermann's has been found very valuable (*Analecta* pp. 50-60) ; cf. Field's *Hexapla* ii p. 1007.

Theod = Quotations in the writings of Theodoret.

Chrys = " " " Chrysostom.

Dots (. . .) point to a lacuna in which there is every reason to believe that the MS agreed with B. Asterisks (***) indicate the estimated number of letters missing. The chapter and verse divisions in the text follow those of the Cambridge text of B.

I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the authorities of the Turin Library for their courtesy and kindness in a number of ways.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE METRICAL ENDINGS OF THE LEONINE SACRAMENTARY. II.

IN a former number of the JOURNAL¹ I discussed the various forms assumed by the final phrases of the prayers and prefaces of the Leonine Sacramentary (*Leon.*), and compared the results of an examination of these phrases with those recorded by M. Louis Havet as to the final phrases of the Letters of Symmachus. In that note I mentioned two questions which seemed to deserve further consideration, and to which I hoped to return. On one of these questions judgement had already been given by an authority which may be regarded as decisive. Professor Wilhelm Meyer has very kindly referred me to a passage in his paper, *Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie*², containing a concise description of the rhythm of the prayers of *Leon.*, taken as a whole. That description seemed to me, so far as my investigations had enabled me to form an opinion on the matter, to set forth the facts of the case as accurately and as completely as they could be expressed in a single sentence. But it still seemed to be worth while to pursue the task which I had begun, not only because it was necessary to ascertain the facts in detail, with a view to the decision of the second question, but because it seemed that a detailed statement of the facts he had summed up might be of some value, if only by way of illustration of his statement.

I have endeavoured to take account of every phrase³ which seems to be followed by a pause, whether such pause would be more or less marked. There are of course a good many cases where the occurrence of a pause is uncertain: and in deciding for or against the inclusion of

¹ *J. T. S.* vol. v pp. 386-95.

² *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, 1903 (*Philologisch-historische Klasse*), p. 164.

³ I have omitted phrases where the true reading appeared to be quite uncertain: the number of these is very small. I have omitted also those portions of the Christmas prefaces which are continuous or almost continuous extracts from Isaiah and from St Luke. These amount to about twenty lines of Muratori's columns. I have followed, as before, the text of Dr Feltoe's edition.

such phrases I cannot be sure that my judgement has always been right or consistent. I am inclined to think that mistakes, when I have made them, will generally have been on the side of inclusion. Again, it is probable that my classification of the phrases included in the reckoning is not always free from error or inconsistency. It is most likely that a fresh reckoning would not give exactly the same figures: but I believe that those which are stated in this note are approximately correct, and that the amount of error is not such as to affect the details in any material degree.

The total number of phrases taken into account (including the 1340 final phrases considered in my former note) is 5362. In the great majority of these cases the phrase ends with a word (or a combination of closely connected words) belonging to one or other of the principal types mentioned in the former note. The relative frequency with which the various types of last word occur may be seen from the following table.

Type of last word.	Number of phrases.		
	Final.	Non-final.	Total.
(A) — — —	483	1190	1673
(B 1) — — —	73	329	402
(B 2) — — —	228	514	742
(B 3) — — —	131	634	765
(C) — — —	315	778	1093
(D) — — —	46	136	182
(E) — — —	49	232	281
Unclassed	15	209	224
Total	1340	4022	5362

It will be seen that this table exhibits some differences, in regard to the relative frequency of the various types of last word, between the two classes of phrases. The three types, A, B 2, and C, which are predominant in the final phrases, do not occur so frequently in the non-final, or minor, phrases. On the other hand, the proportion of B 3 is much greater in the minor phrases than in the final, while B 1 and E are also more frequent. The cases in which the last word does not exactly conform to any of the principal types, which in the final phrases hardly exceed 1 per cent., amount in the minor phrases to rather more than 5 per cent. of the whole. Some of these differences might be expected. It is likely that special attention would be given to the regularity and smoothness of the final phrases: and this would naturally result in the avoidance of such forms of last word as those which are denoted in the table by the term 'unclassified'. It is also likely that considerations of quantity would be more carefully observed in the final phrases than

in the other portions of the text: and to this cause perhaps may be attributed the comparative infrequency in the final phrases of the types E and B 1, since the former seems to be merely an accentual equivalent of C, while the same character may certainly be assigned in a considerable number of instances to the type B 1.

For the same reason we might expect to find, when we consider the cadences of which the last words are constituent parts, that the cadences of the minor phrases are less strictly metrical in their character than those which mark the endings of the collects and prefaces; that whereas, for instance, it is only very rarely that we find, in the final phrases, a spondee placed before a last word of the type A, such usage would be less rare in the minor phrases. And this is certainly the case. But it is also the case that even in the minor phrases the cadences which end with a word of any of the types A, B 1, B 2, B 3 are in the great majority of cases metrically regular. Of the 778 phrases which end with a word of the type C, by far the greater part shew before that word a combination of syllables with short penultimate, avoiding the faulty cadence of 'trochaeus triplex'. The exceptions to this rule are but little more than 4 per cent. In the majority of the phrases which end with a word of the types D or E (accentual equivalents of C) the same rule holds good: the proportion of exceptions, resulting in an accentual 'trochaeus triplex' ($\text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} - \text{—} \text{—}$), is, I think, not more considerable than in the case of C.

The details with regard to the minor phrases which end with a 'molossus' (A), or with one of its metrical equivalents (B 1, B 2, B 3), will appear with sufficient accuracy for the present purpose in the following table. The corresponding details for the final phrases are given in my former note¹.

	A	B 1	B 2	B 3	Total.
Preceded by — ∪	1157	204	459	547	2367
„ „ ∪ ∪ ∪	5	19	0	1	25
„ „ — ∪ ∪	1	67	1	1	70
„ „ ∪ ∪ —	0	10	1	2	13
„ „ — ∪ —	0	24	0	7	31
„ „ — —	20	5	51	69	145
„ „ ∪ ∪	7	0	1	3	11
„ „ ∪ —	0	0	1	4	5
Total	1190	329	514	634	2667

It will be seen that by far the greater part (rather more than 88 per cent.) of the whole number of these phrases exhibit cadences which conform to the standard of the metrical rules and examples of Martianus Capella,

¹ *J. T. S.* vol. v pp. 389, 391.

cited in my former note¹. Of the remainder the greater part, while faulty according to this metrical standard, yield cadences which are the accentual equivalents of the regular metrical forms. In 145 instances the place which should be filled by a trochee is occupied by a spondee accented on the first syllable; in sixteen others² by a word of the form $\bar{\cup}$ or $\bar{\cup}-$. The substitution of a tribrach for the trochee is regarded by Martianus Capella as regular in the case of B 1, and the same substitution is apparently not infrequent in the letters of Symmachus before a last word of the types A and B 3. The three cases in which a dactyl takes the place of the trochee before A, B 2, and B 3 are 'sanaque convertant', 'praecipit officio', and 'frequentia sollempnia'. In the first of these some stress would fall on the syllable preceding the enclitic: in each of the others a very slight change of reading gives a cadence metrically regular³. The ten cases in which an anapaest or cretic is combined with B 2 and B 3 do not (save perhaps in one instance) appear to give a regular cadence appropriate to the resolved molossus, whether the test be that of quantity or of accent. But six out of the ten should probably be placed in another class. In them the group of syllables which has the metrical value of B 3 is made up of two disyllables, and has the accentual value of a double trochee. They are, that is to say, really cases of accentual cadence of another type⁴.

So, no doubt, are all the 101 cases in which B 1 is combined with a preceding dactyl, anapaest, or cretic: for B 1, as has been already stated in my former note, must frequently be regarded as the accentual equivalent of C. And it may, I think, be likely that the apparent regularity of some of the phrases under B 1 is unreal, and conceals what from the metrical point of view may be described as a double fault, the last word of the type $\bar{\cup}-\bar{\cup}$ being regarded as a double trochee, and combined with preceding $\bar{\cup}$ or $\bar{\cup}-$, so producing an accentual 'trochaeus triplex'. If no allowance be made for such cases, the proportion of metrical regularity under B 1 would appear to be as great in the minor as in the final phrases. But even if a deduction

¹ *J. T. S.* vol. v p. 390. I have here reckoned as metrically regular a small number of cases in which the cadence includes a hiatus: this seems to be justified by the example 'regere animorum'.

² In five of these cases the word in question is 'prece' or 'preces'. The spelling usual in the MS suggests that the first syllable of either word might be regarded as long.

³ The substitution of 'frequentata' for 'frequentia' and of 'praecepit' for 'praecipit' would in each case improve the sense of the text. The latter change was actually made by the earlier editors.

⁴ One or two of the cases in which B 3 is combined with a preceding trochee, metrical or accentual, should perhaps be ranked with these, in respect to the form of their last words.

on this score be made on a liberal scale from the 204 cases of metrical regularity, the majority of phrases under B 1 will still be metrically regular¹.

The type B 2, whenever (as is practically always the case) the second of its four syllables is the one accented, is the accentual equivalent of B 3. From this point of view it might be said that all or nearly all the phrases under B 2 are really accentual. But the distinct recognition given to the type B 2 in the metrical system formulated by Martianus Capella, and the frequency with which the type appears in the final phrases of *Leon.*, seem to tell in favour of the *metrical* character of the group as a whole. Certainly, whether by accident or design, the great majority of the phrases which it includes have a cadence which is metrically regular: the same remark applies to the group under B 3, and still more strongly to that under A. Taking the whole of the four groups together it seems impossible to suppose that without design and careful attention the metrical fault of placing a spondee before a last word of any of the four types could have been avoided so consistently.

The 'unclassified' forms might be simply set aside as irregular or exceptional: but it is worth while to see whether their cadences correspond with those of the principal groups. About 20 per cent. yield a cadence which (save for the position of the caesura) is metrically regular², about 51 per cent. a cadence which is accentually regular³. Almost all the rest end with a word or group of five syllables, of which the penultimate is short and the ante-penultimate either long or accented⁴. There are also a few cases where the reading is uncertain.

It appears then, as the result of this examination, that the same system which prevails in the final phrases of *Leon.* prevails also throughout the text of the book as a whole: that while the minor phrases (as we might expect) shew a larger proportion of exceptions to the metrical rules than the more important cadences, the phrases which are regular both by accent and by quantity far outnumber those which have only accentual regularity or which shew any other departure from the ordinary types. I now turn to the other question, whether particular sections of the

¹ The rarity of the 'trochaeus triplex' (metrical or accentual) formed with last words of the types C, D, E suggests that it is unlikely that the cases of its appearance among phrases ending with B 1 would exceed 10 per cent. of the whole number (120) of the phrases in which B 1 is combined with a preceding foot appropriate to a double trochee.

² e.g. 'muneris gustu', 'effici tribuas', 'suffragantibus meritis', 'fructuum qualitas', 'passionis triumphum'.

³ e.g. 'laetamur gustu', 'praeside gregi', 'cura regentium', 'adsit humilibus', 'terram promissionis'.

⁴ e.g. 'commissi moderaminis', 'adhuc clausus utero', 'persecutione lapidatus est', 'ingrati beneficiis', 'patientiam tolerantiae'.

book shew any considerable variation in respect to the observance of the system.

The results of the survey already made suggest that the principal points to which attention should be given are these:

1. The frequent combination with A, B 1, B 2, or B 3 of an *accentual* trochee (—, ∪, ∪—).
2. The frequent occurrence of last words of the type E.
3. The frequent occurrence of the 'trocheus triplex', whether metrical or accentual.
4. The frequent occurrence of last words or groups of syllables of 'unclassified' form.

It may also be worth while to take note of any unusual frequency of particular types of last word, and of cases of hiatus.

For the purpose of this enquiry the distribution of the contents of the book into large sections assigned to the various months from April to December is not of much account: but it may be well to state briefly some general results with regard to these divisions. If we take as regular all the phrases (save those in which the cadence supplies one of the few instances of hiatus) which end in a combination of A, B 1, B 2, or B 3 with a metrical trochee, or in a combination of C with ∪, ∪, and as irregular or doubtful *all* other phrases, the proportion of the regular and irregular phrases may be stated as follows for the several months: the figures are approximate only.

	Regular.	Irregular.
April	73.5	26.5
May	77.4	22.6
June	77.1	22.9
July	80.7	19.3
August	83.5	16.5
September	81	19
October	76	24
November	79.3	20.7
December	77.5	22.5

The high percentage of irregularity in the April section¹ is the more remarkable when we take into account the fact that the section includes few liturgical forms of any considerable length, so that the proportion of final to minor phrases is larger than in most of the months.

All the masses in this section are for festivals of saints: in a few forms the names of saints occur, but there are no headings assigning

¹ The beginning of this section, and therefore its heading, are lost: but it may fairly be assumed that it was assigned to this month.

the masses to particular days. One mass appears to have been intended for use on a feast of St Peter in a church containing relics of the Apostle¹. The irregularities are distributed pretty evenly among the various masses, few of which are without two or three instances of departure from rule. The number of phrases ending in 'unclassified' forms is unusually large, and six out of the twenty-seven cases in which A is combined with an accentual trochee occur in this group of masses², which also includes several of the cases of hiatus. The combination of B 1 with a preceding dactyl is frequent. The masses which shew most irregularity in proportion to their length are those numbered xvii, xix, and xxxix.

The masses assigned to May are all for Ascensiontide and Pentecost. They are on the whole fairly regular, but few are without an instance of the combination of B 3 with a preceding spondee. The 'trochaeus triplex' is almost entirely absent, and there are but few 'unclassified' forms. The masses for Pentecost are rather more regular than those which precede them: but the difference is not marked.

The June section and all the other remaining sections (except October) are wholly or partially occupied by collections of masses for festivals. It may be most convenient to consider these together, leaving the other portions of the text for later consideration. The June masses are connected with the Nativity of St John Baptist, the feast of St John and St Paul, and that of St Peter and St Paul. The first group is, save for the occurrence of D and E, very regular: there are few cases of the accentual trochee, none (I think) of the 'trochaeus triplex', and but few 'unclassified' forms. D and E are, however, rather frequent. These types appear less frequently in the masses of St John and St Paul: but here the accentual trochee is more plentiful, mostly in combination with B 3 and A. The 'trochaeus triplex' is again absent. In the masses of St Peter and St Paul there are some cases of repetition: e. g. the preface which appears in that numbered i. appears again (with an addition marked by regularity of cadences) in that numbered xiv. The preface of no. v. contains a large proportion of accentual cadences: but some of these mark pauses of the slightest kind. In some of the masses (iii, xiv³, xvi, xix, xx, xxii, xxviii) I have noted no instances of accentual trochee. The 'trochaeus triplex' is not altogether absent,

¹ A marginal note indicates its use 'in dedicatione'. This mass (no. xxxiv) is fairly regular in its cadences. These, however, include one case of 'trochaeus triplex' and one 'unclassified' ending.

² Two of these are in final phrases.

³ Save in the portion of the preface common to i. In that portion a cadence with accentual trochee is substituted for one of 'unclassified' form by a very slight change.

but there are few cases in the whole group. E is rather more frequent in the last half of the series than in the first, but never very prominent.

For July there is a group of masses for the feast of the martyrs commemorated on July 10. These shew a few instances of 'unclassified' forms, a few of accentual trochee, and a moderate proportion of E. I have not noted more than two instances of the 'trochaeus triplex'. The August section includes several series of saints'-day masses, and no other matter. In all the series which it contains the proportion of irregular or accentual cadences is very small; and the same remark applies to the festival masses of September. The series for the 'Natale Basilicae S. Angeli in Salaria', except for a few phrases ending in D or E (most of which are in a single mass), seems to be entirely free from non-metrical cadences.

The November section is also entirely made up of masses connected with festivals of saints. It begins with two for the feast of the 'Quattuor Coronati', which save for a doubtful case of the combination of A with a preceding spondee, two phrases ending in D and one in E, and an 'unclassified' form which gives a good accentual cadence, are regular throughout. The five masses of St Cecilia, in which a large proportion of the phrases end with a word of the type A, are on the whole extremely regular in their cadences; those of the fourth and fifth are almost without exception metrical: the other three masses contain a few instances of 'unclassified' forms, three or four of a spondee before B 2 and B 3, and three cases of 'trochaeus triplex'. The first has also two cases of hiatus. D and E each occurs once in the five masses. B 1 is rare, and is only once combined with a foot other than — or — — —. The prefaces, which are of considerable length, are practically as regular in the form of their cadences as the collects. The same regularity is found in a rather less marked degree in the group of masses of St Clement and St Felicitas. D and E appear rather more frequently, and there are fewer appearances of A. In the mass of St Chrysogonus and St Gregory, D stands at the end of two phrases, B 1 is combined with a dactyl, and there is one case of hiatus: the remaining fifteen phrases are metrical. The four masses of St Andrew also contain a large proportion of phrases ending in A: they have rather a larger proportion of D and E than the preceding groups, but no 'unclassified' forms, only a single case of an accentual trochee, and none of the 'trochaeus triplex'.

The Christmas masses shew a larger proportion of departures from the metrical standard: but in four of the nine which form this group (nos. iv, v, viii, ix) the non-metrical phrases are very few. In the first of the series the proportion of D and E is rather large, and the group contains perhaps rather more than a fair share of the examples of hiatus.

It has also several 'unclassified' forms, and four or five cases of the accentual trochee. The masses for the feasts of St John and of the Holy Innocents are for the most part regular, save for the occurrence of D and E, the latter of which is rather frequent. The last of the four masses has two cases of a spondee in combination with A. Taking the festival masses as a whole, the level of metrical regularity seems to be fairly maintained throughout. The highest point seems to be reached in the August and November groups, the lowest in the group of masses for the feast of St Peter and St Paul (or rather in the least regular masses of that series) and in the least regular of the Christmas masses.

The October masses are of a different class. They consist of two groups, one 'de siccitate temporum', the other (in which the last mass has special reference to St Silvester) 'super defunctos'. The masses 'de siccitate temporum' contain an unusually high proportion of D and E, and include the only cases I have noted in which B 3 is combined with an anapaest or tribrach, and one of the few instances in which it is preceded by a cretic. There are also some 'unclassified' forms of ending. The masses 'super defunctos' also have a rather high proportion of D and E: but otherwise their cadences are with few exceptions metrically regular.

The masses 'in ieiunio' which appear in the September and December sections contain a considerable proportion of 'unclassified' forms, of which only a small number give a metrical cadence. The accentual trochee, though not very frequent, is more prominent than in most of the festival masses, and the 'trochaeus triplex' is found several times in the September group. Some of the masses in both groups have a large proportion of D and E. The average of metrical regularity for the whole of the two series is however fairly high.

The 'Consecratio Episcopi' and 'Benedictio Diaconi' which appear in the September section are metrically regular almost throughout. Each has a large proportion of A, and a very small proportion of D and E. The 'Consecratio Episcopi' includes three 'unclassified' forms, which occur together near the end of the long consecratory prayer. These all give a metrical cadence, but one of them (which is an instance of hiatus) yields a 'trochaeus triplex'. In the 'Consecratio Presbyteri' the proportion of A is much smaller, that of E larger, than in the forms for Bishop and Deacon. The 'Benedictio Virginum' contains several 'unclassified' forms, of which not quite one-half give an ordinary metrical cadence. Neither in it nor in the 'Benedictio Nuptialis' is there the same absence of accentual trochee which marks the Ordination forms: but the cases of this fault are rare in both. In the five groups of prayers taken as a whole the standard of metrical regularity is high.

Judged by the same rule which I have applied to the monthly sections the 'regular' phrases are about 81 per cent. of the whole number.

The masses 'in Natale episcoporum' which are placed in the September section are as a whole equally regular, when judged by the same test. The proportion of 'unclassified' forms is low, that of D and E not high. In the mass numbered vi. there is a large proportion of E, and that numbered v. contains one prayer which is notably irregular in its cadences. The most regular masses of the series are perhaps those numbered x, xi, xii, and xxii. B 1 is joined with a trochee in about two-thirds of the cases in which it occurs: and there are sufficient instances of the 'trochaeus triplex' formed with C to suggest that some of these apparently regular phrases are really accentual. But even allowing for this possibility the metrical regularity of the group is high.

Almost the same general remarks will apply to the 'Orationes et preces diurnae' which form the greater part of the section assigned to July. The proportion of D and E is rather less than in the masses 'in Natale episcoporum', that of 'unclassified' forms rather greater: the same doubt attaches to the apparent regularity of the phrases ending with B 1. The masses which shew the least proportion of irregularity from the metrical point of view are those numbered xxviii-xxxi and xxxvi-xxxviii. There are two prefaces in this section which have been frequently noticed as abnormal in tone; they are those of the masses numbered iii. and xx. The former contains two or three irregular phrases, but is for the most part metrical throughout¹: the latter, while also metrical in the main, has a good many accentual phrases. These, however, are almost all taken from Scripture, the number of citations being large, while the words cited do not always lend themselves to the formation of metrical cadences. The writer, while he has apparently sometimes modified the words he cites, seems to have contented himself with securing a rhythmical cadence, even though the form of it were a little rugged, and to have refrained from alteration beyond what this required. The irregularities which the preface contains are rather numerous: it includes, for instance, five² of the cases in which A is combined with \angle - or \cup : but I am inclined to think that this is due to the number of citations, rather than to disregard of the ordinary forms.

In this survey I have, I think, taken note of all the principal points in which the various portions of the book can be said to differ in regard to their observance of the rule, and of the extent of the variation. The general result of the scrutiny is in one sense negative. It does not

¹ So is that of the first mass of the series, which though less controversial in character presents some points of resemblance to the two in question.

² Four of these are in citations.

appear that the variation is in any group of masses so marked in character or in degree as to warrant the opinion that the group stands outside the range of the system: the same system which prevails in the book as a whole prevails also in every group, and throughout every group. Further, though the observance of the system may fairly be said to be more exact in some parts of the book than in others, the variation in this matter is never very great. The April masses, perhaps, supply an exception: not only in respect of their cadences, but in general arrangement, they form the least orderly element in the book. But apart from this division, or even including it, the general impression which is left by a comparison of the various sections is not that of a collection of material of various sources and dates brought together without revision. It is an impression of uniformity rather than of difference—of such uniformity as might be found on the one hand in a collection of material composed by different writers guided, as to the forms of their phrases, by a common usage, or on the other in a collection of forms which may have been gathered from different sources or based on material of different dates, but which have for the most part been subjected to revision by a single hand. At the same time there seems to be discernible, behind this general uniformity, a certain amount of variation between particular groups of masses, or between particular prayers which are parts of the same group, such as may support an opinion, formed on other grounds, as to the date at which particular forms or groups of forms were originally composed, or the date and character of the material from which they have been constructed.

H. A. WILSON.

THE EPISTLE OF ST JUDE: A STUDY IN THE MARCOSIAN HERESY.

I. *The date of the Epistle.*

THERE are two passages in the Epistle which point to its post-apostolic origin. The writer is moved to action by the danger which threatens 'the faith once for all delivered to the saints' (v. 3). It is clear that the faith was already recognized as a fixed tradition, treasured by the Church as the safeguard of the 'common salvation'. The writer also bids them remember 'the words which had been spoken before by the apostles' (v. 17), an expression which implies that the apostolic writings already enjoyed some kind of canonical authority in the Church. It is almost the same view of apostolic times which is taken by the

writer of the Second Epistle of St Peter: 'that ye should remember the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through the apostles' (2 Pet. iii 2). In the latter epistle this reference to the apostles is linked with the phrase 'from the day that the fathers fell asleep' (2 Pet. iii 4). In a treatise on the Alogi quoted by Epiphanius¹ the apostolic age is limited to ninety-three years, and it has been suggested by Harnack that the year 122 A.D., ninety-three years after the Ascension of our Lord, may be regarded as the date of the death of the daughters of Philip, the last survivors of the apostles in Asia Minor². The Epistle of St Jude may be placed, on these grounds, subsequent to 122 A.D.

The more closely this Epistle is compared with 2 Peter, the more clearly it may be asserted that 2 Peter is dependent on Jude. This subject has been discussed from the point of view of 2 Peter in a recent number of the *Expositor*. 'The judgements of Jude are unrelieved by any touch of mercy (6-16). The judgements of 2 Peter are brightened by the mercies shewn to Noah (ii 5) and to Lot (ii 7-8).' 'This sharpening of the purpose speaks decidedly for the priority of Jude 5-7. There is also in 2 Peter a softening down of the references to Enoch which proves the priority of Jude.'³

It has been suggested in the same article in the *Expositor* that 2 Peter was written by Themison, Bishop of Pepuza, the champion of the Montanist Churches, to justify the position of Montanism against the hostility of the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the anti-nomian Gnostic sects on the other. He made use of an earlier document, probably of prophetic origin, 'words spoken before by the holy prophets' (2 Pet. iii 2), known to him under the pseudonym of Jude. This document is the Epistle now recognized as the Epistle of St Jude. Themison wrote between the years 185 and 195. This gives the years 122 and 185 as the period within which the Epistle of St Jude was written.

There is, however, another clue to a nearer estimate of the date. The salutation is unique among the canonical books of the New Testament: *ἔλεος ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη* (v. 2). The Epistle of St Polycarp is dated 110-117 or 117-125⁴. It cannot be placed later than 125. The salutation of Polycarp is: *ἔλεος ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη*. Bishop Lightfoot, in his comment on the form, *χάρις ὑμῶν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονή διὰ παντός* of Ign. *Smyrn.* c. xii says: 'The additional words, *ἔλεος, ὑπομονή*, point to a time of growing trial

¹ Epiph. *Haer.* li 33.

² *Expos.* May 1904, pp. 377, 382.

³ Harn. *Chron.* i 378.

⁴ Harn. *Chron.* i 406.

and persecution.' St Ignatius still opens his salutation with the word *χάρις*, which may be regarded as the apostolic formula. St Polycarp, writing at the very close of the apostolic age, leaves out the *χάρις*, and uses only *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη*. The Letter of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, written immediately after the martyrdom in 155 or 156, marks a further step in advance. It opens with a somewhat fuller form: *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ [τοῦ] κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη*. It is a fuller form than that of Jude, but the same words, *ἔλεος*, *εἰρήνη*, *ἀγάπη* are used, and used in the same order.

It is therefore probable that the Epistle was written somewhere in Asia within the range of the traditional use of Smyrna, and about the same period as the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna. If it be dated c. 160, a quarter of a century would separate it from its reproduction by Themison in the Second Epistle of St Peter.

II. *The authorship of the Epistle.*

There is internal evidence that the Epistle may be ranked in the prophetic literature of the early Church, and regarded as the work of a member of the prophetic school. This would render it acceptable to Themison. The post-apostolic character of the Epistle makes it impossible to recognize the words *ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου* as part of the original title. It has the appearance of an early interpolation to give apostolic authority to the letter. It has been argued 'that a forger would hardly have attributed his composition to a man otherwise so entirely unknown as Jude was'.¹ But if the reference in the title is to St Jude the Prophet, this argument loses its force. Judas was the companion of Silas (Acts xv 32) and together with Barnabas and Paul was charged by the Church of Jerusalem with the letter to the Churches of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia. His duty was not only to deliver the letter, but by word of mouth to exhort the people to abstain from things offered to idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication. These things entered into Greek life, and it was long before the Gentile converts could altogether set themselves free from their national traditions. Participation in these things was regarded among the more rigid as a following of the teaching of Balaam (Rev. ii 14, cf. Jude v 11). The Christian prophets witnessed against this teaching, and Judas, as having been first commissioned by the Church of Jerusalem to set his face against them, became identified with the witness and protest against this teaching. Nothing is known of him after his return from Antioch (Acts xv 34). He is, however, alluded to by the anti-Montanist writer of 192 as one among the new prophets of the Christian Church.²

¹ Alford, *Gk. Test.* vol. iv p. 192.

² Eus. *H. E.* v 17. 3.

The Epistle has a good deal of prophetic colour. It is itself a word of 'exhortation'. The author writes, exhorting (παρακαλῶν) them to strive earnestly; and exhortation (παρακλήσις) was one of the special features of the prophetic office (Acts xv 31-2, 1 Cor. xiv 3). The Christian prophets like those of old were the watchmen of the Church (Isa. xxi 6, 12).

The writer makes use of three apocryphal works, all of which are prophetic in character. The 'Testament of Moses', which formed the first part of the so-called 'Assumption of Moses'¹ is based on the prophetic office of Moses (Deut. xxxiv 10). 'Then will they remember me, saying in that day tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour: "Is not this that which Moses did then declare unto us in prophecies?"'² The writer of Jude writes in vv. 4, 16, 18: 'There are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, . . . These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh great swelling words . . . mockers who . . . walk after their own ungodly lusts.' The writer seems to have had these words of the Assumption of Moses before him: 'And in the time of these, scornful and impious men will rule, saying that they are just. And these will conceal the wrath of their minds, being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at every hour of the day, gluttons, . . . Devourers of the goods of the poor, saying that they do so on the ground of their justice, but (in reality) to destroy them, complainers, deceitful, concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset, saying: "We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, yea, we shall drink our fill, we shall be as princes." And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet their mouth will speak great things.'³

The evil-doers in the 'Assumption' were the Sadducees of 15-70 A.D.⁴ They were the party among the Jews who endeavoured to assimilate Greek thought and Greek culture.⁵ They were regarded as antinomian by the stricter Pharisees whose opinions are reflected by the author of the Assumption of Moses.⁶ And it was against a similar movement in the Christian Church that the writer of Jude directs his attack.

The evil-doers of Jude are complainers (μεμφίμοιροι), the 'quaerulosi' of *Assumpt. Mos.* vii 7. 'They walk after their own lust, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words': and in this they agree with the evil-doers of the Assumption: 'et manus eorum et mentes immunda

¹ Charles *Assumpt. Mos.* p. xiii.

² *Ibid.* iii 10-11.

³ *Ibid.* vii 3-9.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 25.

⁵ Schürer *Gesch. Jud.* ii 406, 416.

⁶ *Assumpt. Mos.* p. vii.

tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia' (*Assumpt. Mos.* vii 9). They shew respect of persons for the sake of advantage as do those of the *Assumption*: 'mirantes personas locupletum et accipientes munera' (*Assumpt. Mos.* v 5). The 'mockers' of Jude 18 may be the 'homines pestilentiosi' of *Assumpt. Mos.* vii 3, and the 'ungodly' of Jude the 'impii' of *Assumpt. Mos.* vii 3, 7. This comparison of Jude and the *Assumption of Moses* seems to shew that the Christian prophet was quick to note in the heresy of 160 A.D. a recurrence of the danger which threatened the Jewish Church a century earlier from the Greek movement among the Sadducees.

The original 'Assumption of Moses' was at first a distinct work from the 'Testament of Moses', though published together with it in a Greek version in the first century¹. It only exists in a few fragments, one of which, Jude 9, is alluded to also in the *Acta Syn. Nic.* II 20 as ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως². The devil in his dispute with the archangel Michael over the body of Moses says: 'The body is mine, since I am the lord of matter.' Michael answers: 'The Lord rebuke thee, for all things were created by His Holy Spirit, and from the face of God His Spirit went forth, and the world was made.' 'Then the devil brought the charge of murder against Moses, saying: "Moses is a murderer: therefore it is not fitting for him to have lawful burial."' Reference is also made to this contest in the commentary of Didymus of Alexandria on Jude.

The references to Enoch have also a prophetic character. It is as a prophet that Enoch is quoted: 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam³, prophesied' v. 14. The chief quotation in St Jude 14-15 is from Enoch i 9: 'And lo! He comes with ten thousands of (His) holy ones to execute judgement upon them, and he will destroy the ungodly, and will convict all flesh of all that sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against him.'

The terms in which the inconstancy and instability of the evil-doers is set forth in Jude 12-13 are also to some extent coloured by the language of the Book of Enoch: 'Clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, . . . wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.' They destroy by their antinomian principles the order of the universe. The writer seems to have had before him the words of Enoch immediately following the passage already quoted: 'I observed everything that took place in the heaven, how the luminaries which are in the heaven do not deviate from their orbits' (i. e. are not wandering stars), 'how they all rise and set in order each in its season,

¹ *Assumpt. Mos.* p. xiii.

² *Ibid.* p. 109.

³ The phrase occurs in Enoch xx 8.

and transgress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, . . . how unvarying every work of God appears. Behold . . . how (in the winter season) the whole earth is full of water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it (i. e. they are not clouds without water). . . . I observed how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit (i. e. are not without fruit)' (Enoch ii 1-3, v 1). The evil-doers, therefore, like wandering stars, like clouds without water, like trees without fruit, are out of harmony with God's unvarying order in the universe. Therefore the blackness of darkness is reserved for them (Jude 13) as for the rebel angels in Enoch. 'The angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, He hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.' This judgement is clearly parallel with that of Enoch: 'The Lord spake to Rafael: "Bind Azazel hand and foot, and place him in darkness: . . . and place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever . . . and in the great day of judgement he shall be cast into the fire"' (Enoch x 4, 6). 'And I asked the angel of peace who was with me, saying: "These chain instruments, for whom are they prepared?" And he said unto me: "These are prepared for the hosts of Azazel . . . Michael, Gabriel, Rafael, and Fanuel will take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into a burning furnace"' (Enoch liv 4-6).

These references to the 'Testament of Moses', the 'Assumption of Moses', and the 'Book of Enoch' not only shew the influence of Jewish apocalyptic literature on the writer of Jude, but also the prophetic point of view from which he looked at the judgements which he knew were laid up for those who were in error in the Church.

The Epistle was therefore written in all probability by a Christian prophet under the name of Jude, after the close of the apostolic age, about the year 160 A. D. The evidence of the Muratorian Canon agrees with this conclusion. It recognizes Jude as the first among the Epistles which are accepted 'in Catholica'. The similarity of the title to that of the Epistle of the Smyrnaeans points to Asia as its home. The study of the heresy of the Epistle in the light of the history of heresy in Asia gives support to the suggested date of 160 A. D.

III. *The heresy of the Epistle.*

This heresy was an extreme form of antinomian Gnosticism. 'Certain men are crept in unawares, ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ' (v. 4). 'These filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities' (v. 8). They are not altogether separate from the Church. They have crept in unawares (v. 4). They are spots

in the love-feasts of the Church (v. 12). They walk after their own lust, and their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration for the sake of advantage (v. 16). But though still more or less in communion with the Church, and for that reason a danger to faith and character, they are in fact separatists. They separate themselves, being themselves sensual (*ψυχικοί*), not having the Spirit (v. 19). The writer is here evidently throwing their own phrase against themselves. They claimed alone to be 'spiritual', looking down, like most of the Gnostic sects, on the members of the Church as merely 'sensual'.

They are not merely libertines, they claim a superior knowledge and are in the fullest sense Gnostics. Von Soden, who regards the Epistle as the work of Jude, the brother of the Lord, and addressed by him to a Church in Asia, finds in the heresy an extreme form of the antinomian error shadowed forth in the Epistle to the Colossians.¹ Harnack considers the false teachers of the Epistle as early representatives of the group of Syro-Palestinian Gnostics, who are described by Epiphanius under the names of Archontikoi, Cainites, Nicolaitans, &c. He goes so far as to say: 'Hier allein stimmen alle Merkmale'.²

He gives preference to the Archontikoi. They were an old sect in the time of Epiphanius, and the mention of the prophets Martiades and Marsianos he thinks consistent with the visions of Jude (v. 8). They do not occur in Irenaeus or Hippolytus, and the introductory words of Epiphanius imply that they were found in only a restricted area, and that not in Asia: *ἀρχοντικῶν τις αἵρεσις τούτοις ἔπεται· οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ τόποις αὕτη φαίνεται, ἣ μόνον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ*.³ There is no evidence that the sect ever existed in Asia, though it may have been akin to Asian Gnosticism. Its late appearance in the lists of heresies and its restricted area would appear to shut it out from being the heresy referred to in this Epistle.

The Cainites also are akin to the evil-doers of the Epistle. They recognized as the heroes of true Gnosticism the great evil-doers of the Old and New Testaments. These heroes of evil had rebelled against the God of the Jews because of the superior knowledge they had received from the Higher Power. Their mission was to overthrow the authority of the Demiurge. Irenaeus, in the opening words of his brief notice on the Cainites says: *ἄλλοι δέ, οὓς Καϊνοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ τὸν Κάιν φασὶν ἐκ τῆς ἁνωθεν αὐθεντίας λελυτρώσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡσαὺ καὶ τὸν Κορὲ καὶ τοὺς Σοδομίτας, καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους, συγγενεῖς ἰδίους ὁμολογοῦσι. καὶ τούτους ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποιητοῦ μισηθῆναι, μηδεμίαν δὲ βλάβην εἰσδέξασθαι*.⁴ They held Judas Iscariot in high esteem and made use of an

¹ v. Soden *Hd. Komm.* pp. 203-204.

² Harn. *Chron.* i 466.

³ Epiph. *Haer.* xl 1.

⁴ Iren. *adv. Haer.* i 31, 1.

apocryphal Gospel of Judas. They were thoroughly antinomian in conduct as in thought. They boasted the presence of an angel when engaged in their unclean deeds, and said: 'O tu angede, abutor opere tuo: O tu, illa potestas, perficio tuam operationem.'¹

There are some features in the Epistle which might be explained by reference to the sect of the Cainites: 'Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of Cain . . . and perished in the gainsaying of Core' (v. 11). There is also in v. 7 an allusion to the judgement on Sodom. It is certainly noteworthy that in this short epistle three of the Cainite heroes are selected as a warning. But the parallelism scarcely goes further. The evil-doers of the Epistle may have been akin to the Cainites, but too little is told of the Cainites in the work of Irenaeus to justify any certainty on this point.

The same may be said of the Nicolaitans. Irenaeus has only one short paragraph about them. He says they have Nicolas the Deacon as their master and refers to the Apocalypse as a witness of their fornication and their practice of eating things sacrificed to idols (Rev. ii 6). He sums up their character in one brief phrase, the most important in the chapter—'qui indiscrete vivunt'.

It is clear from this that they were not a great danger in his time, and that he had little information about them. There is very little reason in the light of Clement of Alexandria for regarding Nicolas as the founder of the sect. They may have chosen him as their representative to give prominence to their teaching in later times, or to identify themselves with the Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse.²

The teaching and works of the Nicolaitans are fiercely attacked in the Epistles to Ephesus and Pergamum (Rev. ii 6, 15). But they represent not so much a sect as a tendency. They endeavoured to combine Greek life with Christian teaching.³ They failed, and emphasized the contrast between the two systems. But their attempt to preserve the customs of Greek life while adopting the principles and enjoying the privileges of the Christian revelation was repeated again and again. The earliest records of Asia are rich in evidence of the close contact of Greek life and Christian thought during the first three centuries. The history of heresy in Asia is the record of the Church from time to time sharpening its discipline against these customs of Greek society, 'the teaching of Balaam' (Num. xxxi 16, xxv 1 sq.), and of the Gnostic sects assimilating their formularies and religious rites as closely as possible to those of the Church. Fierce and stern as the invective against the Nicolaitans is, they did not constitute so urgent a danger to the faith as the heresy against which the Epistle of Jude is written. The

¹ Iren. *adv. Haer.* i 31, 2.

² Neander i 513.

³ Ramsay *Expos.* (July 1904) p. 44.

elaborate system attributed by Epiphanius to the Nicolaitan heresy¹ belongs to a later age. Much of it is common to the Barbelo group of heresies. They had their special apocalyptic books, but there is nothing distinctive in the Epistle of Jude to connect the Asian heresy of 160 A. D. either with the Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse or with the well-defined heresy of a later date known under the same name.

The heresy of the Epistle has also been identified with the Carpocratian Gnosticism of Alexandria on the ground that Clement of Alexandria refers to the language of Jude as a prophetic anticipation of this form of Gnosticism. Clement identified Jude as 'brother of the sons of Joseph', and regarded the Epistle as 'Catholic'. But if the later date be accepted, the writer would be a contemporary of Carpocrates. The Asian origin of the Epistle is against the identification of the heresy with that of the Carpocratians.² But Clement does not limit the reference of St Jude to the Carpocratians: ἐπὶ τούτων οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αἵρέσεων προφητικῶς Ἰούδαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι.³

IV. *The Marcosian heresy.*

The note of urgency in vv. 2-3 has led Harnack to assign the Epistle to the early part of the second century, when Gnosticism was first becoming a danger to the Christian faith.⁴ But the same note would be equally suitable if the Epistle was directed against the outburst of the Marcosian heresy. Irenaeus devotes nine chapters (i 13-21) to the heresy of Marcus the Magician, the scholar of Valentinus. These chapters are based not only on the writings of Marcus himself and apocryphal works, such as the Gospel of Eve,⁵ which he used, but also on the testimony of an Asian opponent of the Marcosian heresy, ὁ θεοφίλης πρεσβύτερος, the author of the iambic verses against Marcus.⁶

The Benedictine editor of the works of Irenaeus, Dom R. Massuet, assigns the year 160 to the beginnings of the Marcosian heresy. After stating that Irenaeus wrote about 180,⁷ he adds: 'Cum vero iam longe lateque propagata esset Marcosiorum secta, in ipsumque etiam Occidentem invasisset, nec id nisi plurium annorum spatio fieri potuisset; non male coniecerit quisquis huius initia ad annum circiter 160, immo paulo citius ad extrema Valentini vitae tempora retulerit.'⁸ The date assigned to the outbreak of the Marcosian heresy corresponds therefore to that assigned on independent grounds to the composition of the Epistle of Jude against the outbreak of an antinomian heresy in Asia.

¹ Epiph. *Haer.* xxv 2.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii 2.

³ Iren. i 13, cf. Harn. *Alt-chr. Lit.* i 175.

⁷ Harnack dates it 181-189, *Chron.* i 320.

⁵ *Encyc. Bibl.* p. 2631.

⁴ Harn. *Chron.* i 466.

⁶ *Ibid.* i 15.

⁸ *Op. Iren.* (Paris, 1710), p. l.

Valentinus worked at Rome from c. 135 to c. 160 A. D.¹ He came there in the episcopate of Hyginus (136-140), he flourished under Pius (140-155) and remained there until the time of Anicetus (155-166). There is some doubt as to whether he visited Cyprus before or after his stay in Rome. Epiphanius states that having worked in Egypt, he visited Rome, and afterwards left Rome for Cyprus; and Harnack accepts the testimony of Epiphanius, against Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, and Zahn². It is probable therefore that this was the occasion of the visit of his scholar Marcus to Asia. Harnack discusses the question as to whether the opponent of Marcus was a *πρεσβύτερος* of Asia or of Gaul, and decides in favour of Asia³. The writings of this Asian opponent of Marcus, incorporated in the chapters of Irenaeus, are therefore evidence of the highest importance for the history of the Asian heresy in 160.

Marcus appealed to the credulity of the people of Asia by the practice of magical arts, as the following iambic verses shew:

Εἰδωλοποιὲ Μάρκε, καὶ τερατοσκόπε,
 ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε καὶ μαγικῆς τέχνης,
 δι' ὃν κρατύνεις τῆς πλάνης τὰ διδάγματα,
 σημεῖα δεικνὺς τοῖς ὑπὸ σου πλανωμένοις,
 ἀποστατικῆς δυνάμεως ἐγχειρήματα,
 ἃ σὺ χορηγεῖς ὡς πατὴρ Σατανᾶ, εἰ
 δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀλζήλ ποιῶν
 ἔχων σε πρόδρομον ἀντιθέου πανουργίας⁴.

He led away men and women, inducing them to come to him as to one endowed with the highest knowledge and power: he claimed the assistance of angelic power, and under its evil influence was guilty of gross wickedness.

He played the tricks of Anexilaus as described by Pliny: 'Lusit et Anexilaus eo (sulphure) candescens in calice novo, prunaeque subdita circumferens, exardescens percussu pallorem dirum, velut defunctorum, offundente conviviis.'⁵ By means of these fumes he not only frightened his followers by the death-like pallor, but induced a state of drowsiness which became the occasion for dreams and obscene practices. Epiphanius alludes to these dreams in his chapter on the Gnostic heresies⁶, and quotes Jude 8: 'These in their dreamings defile the flesh.' The words of Irenaeus illustrate the language of Jude: 'Anaxilai enim ludicra cum nequitia eorum qui dicuntur magi

¹ Harn. *Chron.* i 291.

² *Ibid.* i 293.

³ *Ibid.* i 295.

⁴ *Iren.* i 15. These are the eight iambic lines of the *πρεσβύτερος*. *vid.* p. 411.

⁵ Pliny xxv 15.

⁶ Epiph. *Haer.* xxvi 13.

commiscens, per haec virtutes perficere putatur apud eos, qui sensum non habent et a mente sua excesserunt.'¹ Marcus and his followers were thus in very truth 'spots in the feasts of charity' (Jude 12).

The prophesying of Marcus had so great a resemblance to Christian prophecy that they must be supposed to be not so much exercises peculiar to Marcus as exercises practised within the assemblies of the Church. There is authority for this in the story of the deacon of Asia.

The Deacon received Marcus into his house, not aware perhaps of his evil practices. The Deacon's wife fell a victim to the wiles of Marcus and followed him, and it was only with much labour that she was brought back by the brethren: *τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ εὐειδοῦς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὸ σῶμα διαφθαρείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ μάγου τούτου, καὶ ἐξακολουθησάσης αὐτῷ πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἔπειτα μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστρεψάντων, αὐτὴ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐξομολογουμένη διέτελει.*² Marcus, like the evil-doers of Jude, 'crept in unawares' (v. 4), and ruined all who listened to his seductive words.

Some resisted his charms, and from the first refused to hold communion with him: *ἤδη δὲ τῶν προτέρων (int. πιστοτάτων) τινὲς γυναικῶν τῶν ἔχουσῶν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθεισῶν, ὡς ὁμοίως ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπετήδευσε παραπείθειν, κελεύων αὐταῖς προφητεύειν, καὶ καταφυσήσασθαι καὶ καταθεματίσασθαι αὐτόν, ἐχωρίσθησαν τοῦ τοιοῦτου θιάσου.*³ It is impossible to read this thirteenth chapter of Irenaeus without being convinced that Marcus took advantage of the regular assemblies of the Church to further his teaching, and that he took many of the faithful unawares. The whole chapter illustrates the force of the appeal in Jude 3-4: 'Beloved, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares . . . ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.'

He professed to have a familiar spirit through whose influence he prophesied, and taught those women who were worthy of being partakers of his grace that they would be enabled to prophesy as he did.⁴

He especially frequented the company of rich women, *τὰς εὐπαρίφους καὶ περιπορφύρους καὶ πλουσιωτάτας*, and flattered them with his cajolery. 'I want you to partake of my grace, since the Father of all ever sees your Angel in His presence. . . . We ought to be one. Take first of me, and through me receive grace.' The women at first resisted: 'I have never prophesied and I do not know how to.' He then mesmerized them, *ἐπικλήσεις τινὰς ποιούμενος*, and having put them

¹ Iren. i 13, 1.

² *Ibid.* i 13, 5.

³ *Ibid.* i 13, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.* i 13, 3.

into a trance (εἰς κατάπληξιν), he said 'open your mouth, and say what you like, and you will prophesy'. At last they were overcome by his wiles, and thinking themselves prophetesses, they thanked him for his grace, and not only paid him handsomely, but gave way to the grossest sin: καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου λοιπὸν προφήτιδα ἑαυτὴν μεταλαμβάνει, καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ Μάρκῳ τῷ ἐπιδιδόντι τῆς ἰδίας χάριτος αὐτῇ· καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι αὐτὸν πειράται, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δόσιν (ὅθεν καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος πολὺ συνένηνοχεν), ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κοινωνίαν, κατὰ πάντα ἐνοῦσθαι αὐτῷ προθυμουμένη, ἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ κατέλθῃ εἰς τὸ ἐν.¹ It is conduct such as this which the writer of the Epistle condemns when he speaks of the false teachers not only as turning the grace of God into lasciviousness (ver. 4) but as walking after their own lusts, their mouth speaking great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration (shewing honour to persons) for the sake of advantage (ver. 16).

Marcus took advantage of the position of women in the Churches of Asia to further his purpose. The testimony of the πρεσβύτερος of Asia is an interesting illustration of the permanence of the condition which existed in the Church of Thyatira at an earlier date, on which so much light has been thrown by Professor Ramsay in recent numbers of the *Expositor*. 'The prophetess of Thyatira was not all evil; that idea is absolutely contradictory of the already quoted words of the letter (Rev. ii 18). There were certain accepted customs, rules of politeness and courtesy, ways of living and acting, which were recommended by their graceful, refined, elegant character.'² Such things would commend themselves to women who were περιπόρφυροι καὶ πλουσιώταται—the women who hesitated at first: 'I have never prophesied, and I don't know how to prophesy.' The warnings of St John were not forgotten. Some fell, for 'the idolatrous ritual of paganism was always in practice associated with immoral customs of various kinds'.³ Some fell, but others cursed Marcus, and separated themselves from his society. They were not shocked at his pretensions or his practice of prophesying. They were only shocked when they realized his evil purpose. The women of Anatolia enjoyed considerable liberties,⁴ and the practice of the Montanist Churches is witness to the practice of prophesying by women. But they knew, because it was the teaching of the Church, that only those could prophesy to whom God had given His grace: ἀκριβῶς εἰδύται, ὅτι προφητεύειν οὐχ ὑπὸ Μάρκου τοῦ μάγου ἐγγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἄνωθεν ἐπιπέμῃ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, οὗτοι

¹ Iren. i 13, 3.

² *Expositor*, July 1904, pp. 47, 51.

³ Ramsay *ibid.*

⁴ Ramsay, *Exp.* July 1904. Harnack refers in one place to an Anatolian branch of the Marcsonian heresy.

θεόσδοτον ἔχονσι τὴν προφήτειαν καὶ τότε λαλοῦσιν ἔνθα καὶ ὅποτε θεὸς βούλεται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτε Μάρκος κελεύει.¹ It would seem that Marcus took advantage of these conditions of early church life. He and his followers 'crept in unawares', and by their abuse of Christian prophecy turned the grace of God into lasciviousness and undermined 'the faith once for all delivered to the saints'.

Irenaeus in the two following chapters gives in great detail the system of letters and numbers by which Marcus explained the Creation and the coming of Christ. Much of it is common to the system of Valentinus. The 'genesis' of Jesus is unfolded by means of numbers. 'From the Mother of all, that is, the first Tetrad, the second Tetrad came forth in the place of a daughter. The Ogdoad was made, from which came forth the Decad. Thus originated the Ogdoad and the Decad. The Decad being joined to the Ogdoad by way of multiplication produced the number LXXX: and again eighty tens made the number DCCC, so that the sum of the letters progressing from the Ogdoad to the Decad is 8 and 80 and 800, which is Ἰησοῦς. For the name Jesus, according to the reckoning of Greek letters, is DCCC LXXX VIII. Thou hast here the genesis of the supercelestial Jesus according to the Marcosians.'² Irenaeus becomes impatient at last: *ἡ πάλιν τίς ἀνέξεται σου εἰς σχήματα καὶ ἀριθμούς, ποτὲ μὲν τριάκοντα, ποτὲ δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα, ποτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἑξ ἑκ μόνον, συγκλείοντος τὸν τῶν πάντων κτιστὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν καὶ ποιητὴν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, κατακερματίζοντος αὐτὸν εἰς συλλαβὰς μὲν τέσσαρας, στοιχεῖα δὲ τριάκοντα, καὶ τὸν πάντων Κύριον τὸν ὑπερῶτα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς ω π η κατὰγοντος ἀριθμόν.*³

He returns to the theory of the alphabet in chapter xvi, where he criticizes the Marcosian exposition of the parable of the lost sheep and the lost coin by means of numbers. 'These men who are bold enough to reduce all things to numbers, saying that all things arise from the Monad and the Decad, explain the wandering and the finding of the sheep by this mystical theory of aeons and numbers'—*ἀσεβεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν οὗτοι, οἱ τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς μόνον θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄλλος θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐξ ὑστερήματος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἄλλου ὑστερήματος γεγονότος, προβεβλήσθαι λέγοντες.*⁴

This summary is important as giving point to the words of Jude: 'There are certain men crept in unawares, ungodly men (*ἀσεβεῖς*) denying the only (*μόνον*) Master and Lord, Jesus Christ' (ver. 4). It has been stated by von Soden⁵ that the phrase *μόνος δεσπότης* is liturgical. The word *μόνος* may be liturgical in the ascriptions of Jude 25 and in Rom. xvi 27, and perhaps in 1 Tim. i 17 and vi 15, 16; but in Jude 4 as in John v 44, xvii 3 it would seem to have its full

¹ Iren. i 13, 4.

² *Ibid.* i 15, 2.

³ *Ibid.* i 15, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* i 16, 3.

⁵ *Hd. comm.* pp. 204, 209.

value, a theological phrase introduced to emphasize the true faith against the theological and theosophical teaching of early Gnosticism.

In the twentieth chapter Irenaeus speaks of the apocryphal books which Marcus used in his teaching. This also forms an interesting link with the similar use of apocryphal literature by the writer of the Epistle of Jude. There is indeed one passage which shews that the writer of the iambic verses against Marcus also had the Book of Enoch in his mind in his controversy with Marcus:

Ἄ σὺ χορηγεῖς ὡς πατήρ Σατανᾶ, εἰ
δι' Ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν
ἔχων σε πρόδρομον ἀντιθέου πανουργίας.

Azazel is the evil angel of the Book of Enoch: 'The whole earth has been defiled through the teaching of the works of Azazel: to him ascribe all the sin.'¹ The anti-Marcosian writer of Asia and the author of the Epistle both recognize the value of Enoch. This, though not a proof, is a clue to the identification of the heresy of Jude.

V. *The Liturgical formularies of the Marcosian heresy.*

Irenaeus, in his account of the teaching of Marcus, not only derived his facts from the anonymous elder of Asia and from the testimony of those who had left the heresy and returned to the Catholic faith, but from the writings of Marcus himself.² The mystical and astrological speculations of chapters xiv and xv are from the latter source. The knowledge of his rites and formularies is probably from the former sources.

1. Marcus in his Eucharist made use of a mixed cup, and reciting over it the epiklesis or word of invocation (τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως) made it appear ruddy, that the Grace which is from above might be thought to pour his blood into the cup at his invocation. Those who partook of the cup were led to think that they received into themselves 'that which was called by this magician Grace'.³ He also gave cups to the women, and made them consecrate them in his presence.⁴ The whole description is vivid with life, and is almost certainly based upon the evidence of eye-witnesses. It throws considerable light on the meaning of Jude 12: 'they are spots in your feasts of charity.'

The practice has its parallels in the early history of Christianity in Asia. Epiphanius, writing of the Pepuziani, a branch of the Montanist Church, says: ἐπίσκοποι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν φύσιν.⁵ And Firmilian in his letter to

¹ Enoch x 8.

² Iren. i 13, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

³ Harn. *Alt.-chr. Lit.* i 175.

⁵ Epiph. *Haer.* xlix 2.

Cyprian makes mention of a Cappadocian prophetess who took upon herself to administer Baptism and celebrate the Eucharist: 'Atqui illa mulier, quae prius per praestigias et fallacias daemonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter caetera quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino sine sacramento solitae praedicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans ut nil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur.'¹

The practice of Marcus may not therefore have been new. It became necessary to extend the Apostolic rule as to the ministry of women (1 Cor. xiv 34; 1 Tim. ii 12) from teaching to every other exercise. Tertullian wrote between 204 and 206, just before he joined the Montanists, 'Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tinguerе, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicare'.²

The Eucharistic formula of Marcus is given in Iren. i 13, 2 ἡ πρὸ τῶν ὄλων, ἡ ἀεννόητος καὶ ἄρρητος χάρις πληρῶσαι σοῦ τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρώπον, καὶ πληθύναι ἐν σοὶ τὴν γνώσιν αὐτῆς, ἐγκατασπείρουσα τὸν κόκκον τοῦ σινάπεως εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν. The form finds an echo in the words of 2 Pet. iii 18: 'Grow in the grace (χάριτι) and knowledge (γνώσει) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

2. The formula of dedication to the Prophetic office is given in Iren. i 13, 3: μεταδοῦναι σοι θέλω τῆς ἐμῆς χάριτος . . . λάμβανε πρῶτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ τὴν χάριν . . . Ἰδοὺ ἡ χάρις κατήλθεν ἐπὶ σε· ἀνοίξον τὸ στόμα σου καὶ προφήτευσον. The words of St Paul, Rom. i 11, 'I long to see you, that I may impart (μεταδῶ) to you some spiritual gift (χάρισμα)', taken in connexion with 1 Cor. xiv 1, 'Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy', seem to suggest that there is possibly in the words of Marcus some echo of the formula of the Church. This suggestion is strengthened by a comparison of the words of Ezekiel ii 8, 'open thy mouth, and eat what I give thee', with Rev. x 8-11, 'Take it and eat it up: . . . and I took it and ate it up. . . . And they say unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings'. The Marcosian rite may be a clue to an early rite of dedication to the Prophetic order in the Church.

3. A form of prayer is preserved in Iren. i 13, 6, which is addressed to Wisdom (σοφία)³: ὦ πάρεδρε θεοῦ καὶ μυστικῆς πρὸ αἰῶνος Σιγῆς . . . Ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς ἐγγύς, καὶ ὁ κῆρύξ με κελεύει ἀπολογεῖσθαι. σὺ δὲ ὡς ἐπισταμένη τὰ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν λόγον, ὡς ἕνα ὄντα τῷ κριτῇ

¹ St Cyprian *Ep.* lxxv.

² Tert. *de virg.* vol. c. ix.

³ Ben. ed. note ad loc. Harnack says it is addressed to Σιγή.

παράστησον. The words *ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς ἐγγύς* are similar to Jas. v 9 *ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἕστηκεν*. They may both be an echo of the old formula 'Maran atha' of 1 Cor. xvi 22 and *Didache* c. x. The words *ὁ κῆρύξ με κελεύει ἀπολογεῖσθαι* may refer to the authority vested in the apostle in the earliest ages of the Church: *εἰς ὃ ἐτέθη ἐγὼ κῆρύξ καὶ ἀπόστολος*. The *Σὺ δὲ* recalls the old apostolic formula *Σὺ κύριε καρδιογνώστα πάντων*, Acts i 24. It was to check such perversions of the forms of prayer that the writer of the Epistle of St Jude bids the faithful to 'pray in the Holy Ghost' (Jude 20).

4. The Baptismal formula in Iren. i 21, 3 is of special interest, because it has every appearance of being a Gnostic travesty of the Baptismal Creed of the Church, 'the faith once for all delivered to the saints' (Jude 3), 'the most holy faith', in which the faithful were to build themselves up. The Creed consists of six short articles:

- i. *εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων.*
- ii. *εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων.*
- iii. *εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν.*
- iv. *εἰς ἔνωσιν.*
- v. *καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν.*
- vi. *καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων.*

The first three articles have the Baptismal formulary of St Matt. xxviii 18 and *Didache* c. vii behind them; the last three are almost the earliest witness to the articles on the unity of the Church, the Remission of sins, and the Communion of Saints in the Apostles' Creed.

Art. i is a Gnostic variation of *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς* (St Matt.). The phrase *τῶν ὅλων* appears also in the Creed of Theophronius of Tyana among other Asiatic formulae. The *ἀγνώστου* is Gnostic, and cf. Acts xvii 23.

Art. ii is a perversion of the *καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ* of St Matthew, the words of St John xiv 6 *Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια* being the link between the two forms. The *μητέρα πάντων* is Gnostic.

Art. iii is equivalent to *καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* (St Matt.), and refers to the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Baptism of our Lord.

Art. iv. The phrase *εἰς ἔνωσιν* is illustrated by the Epistles of St Ignatius, where the words *ἐνοῦσθαι* &c. are frequent.¹ The words *ἔνωσιν σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος* (Ign. *Magn.* i) must, according to Lightfoot, be referred to the Churches and not to Christ. This unity is brought into close relationship with the Church in Ign. *Ephes.* v: *ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνότῃ συμφωνῇ*, and is expressed clearly in Ign. *Phil.* v: *ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐν ἐνότῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. The whole group of passages is

¹ Lightfoot, vol. ii p. 109.

an echo of the unity of the Church as the Body of Christ which is expressed in St John xvii 22, 23 and Ephes. iv 4-13. The Creed-form of Marcus is little more than a variant of the Creed-form *εἰς μίαν ἐκκλησίαν*, which would appear to have been in the Creed of Firmilian of Caesarea in 256.

Art. v καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν. This Redemption was among the Marcosians a form of initiation, accompanied with certain outward signs, such as the use of water, oil, or balsam, and a set formula. This Gnostic idea of ἀπολύτρωσις was not new. Something of the same kind was practised in the Colossian Church, and is referred to in the words ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, Col. i 14. Irenaeus recognizes this relation to Baptism in the words: καὶ ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἐξάρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως, καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἀπόθεσιν ὑποβέβληται τὸ εἶδος τοῦ (τοῦτο) ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἐλέγχοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦμεν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι τόπῳ.¹ There is therefore little doubt that the article in the Marcosian Creed corresponds with the article on Remission of sins in the Apostles' Creed. The Marcosian form emphasized the idea of Perfection, the Church the idea of Remission and Regeneration.

Art. vi καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων. Zahn² says of the article *sanctorum communionem* — 'It is highly probable that the Latin words are the translation of a Greek original. This could scarcely have been anything else than τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων. Ἅγια would certainly first suggest to Greeks the Lord's Supper.' This interpretation of *sanctorum* as referring to the holy things, *sancta*, rather than to members of the Church, *sancti*, was lost very early in the expositions of the Creed. Niceta of Remesiana in the fourth century interprets it of the *sancti*. Dom Morin, in an article on Codex Sessorianus 52, writes: 'A propos de l'article *sanctorum communionem* on rappelle l'obligation imposée à chaque fidèle de communier tous les dimanches; ce qui oblige d'assigner à la pièce une assez haute antiquité.'³ The older meaning had not been lost. The Collection of sermons in this Codex was formed in the ninth century. Caspari assigns the particular sermon to which Dom Morin refers to the seventh century. But a reference to the 'septem remissiones peccatorum' with its third 'remissio per martyrium' points to an even earlier date. The article 'sanctorum communionem' first occurs in the Danubian Creed of Niceta, and then in the Gallican Creed. It may be traced with other Greek features of the Gallican use to the influence of the Latin Christianity of the Danube, a Christianity which was in close contact with the Greek Christianity of Thrace, and owed its origin ultimately

¹ Iren. i 21, 1.

² *Expos.* 1898, 2, p. 140.

³ Kattenbusch *Ap. Symb.* ii 743.

to Asia¹. It may be therefore that this Marcosian formulary of 160 is the first evidence of this article in the Creed of the Church. It is also noteworthy that in the Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary the article 'sanctorum communionem' follows the article 'abremissa peccatorum' as the Marcosian article on the Communion follows that on the Redemption. This would seem to shew that the Creed Article on the Holy Communion originally followed that on Holy Baptism, and that its position was altered only when its original meaning was obscured.

Is there not some reason therefore for restoring the 'most holy faith' of Jude 20, the form of faith 'once for all delivered to the saints' ver. 3, from this Baptismal formula of the Marcosians, and to recognize in the restoration the form of the Baptismal Creed of Asia in 160?

Πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν πατέρα
εἰς τὸν υἱόν,
εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
εἰς μίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν,
εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων.

5. The rite of initiation (λύτρωσις) was accompanied by the following formula: τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ πάσης θεότητος καὶ κυριότητος² καὶ ἀληθείας, ὃ ἐνεδύσατο Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνὸς ἐν ταῖς ζωαῖς, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Χριστοῦ ζώντος διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν. This giving of a hidden name recalls the new name referred to in the Epistle to the Church of Pergamum: 'To him that conquereth will I give of the hidden manna, and I will give to him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written which no one knoweth, but he who receiveth it' (Rev. ii 17). The Hidden Name in the Marcosian rite was the Name of Christ, the Living Christ, the Living One of Rev. i 17. The form used in the Marcosian rite was probably closely akin to the form which accompanied the giving of the white tessera in the Pergamene Church. The rite corresponds to the 'sealing' in the Church, in all probability a ceremony rather than a mere metaphor. The Church in Asia regarded this sealing as part of the ministry of the Holy Ghost: 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed unto the day of redemption (ἀπολυτρώσεως)' Eph. iv 30. So also the Marcosian formula has διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. And the place of the Angels in the rite of

¹ 'Das thracische Christentum war das bithynische.' Harn. *Mission und Ausbr.* p. 491.

² It is noteworthy that the evil doers of Jude 'set at nought dominion (κυριότητα)'. The word only occurs in 2 Pet. ii 10, Eph. i 21, Col. i 16, all Asian witnesses.

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HENRY FROWDE

¹ Iren. i 21, 1.

² Ibid. i 21, 2.

³ Ibid. i 21, 3.

sealing, *eis lútrōsin ággelikhēn*, is illustrated by the sealing of the 140,000 in Rev. vii 1-8. The angel has the 'seal' of the Living God (*Θεοῦ ζώντος*) engraven perhaps with the name of the Living Christ (*Χριστοῦ ζώντος*) of the Marcosian formula. It is perhaps in reference to this 'angelic redemption' that the writer of St Jude alludes in his censure of the angels who 'kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation' (ver. 6).

The Marcosian formulary is, like the others, similar to or identical with the form of initiation used in the early Church of Asia in connexion with or as the complement of Holy Baptism. It was the prototype of Confirmation, the Sacrament of Perfection. 'They say that it is necessary to those who have received the perfect knowledge to be regenerated into that power which is above all. Otherwise it is impossible to enter into the Pleroma.' *τὸ μὲν γὰρ βάπτισμα τοῦ φαινομένου Ἰησοῦ, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστοῦ κατελθόντος, εἰς τελείωσιν καὶ τὸ μὲν ψυχικόν, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν εἶναι ὑφίστανται.*¹ The distinction not only shews the difference between remission and perfection among the Marcosians, but also gives point to the words of Jude 19: 'These be they who separate themselves (i.e. make separations), sensual (*ψυχικοί*), having not the Spirit (*πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*).'

After the giving of the Hidden Name, the candidate for initiation (or Redemption or Confirmation) responded in the following words: *Ἐστήριγμα καὶ λελύτρωμαι καὶ λυτροῦμαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ πάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰαῶ, ὃς ἐλυτρώσατο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ ζῶντι.*² Then those who were present add *Εἰρήνῃ πᾶσιν ἐφ' οἷς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπαναπαύεται*. Afterwards they anoint the initiate (*τὸν τετελεσμένον*) with opobalsamum, which is a type of the sweetness which is above all things.

The whole passage throws light on the words of 1 John ii 20-27: 'Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things . . . And the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you.' The testimony of 1 John is Asian, and the passage seems to refer to the Catholic form of this Sacrament of Redemption, which in 160 the Marcosians said was 'necessary for perfect knowledge'.³

There is therefore good reason for regarding the form and ritual of this Sacrament as a witness to the form and ritual of the Sacrament of Confirmation in the early Church. The Hidden Name which was given in the Church was the Name above every name (Phil. ii 9). The form of Invocation used is probably identical with that of the

¹ Iren. i 21, 1.

² *Ibid.* i 21, 3.

³ *Ibid.* i 21, 2.

Church: ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικαλοῦμαι φῶς ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ πνεῦμα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ζωὴ· ὅτι ἐν σώματι ἐβασίλευσας. The form for the giving of the Name τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον, &c., which Irenaeus gives in Greek and Hebrew, varied little from the Church form. It was accompanied, according to Clement of Alexandria, by the laying on of hands: διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους· εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν.¹ The form of response, also given in two languages, in the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰαῶ, is an echo of the Apostolic formula 'in the Name of Jesus' (Phil. ii 10, Acts xix 5). The Pax is the εἰρήνη σοι of 3 John 15. The whole description of the Marcosian Sacrament of Redemption is therefore of the utmost value as a witness to the form and rite of 'Laying on of hands' as practised in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Church.

6. One other liturgical form is preserved by Irenaeus, the form for the Baptism or Unction of the Dead: 'Alii sunt qui mortuos redimunt ad finem defunctionis mittentes eorum capitibus oleum et aquam, sive praedictum unguentum cum aqua, et supradictis invocationibus, ut incomprehensibiles et invisibiles principibus et potestatibus fiunt, et ut superascendat super invisibilia interior ipsorum homo ('the inner man' of Eph. iii 16) quasi corpus quidem ipsorum in creatura mundi relinquatur, anima vero proiciatur Demiurgo.'² The water points to Baptism, the oil to Unction. This Baptism and this Unction are given that the person may rise—'ut superascendat'. It is an echo of the early rite of Baptism for the Dead: 'What shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not?' 1 Cor. xv 29. The Old Latin 'qui mortuos redimunt' has been turned by the Benedictine editor into 'morientes'. But the periphrastic Greek of Epiphanius—τοὺς τελευτώντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξοδον φθάνοντας . . . λυτροῦνται . . . ποτὲ γάρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαιον ὕδατι μίξαντες ἐπιβάλλουσι τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἐξελθόντος—seems to confirm the translation *mortuos*. The Baptism in 1 Cor. xv 29 was perhaps a vicarious Baptism. Tertullian speaks of it as such.³ But the Baptism of the Dead was practised in the early Church, and especially among the Phrygian followers of Montanus.⁴ Two forms of commendation are given: the first of them contains the words ἐγὼ υἱὸς ἀπὸ πατρὸς, πατὴρ πρόϊντος, υἱὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἦλθον πάντα ἰδεῖν, τὰ ἀλλότρια καὶ τὰ ἴδια. They are taught to say these words when they come to the Powers. The word of Commendation on the Cross, taken with the verse that follows it, connects the Christian idea of commendation and redemption with that shadowed forth in the Marcosian rite:

¹ St Clem. *Alex. Excerpt. Theod.* xxii.

² Iren. i 21, 5.

³ *De Carn. Res.* c. xlviii.

⁴ Philastr. *de Haer.* c. 2; *Dict. Antt.* i 535.

'Father, into Thy Hands I commend my Spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, Thou God of Truth' (St Luke xxiii 46, Ps. xxx 6).

St Jude will have nothing of Achamoth and Sophia in his view of the last things. He says 'Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life' (Jude 21).

VI. *The Verses against Marcus.*

The iambic verses cited above are interesting not only as corroborating the evidence brought forward by Irenaeus in his chapters on the Marcasian heresy, but because, if the identity between this heresy and that of the Epistle of St Jude be established by the foregoing study, they help to shew the identity of thought and responsibility between the 'elder' of Asia and the writer of the Epistle, in their treatment of the apostate magician.

THOMAS BARNES.

NOTES ON THE DIDACHE.

III.

THERE are some other points in the *Didache* that call for notice.

Let us look at xvi 3 'Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφήται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος. αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μυσήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι.

The passage is modelled upon Matt. vii 15, xxiv 10; but the word παραδώσουσι is the only one which in any way suggests danger from heathen magistrates. The writer would hardly have expressed himself thus, if he had lived within range of Nero, Trajan, Decius or Diocletian. What he appears to have in his mind is the persecution of Christians by Christians, when sheep turn into wolves. Now he was certainly not a Gnostic nor a Quartodeciman, but he may have been a Montanist. The Montanists were persecuted by Christians in the second century (see the words of Maximilla *Eus.* v. 16, 17 διώκομαι ὡς λύκος ἐκ προβάτων, and Tert. *adv. Prax.* 1), by Constantine (*Soz.* ii 32; vii 19; *Eus. V. C.* iii 63-66; Epiph. *Haer.* xlviii 14), and by later emperors (see *Cod. Theod.* xvi 5, 59, 65), and are classed with heathen in what is given as the seventh canon of the council of Constantinople.

Immediately after this passage on persecution comes the prophecy

about the End. It is the work of one who professed to be himself a prophet, and to know many other prophets, but it does not exhibit the faintest trace of ecstatic fervour; it is in fact nothing but a bald reproduction of what the author had read in the New Testament. It is bookish, and further it is critical. Its significance lies in the points which it omits. It leaves out the return of Nero, which was expected by St John, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and Commodian; and it knows nothing of the *rex alienigena* of the *Testamentum Domini* (Rahmani, p. 7). The author makes no attempt to connect the End with the history of his own time, because he is critical and has come to see the futility of such endeavours. Again, he is evidently not a Chiliast, and here again we have an indication that he wrote after the time of the Alexandrines. He tells us of the sound of the trumpet, but makes no mention of the angels; indeed, one of the most peculiar features of the book is the entire absence of allusion to good or evil spirits. What Barnabas entitled 'the Way of the Black One', is in the *Didache* 'the Way of Death'; the petition in the Lord's Prayer is understood apparently to mean 'deliver us from evil', not from 'the Evil One' (see x 5). Again, there is no resurrection for the wicked, nor does the author speak of a resurrection of the body. He refers to Zech. xiv 5, but whether he means that the wicked perish at death, or that when they die they enter at once into everlasting punishment, and have no share in the resurrection (this, according to Josephus, was the teaching of the Pharisees), is not clear. He may be following Enoch (see the article *Eschatology* in Hastings' Dictionary, by R. H. Charles). But it is noticeable that, while copying the Way of Death from Barnabas, the author of the *Didache* has omitted the words ὁὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν θανάτου αἰώνιον μετὰ τιμωρίας, and from this we might infer that he believed in the extinction of the wicked at death.

The prophecy is studied, dull and unreal; there is no existing specimen of the kind that is so uninteresting. The author is devoid not only of inspiration but of imagination. He has seen too many predictions falsified by the event, and is too timid to let himself go. He does not believe in others, and he does not believe in himself, but just repeats in a perfunctory official kind of way the two or three things that he thought might possibly still come to pass. It is surely hardly conceivable that this bankrupt seer should have lived in the first century. The second century begins with Hermas and ends with Perpetua, produced the *Apocalypse* of Peter, and abounded in Gnostic and Montanist visionaries, who, whatever else we may think of them, did not want fire, conviction, matter or power. Even in the third century we find Cyprian and Gregory Thaumaturgus, who were prophets, and Commodian, who though not a prophet, knew and believed

what other prophets had said. The exaltation of Pentecost was followed by the exaltation of the times of persecution, and this again by the exaltation of asceticism. Prophecy was rife in the Egyptian monasteries. But nowhere along the whole line shall we find any one who talks so much and knows so little about prophecy as the author of the *Didache*. The afflatus was not dying, but dead, in the community to which he belonged.

There are a few words in the *Didache* which may help us to fix its date.

Κλάσμα, used (ix 3) of the bread broken in the Eucharist. It is taken from the story of the feeding of the Five Thousand, and is an appropriate term for the 'fragment' given to a communicant. Nevertheless it does not appear to have been so employed. Harnack says that no instance can be found in the first or second century, and, so far as I am aware, none has been produced from the third. But the word occurs, used in this particular sense, in the Coptic Liturgy (see Brightman *Liturgies E. and W.* p. 464 line 5, and *Glossary of Technical Terms*, s.v. 'Particle'). Add *Acta Andreae* (Tisch. p. 109) where τὸ κλάσμα τοῦ ἄρτου is used of the sop which our Lord gave to Judas. The attestation is probably at earliest of the fourth century, and points to Egypt.

Σιτία. See xiii 5 ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς. The only lexicon I have seen which notices the word is that of Sophocles, where two passages from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* are cited—Migne lxxv 192 A καὶ λαβὼν σιτίαν εἰς τὸ ἀρτοκοπεῖον, and 196 B ἀπῆλθεν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἀρτοκοπεῖον ποιῆσαι δύο σιτίας. Here we find ourselves again in Egypt and in the fourth century, for both passages occur in sayings of Abbot Theodore, who was a contemporary of Athanasius. The word was strange to the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, for he replaces it by θερμοὶ ἄρτοι (vii 29).

Χριστέμπορος (xii 5). It is so used as to form an epigram, 'not a Christian but a Christmonger'. The epigram is found in pseudo-Ignatius *Trall.* vi 2, and in Basil *Epp.* 240; the words χριστέμπορος or χριστεμπορία in ps.-Ign. *Magn.* ix 5; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl 11 (i p. 698); *Carm. de Vita sua* 1756 (ii p. 766); Chrysost. *Hom.* vi in 1 *Thess.* (vol. v p. 378 of Field's edition); Theodoret *Hist. Eccl.* i 3 (in letter of Alexander of Alexandria); *Epp.* i 4 (Migne iii 729); ps.-Clement *de Virg.* i 10, 4; 11, 4; 13, 5. From the fourth century onwards the word appears to be fairly common, but it is not to be found before. Indeed it belongs to that later age when almsgiving has become a dubious virtue.

These three words are probably all late. It may be of course that our information is defective; the 'leopards' of Ignatius may warn us

not to be too positive. But, if we found the word 'starvation' in an English document, we should know at once that it was not written before the time of Mr Dundas, and taking these three words together we may suspect that the *Didache* was not compiled before the beginning of the fourth century. But this is not a popular view. Mr Vernon Bartlet, in his article on the *Didache* in the extra volume of Hastings' Dictionary, calls it a paradoxical view, but I think he means rather heterodox, or unpopular. He concedes that the word 'Christmonger' may be suspected of being late in origin, and that in consequence 'the early date of xii 5, or even of xii 2-5, is rather less certain than that of the work as a whole'. He finds the trace of a later hand in the baptismal injunctions, but still will not allow that affusion has anything to do with clinic baptism. As to this point the reader must now judge for himself. My own belief is that, setting aside the very rare and exceptional case of confessors in prison, baptism by affusion was allowed by the primitive church only to sick persons whose life was in imminent danger, and that, even when so allowed, it was not generally regarded as satisfactory. Some are disposed to think that all language implying immersion is to be treated as conventional, and that affusion or perfusion was in fact the general practice from very early times; but, if this is so, it is difficult to see what reliance we can place upon any statements about anything. Finally, Mr Vernon Bartlet would place the date of the completed *Didache* about 100, and possibly between 80 and 90 A. D.

My own view, if I may venture to give it here in outline, is

1. That the *Two Ways* is the work of Barnabas. Mr Bartlet does not quite admit this, but he allows that it may have been 'written down for the first time at his request and for his benefit'.
 2. That the *Way of Life* was circulated as an independent tract, under the title of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. See Mrs Gibson's translation of the Harris codex of the Syriac *Didascalia* p. 12: the Syriac Text and translation of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, by J. P. Arendzen in *J. T. S.* iii p. 60: and the Greek text of the *Apostolical Church Order*. In these free revisions the Greek of Barnabas was a little varied and elaborated and a few verses were omitted.
 3. Some time after the cessation of persecution an Egyptian writer took up this revised *Way of Life*, added to it from Barnabas the *Way of Death* and the omitted verses, and inserted a passage of his own composition (i 3—ii 1), in which he made use of the *Didascalia*, of Hermas, of Clement of Alexandria, and of an unknown Gospel. He then proceeded to append to this nucleus a church manual, exhibiting the practice, doctrine and organization of the sect to which he belonged.
- What this sect was it is hardly possible to say. The author has

little or no interest in the Humanity of our Lord, or in angels or demons. He was strongly ascetic and draws a distinction between the 'perfect' Christian, who bears the 'whole yoke of the Lord', and the 'imperfect' Christian, who does not (vi 1-3). While on this side exceedingly Judaic, he yet detests the Jews, and is remarkably free from scholasticism, formalism or mechanism. Affusion, perfusion, immersion are quite indifferent, and his view of the Eucharist is that of Clement of Alexandria or Origen. Church organization he would remodel in the light of Alexandrinism and of the Pauline Epistles. That he was acquainted with the whole of the New Testament need not be doubted, but he masquerades as a contemporary of the Apostles, and is therefore, like the author of the Clementine *Homilies*, debarred from formal quotation, except as regards 'the Gospel'. Somewhere in Egypt there may have been a sect answering to this description. But it is possible that this strange book merely expresses the ideas of a solitary thinker. For it never came to anything, and nobody appears to have read it except the compiler of the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*.

C. BIGG.

NOTES ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST JOHN.

I.

iv 23 Ἐρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ὅτε οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσι τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

v 25 Ἐρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ὅτε οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσονται.

I wish to suggest that in both of these passages the clause καὶ νῦν ἐστίν is not a part of our Lord's words, but an editorial comment added by the Evangelist to point out the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the previous words ἔρχεται ὥρα. 'An hour is coming'—aye and it is now present—'when,' &c. I quite admit that there is no necessity for such an interpretation, for our Lord may quite naturally indicate the germs of the future in the present; nay, there are arguments against it: the absence of the words in iv 21 and xvi 2, where it would have been equally natural for the Evangelist, though not for our Lord, to add this note, and the analogy of xvi 32, where the additional words καὶ ἐλήλυθεν seem to be the Lord's own, both make for the common view.

But on the other hand such comments are natural to the Evangelist (i 16, iii 16-21, 31-6, xi 52, &c.); in both of these cases the witness of his later experience is specially significant; and his first Epistle offers some striking analogies. A comparison of any one of the following passages, and above all the combined effect of them all, makes strongly for the view here advocated.

i St John ii 18 Παιδιά, ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστὶ καὶ καθὼς ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται, καὶ νῦν ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν ὅθεν γινώσκουσιν ὅτι ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν.

ib. iii 1 Ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα τέκνα Θεοῦ κληθώμεν καὶ ἐσμεν.

ib. iv 3 Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, ὃ ἀκηκόατε ὅτι ἔρχεται, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν ἤδη.

If, then, we adopt this interpretation, St John will in iv 23 be bearing his witness, at the end of his life, to the change that has passed over worship. "The temple is gone, the mass of Samaritans have been converted; but there has arisen, as the Lord said there would, a higher worship; the 'reasonable service' of which St Paul, the 'spiritual sacrifices' of which St Peter has spoken, have taken the place of all that was ignorant and formal: I too have seen true worshippers from many a nation and in many a place."

In v 25 the Lord's prophecy 'An hour cometh when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live,' may have referred to literal resurrection, such as that of Lazarus, but more probably to a spiritual resurrection from the death of sin. In either case St John may have had not only the varied experience of a later Christian generation, but also a special experience of his own in his mind as he added 'aye and now it is true'; for Eusebius tells us, on the authority of Apollonius, that a dead man was through the power of God raised to life by John himself (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v 18): and Clement of Alexandria has given us the beautiful story of St John winning back the brigand to the faith of Christ: 'Where is the young man,' he had said to the bishop to whom he had entrusted him, 'whom I left in thy care?' 'Alas,' was the answer, 'he is dead,' Θεῷ τέθνηκεν. But the aged Apostle found him, called after him with a loud voice (κεκραγώς), pleaded with him as sent by Christ to save him, promised him forgiveness in Christ's name, 'nor left him before he had restored him to the church, giving a great example of genuine repentance, a great proof of regeneration, a trophy of a visible resurrection,' τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης (*Quis dives salvetur?* c. 42). The original saying of the Lord, 'the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live,' may well have come to his mind at such a moment, and it would be with a full heart that, when afterwards he recorded that

saying, he paused to add the words *καὶ νῦν ἐστιν*, and set to his seal that God is true. If this interpretation is right we should punctuate the sentence *ἔρχεται ὥρα, καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, ὅτε κτλ.*

II.

ix 2 *Ῥαββί, τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ;*

The first half of this question has always caused perplexity: in what way could a man have sinned before birth so as to be born blind in penalty for his sin? The common answer to this question is to appeal to a doctrine of the pre-existence of souls found in later Judaism and imported, perhaps, from Hellenic sources, and an illustration has been drawn from Wisdom viii 19, 20:

*παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφυνής,
ψυχῆς τε ἑλαχον ἀγαθῆς,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἤλθον εἰς σῶμα ἐμίαντον.*

But neither this passage nor any other quoted seems to give such a doctrine of pre-existence as is needed for the purpose here: they are all consistent with the belief which is drawn out at full length in the passage (quoted by Weber *Altsynag. Pal. Theologie* p. 217) from Tanchuma, Pikkude 3. According to this, all souls were created by God from the first; they were created good, they existed in a heavenly region, and one was joined with each body at the time of conception. This theory not only does not support, it contradicts, the possibility of sin in the pre-existent state.

There would be stronger ground for assuming that the disciples believed that the child might have sinned in the womb. Some belief in consciousness of the child while in the womb is implied in St Luke i 44, and both Lightfoot (*ad loc.*) and Weber (p. 235) quote the Midrasch rabba on Ruth iii 13 as contemplating it as an unusual case. But it is scarcely likely that either of these theories should have become current coin or been present to the minds of simple Galileans. This is equally true of a third theory, illustrated by Cyril of Alexandria (*ad loc.*) from some Gentile beliefs of his time, and by Dr Pusey (*What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment* p. 65) from Rabbinic sources, the theory of a transmigration of souls by which a soul brings into a new body the results of sins committed in its former life: but here all the illustrations are of late date.

In this place too I would suggest a slight change of punctuation and read *τίς ἥμαρτεν; οὗτος; ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ;* So punctuated, the words *ἵνα . . . γεννηθῇ* will only apply to the last question: and the meaning will be—‘Master, whose sin caused this blindness? was it the man’s own sin causing him to be struck blind by God in his own lifetime? or was it his parents’ sins causing him to be born blind?’

This interpretation would assume that at the time of the question the disciples were ignorant that the man had been born blind: but that would be quite natural; the Jews needed at a later stage in this incident to ask questions on the point (19, 20): and ignorance is more probable than knowledge, at the first sight of one who seems to have been a stranger lighted upon by accident. St John in describing the incident afterwards naturally emphasizes from the start this important point that he was blind from birth, but he leaves the original question in its original form, probably because it never would have occurred to his mind that any one would think of interpreting the question 'Did this man sin?' in any way except the natural way, that it meant conscious sin in the man's own life.

W. LOCK.

THE MEANING OF THE LEYDEN GRAECO-DEMOTIC PAPYRUS ANAST. 65.

THIS papyrus, known as Pap. Anastasy 65 (I. 383), contains in its demotic text besides some Greek words the following passage:—

ΜΗ ΜΕ ΔΙΩΚΕ ΟΔΕ ΑΝΟΧΠΑΠΙ ΠΕΤΟ[.] ΜΕΤΟΥΒΑΝΕΣ· ΒΑΣΤΑΖΩ
ΤΗΝΤΑΦΗΝΤΟ ΥΟΣΙΡΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΑΓΩΚΑΤΑ[.] ΗΣΑΙΔΥΤΗΝΕ ΣΑΒΙΔΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΙΣΤΑΣΤΑΣ ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΘΑΙΕΙΣ[.] ΛΧΑΕΑΝΜΟ ΙΟΔΚΟΠΟΥΣ
ΠΑΡΑΣΧΗ ΠΡΟΣΡΕΨΩΔΥΤΗΝΔΥΤΩ

In a modern form, we might read this:—

Μή με δίωκε ὁδε· ἀνοχ παπιπετο[γ]μετογβανες· βαστάζω | τὴν ταφὴν
τοῦ Ὑσίρεως καὶ ὑπάγω κατα[στ]ῆσαι αὐτὴν εἰς ἡσ· Ἀβιδος | καταστήσαι εἰς
τάστας καὶ καταθέσθαι εἰς ἀλχας· εἰάν μοι ὁ δεῖνα κόπους | παράσχη,
προσρέψω [1. -ρίψω¹] αὐτὴν αὐτῷ.

Messrs Griffith and Thompson have shewn (*Demotic Mag. Pap. of London and Leiden*, London, Grevel & Co., 1904, pp. 11 and 12) that the present demotic text is only the retranslation of the Greek version of a late Egyptian (early Coptic) document. We may therefore define

¹ Προσρίψω. Brugsch, Révillout, Maspéro, Deissmann read προσ(τ)ρίψω. Leemans, *Monumens*, p. 9, guessed that the scribe meant προσρίψω. A combination with προσρέψω is impossible. The writing of an -ε- instead of -ι- before ρ might be a Greek phonetic phenomenon. Yet the fact that ι is long, and moreover belongs to the accentuated syllable, makes this not probable. We have here a Coptic mistake, cf. O. v. Lemm *Bulletin de l'Ac. imp. de St-Petersbourg* vol. xiii 1 (June 1900): 'Griechische u. lat. Lehnwörter im Koptischen', Grenfell and Hunt *Greek Papyri*, Second Series, No. cxiii.

the problems in the following manner, in order to explain the obscure $\Delta\text{NO}\chi\text{ΠΑΠΙΠΕΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΟΥΒΑΝΕΣ}$ as a Coptic magical formula:—

I. $\Delta\text{NO}\chi$. (a) Linguistic character of the word.

(β) Exact meaning.

II. $\text{ΠΑΠΙΠΕΤΟΥΜΕΤΟΥΒΑΝΕΣ}$.

(a) Is this one word or more?

(β) Philological analysis.

(γ) The meaning of ΠΑΠΙΠΕΤΟΥΜΕΤ- .

(δ) The meaning of $-\text{ΟΥΒΑΝΕΣ}$.

I (a). The first word $\Delta\text{NO}\chi$ has long been recognized as the common Coptic $\Delta\text{NO}\chi$. We might consider the aspiration¹ of the last radical as a proof of the 'lower-Sahidic' character of the formula. This is *a priori* probable, as the body of the work as well as the 'glosses' have been proved to be written in one and the same dialect² (op. cit. ch. v p. 10). This dialect was distinctly 'lower-Sahidic'.

I (β). In Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, p. 289, where this formula is mentioned, it is said that similar cases of $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ with the name of a god, by which the conjurer identifies himself with the god in order to give a particular force to his incantation, are very often found in Greek books on magic art. $\Delta\text{NO}\chi$, however, is linguistically identical with ܕܢܚ and has exactly the same meaning, which is simply 'I'. In both cases the notion 'I am' springs only from the context.

II (a). The second part of our problem is somewhat more complicated. In the text itself the word is separated thus: $\Delta\text{NO}\chi\text{ΠΑΠΙ}$, ΠΕΤΟΥ , ΜΕΤΟΥΒΑΝΕΣ , but it is obvious that this external testimony is of little importance. Even less evidence³ can be brought forward to support the reading *Papipetou Metoubanes* as accepted by Révillout and others⁴.

¹ Aspiration is here a doubtful term, for the real value of the Coptic symbol χ is at least as difficult to determine as the exact historical character of the sound represented by the Greek sign χ .

In Coptic we need urgently: (a) a complete and systematic study of the present pronunciation in the various districts of Egypt by a trained student of phonetics; (β) a complete and systematic synopsis of all MS evidence on the use and history of the graphic symbols as related to the real sounds which occurred in the language of the later Egyptians.

² I cannot strongly enough insist on the intrinsic value of Prof. Victor Henry's book *Antinomies linguistiques*, Paris, 1896.

³ No evidence at all, for, if the separating of words in Greek writing is purely accidental, this is still more the case with the Demotic symbols.

⁴ Révillout, E. *Revue égyptologique* i (1880) p. 164 sq.; *Les arts égyptiens* ii p. 10 sq.; *Un fragment de la légende Osirienne*; Maspéro, G. *Collections du Musée d'Alaoui* i 5, Paris, 1890, p. 66 sq.; *Recueil de Travaux, Études démotiques* i p. 49 sq.; F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, op. cit.

Therefore there is no reason for not considering all the letters as belonging to one word.

II (β). Philological analysis by itself has not as yet adequately shewn the manner in which the letters ought to be separated. The recent editors of the *Dem. Mag. Pap.*, while doubting whether the formula really meant anything, and suggesting that it must be corrupt, have tentatively proposed the following solution:—

'nk pe pa p nt 'o my t wēbn-s

translated: 'I am the servant of him that is great; give discharge (ΛΑΤΟΥΕΟ) (of the liability) to her (sic; for 'to me'?).'

I quote the whole of this explanation, as it is hidden in a footnote (p. 108) which might fail to attract attention. Apart from very serious doubts as to the suitability of this translation to the circumstances given in the charm, the philological grounds seem not to be sound.

For, if we transliterate the proposed reading ('nk pe pa p nt 'o my t wēbn-s) into Greek, according to the system which the editors have adopted, in which ' = α and y = ι, we reach a result which differs considerably from the Greek of the Papyrus.

It is of course possible to assume a far-reaching corruption, but if a simpler solution can be found, it is probably preferable.

II (γ). It may be taken for granted that the general wish of the persecuted person was to represent himself in such a way that no foe would be willing to attack him. From the context, and from the analogy of similar cases¹, it is probable that he declared himself to be the servant of some of the Osiriac deities. Following up this line of thought we might explain the first half in this manner:—

πα: possessive prefix (§ 57)²: ὁ ὄν τοῦ . . .;

-πι-: demonstrative pronoun (§ 58) of the weaker class, a secondary form of πει (S.);

-π-: definite article, by which a sentence of relation is made substantive (§ 504);

-ετ-: particle of relation, in Sahidic often connected with the definite article [he who is: (S.) πετσωπε, (B.) φη ετσωπ (§ 488)];

-οτ-: indefinite article, always used as an introduction to nouns of a general or abstract character, formed by the prefix (S.) αιπτ, (B.) μετ (§§ 90, 127);

¹ Cf. *Liber M(ortuorum)*, ch. ix, ch. xlviii, ch. lxxxvi; *Mélanges d'archéologie égypt. et ass.* i p. 118 (*L. M.* ch. lxix, col. 6); *Leemans Pap.* 2nd vol., Pap. v, col. 6 a, line 12 sq.

² The paragraph numbers refer to the first edition of Steindorff's *Koptische Grammatik*.

-**ⲙⲉⲧ**- : prefix of generalization or abstraction, forms *nomina feminina* of a general or abstract meaning from other nouns [e.g. **ⲙⲡⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ**, paternity: **ⲉⲓⲱⲧ**, father; **ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲥⲉⲗⲏⲥ**, wickedness: **ⲁⲥⲉⲗⲏⲥ**, wicked; **ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓⲡⲏⲩ**, Greek (language, &c.): **ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲡⲏⲩ**¹, Greek].

The Bohairic form of this prefix is **ⲙⲉⲧ**-. This is one proof more that our scribe knew the Sahidic dialect in a 'lower', a Northern form, and is the more probable explanation (cf. **ⲙⲡⲟϥ**, I (a)). One might, however, suggest that a top-stroke, representing **ⲛ**, was omitted.

We may therefore translate the first lines of our formula thus:—

'Do not persecute me N. N., for *I am the servant of an* **ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛⲉⲥ**-like one, I bear the mummy of Osiris, &c. . . .'

It would be possible to leave here the field of philological research, and considering that many Egyptian gods have an animal face we might try to find out some member of the Osiriac family who has something to do with the mummy of that god and with the frightening of harmful demons or persons, while his outward appearance might suggest some explanation for the *epitheton* 'ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛⲉⲥ-like'. I prefer, however, the philological method.

II (δ). **ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛⲉⲥ** phonetically transcribed represents the sounds: u-w-a-n-e-s (or š)².

Probably these sounds represent some word in a lower Sahidic dialect, which perhaps described some striking peculiarity (the animal face?) of one of the Osiriac gods.

To this purpose the 'pure' Sahidic **ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲓⲩ**³, *jackal*, answers best,

¹ **ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲡⲏⲩ** cf. Hebr. **עִבְדִּי** **עַבְדִּי**, **עַבְדִּי**; Aram. **ܥܒܕܝܐ**, **ܥܒܕܝܐ**; Syr. **ܥܒܕܝܐ**; Arab. **عَبْدَانِي**; Assy. **javānu**; Sanskr. **javanā**; Old-pers. **jaunā**, Gesenius-Kautsch¹³ p. 317. *Stade De populo Javan*, Giessen, 1880; Halévy *Revue sémitique* ii p. 101 sq.

² s or š. Cf. Hesychi **Βασάρια τὰ ἀλατρία ὁ Λίβυς λέγονται**: (A.) **ἡαυρα** (S.) **ἡαυρα**. The c is the only symbol which the Greek alphabet knows for all kinds of sibilants. So even the modern Athenian says: **ἔχει σίχ**, thus hellenizing the cosmopolitan 'chic'.

On Ionians in Egypt cf. Mahaffy *A Survey of Greek Civilization* pp. 32, 64, 71 sq.

³ **ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲓⲩ**. Peyron *Lexicon linguae Copticae*, Taurini, 1835, p. 149, states the fact that **ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲓⲩ** is used several times in the N. T. to represent the Greek **λύκος**.

When representing, however, a living animal in Egypt, and not some letters in a foreign, written book, it always has the meaning 'jackal'.

As we have no firm ground to assert that to the readers of the Greek N. T. in general, and especially to those who dwelt in Egypt, the five signs **λ. γ. κ. ο. ε.** conveyed the idea of that animal which we call a 'wolf', and not the far more common inhabitant of the Eastern deserts, the 'jackal', there is no reason at all to maintain on this doubtful evidence a meaning which the Sahidic **ⲟⲩⲱⲡⲓⲩ** is not known to have. We should rather suggest that **λύκος** means the same as the Coptic word, i. e. a jackal.

but the exact phonetic value of this word ought first to be stated, for the identity of the two words can only be proved if the equation $\sigma\gamma\beta = \sigma\tau$ can be adequately justified.

To this end it may be suggested that in Sahidic writing the symbol $\sigma\tau$ represented two sounds, viz. the vowel *o* and the semiconsonant *w* (γ), while the lower dialects in this case were on the same lines as the Bohairic in using $\sigma\tau$ for the simple vowel *u*. Thus $\sigma\tau\omega\eta\eta\gamma$ phonetically transcribed represents the sounds: *o-w-â-n-e-š*.

May we assume, then, that the lower Sahidic *uwaneš* is one and the same as the 'pure' Sahidic *owân^{es}*? The answer cannot be doubtful if it is possible to shew other traces of this *Umlaut* of an *â*-sound towards *a*, and of the different value of the symbol $\sigma\tau$ in Sahidic and in lower dialects. The first may be done by the perusal of Peyron's dictionary; I need but mention the Sahidic $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\sigma\tau\epsilon$, Akhmîmic $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\sigma\tau\epsilon$, &c.

The second statement is confirmed in a general way by a phenomenon observed by Prof. J. Dyneley Prince, viz. the difference in pronunciation, which still prevails, of the symbol $\sigma\tau$ in Lower and in Upper Egypt (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 23², 1902, pp. 289-306).

The difference which we were induced to assume *exists* at the present day: in the lower districts $\sigma\tau$ is pronounced *u*, while in the surroundings of Assuân the pronunciation is *ou* (*ow*).

Referring for further details to the note¹ below it is now possible to propose a *translation*:—

A curious parallel is to be observed in the relations between the names of the same animal in the Old Testament and in Old Egypt: Hebr. $\lambda\alpha\gamma$, Arab. ذئب, Aram. $\lambda\alpha\gamma$, Ass. zibu, should mean 'wolf'; Aeth. $\lambda\alpha\gamma$ 'hyena'; while the Old Egyptian word *s3b* is thought to represent our 'jackal'! It is probable that the distinguishing between a 'wolf', a 'hyena', and a 'jackal' at a distance of some thousand years has its particular difficulties. It is equally true that jackals are more common than 'wolves' in the deserts of Arabia and Egypt.

On the same phenomenon of constant confusion between these animals in Greek and Latin documents cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i 1894, coll. 2645 sq.

¹ Though the conditions pointed out in note 1 on p. 419, have not yet been fulfilled, we may however judge it a probable view that those phenomena which seem (in the older texts) to point in the same direction as Prof. Prince's observations on modern pronunciation are not entirely heterogeneous. We have no right to deny this historical nexus till we can prove it non-existent. On the subject of the consonantic value of the τ in the Sahidic symbol $\sigma\tau$, I may refer to the *Mélanges d'épigraphie et de linguistique égyptienne* by E. Révillout in the third volume of the *Mélanges d'arch. ég. et ass.*, Vieweg, Paris, 1875, p. 44 sq. Also to the first volume, p. 181, and to some articles by Maspéro, i, p. 144 sq. Some proofs may be quoted:—

B. $\lambda\sigma\tau\alpha\eta$. S. $\lambda\sigma\tau\alpha\eta$.

B. $\lambda\sigma\tau\eta\eta$. S. $\lambda\sigma\tau\eta\eta$.

'Do not persecute me N. N.: I am the servant of him that is jackal-like. I bear the mummy of Osiris and I am about to deposit it at Abydos in the inner sanctuary, to deposit it in the eternal abodes. If N. N. gives me trouble¹, I will cast it before him.'

III. It may be suitable to test in a third part our results by comparing them with some facts of Egyptian religion.

(a) That the 'jackal-like' is Anubis is evident. The use of such a circumlocution as a sacred name may be paralleled from the *L(iber) M(ortuorum)* ch. 125 (forty-two instances²). That we are right to press the exact phonetic value accords with the high importance of the 'right voice'³ in pronouncing charms. Therefore the Demotic doublet

B. ⲥⲣⲏ-ⲥⲣⲏⲟⲩ. S. ⲥⲣⲏ-ⲥⲣⲏⲟⲩ.

B. ⲉⲣⲑⲏ-ⲉⲣⲑⲏⲟⲩ. S. ⲑⲣⲉ-ⲑⲣⲏⲟⲩ.

B. ⲁⲑⲉ-ⲁⲑⲏⲟⲩ. S. ⲁⲣⲉ-ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ.

B. ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ. S. ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ.


B. ⲟⲩⲣⲉ-ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲟⲩ. S. ⲟⲩⲣⲉ-ⲟⲩⲣⲏⲟⲩ.

These instances can be furnished in greater numbers, and, in my opinion, Révillout is approximately right when claiming for the Sahidic ⲥ the value of Semitic τ : vol. iii, op. cit. p. 45: 'En tout état de cause τ peut être complètement comparé en copte au vav des langues sémitiques. C'est le plus souvent une véritable consonne et toujours un des éléments essentiellement significatifs du langage. Dans le corps des mots il joue ordinairement le rôle de radicale.'

When using the ⲥ in current Greek and Lower Egyptian fashion for the sound μ , our scribe had no other symbol to represent the first radical w than the ⲁ. In Coptic too the transition $B \rightarrow \beta \rightarrow \mu$ is not uncommon. A striking parallel is to be found in the extremely conservative Syriac writing where we yet read ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ = ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ; ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ = ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ; ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ = ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ. Cf. Nöldeke *Syrische Gramm.*³ § 27: 'Die Ostsyrer haben das ⲙ schon früh ganz wie ⲟ (w , u , μ) gesprochen: $a\beta$ wird dann zu $a\mu$ und $\mu\beta$ zu μ .' This latter stadium our scribe has not attained: $\mu\beta$ $\alpha\epsilon$. How far such weakening goes is patent from a phrase like this: 'Auch ⲙ sprachen sie wie ⲟ, wo sie es in aussergewöhnlicher Weise weich liessen und nicht zu p machten.' Similar things might be observed in Coptic, e.g. ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲣⲁⲁⲁ, and ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲣⲁⲁⲁ, both = *avraham*! For many things, especially for the textual criticism of the Sahidic fragments of the New Testament, we cannot strongly enough regret that so much fundamental work is still undone or not adequately done. Cf. Schwartz's phonetics in his *Koptische Grammatik* or the confused statements sometimes found in French works.

¹ ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲭⲉⲓⲛ means to give trouble, to annoy: cf. Matt. xxvi 10, Mk. xiv 6, Lk. xi 7, xviii 5, Gal. vi 17.

² Circumlocutions as sacred names, *L. M.* 125: 'The full $\mu\alpha$ -eye (in Heliopolis)' 'you that run far out (in Heliopolis)', 'you that bear fire in your arms (in Cherau)', &c.

³ Cf. *L. M.* ch. 48: 'Text to go out as $[m^3] \text{ hrw}$:  a person who has the right intonation (of the magical sentences),' &c.

of this charm re-transliterates¹ the Greek transliteration of the original lower Sahidic sounds.

(β) For the connexion between Osiris' mummy and Anubis cf. Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie des klassischen Alterthums* vol. i coll. 2645-50 (Pietschmann), Metzler, Stuttgart, 1894.

(γ) Anubis' function as a frightener of demons &c., op. cit. l.c.

(δ) In perfect harmony with the supposed 'lower' Sahidic character of our text is the fact that Anubis was especially honoured in Middle Egypt: the twelfth-thirteenth and the seventeenth-eighteenth districts of Upper Egypt (the Cynopolites and the Lycopolites nomos) occupy the northern part of the territory of the Sahidic speech (Lat. 28°-29° N., and Long. 28°-29° E. for the Cyn. nomos; Lat. 27°-28° N., Long. 28°-29° E. for the Lyc. nomos). Cf. Brugsch *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1877.

J. DE ZWAAN.

THE MOHAMMEDAN 'GOSPEL OF BARNABAS'.

IN April, 1902, there appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. iii pp. 441-451), an article by Dr William Axon 'On the Mohammedan Gospel of Barnabas'. That article was based, so far as it dealt with the Italian *Barnabas*, on material drawn mainly from Sale and Toland, while extracts from the Spanish version were reprinted from Dr White's Bampton Lectures of 1784.

But the point of greatest interest and importance in the paper was the statement with which the author concluded, namely, that he had traced the Italian MS to Vienna. With this announcement he coupled the suggestion that a transcript should be made of the Vienna MS, and a judgement formed as to the desirability of printing it.

Acting on that suggestion, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who were already in correspondence on the subject with the late Dr Hastie of Glasgow, have secured a transcript of the document, the text of which will shortly be published by them, together with an English translation. It occurred to the translators, with the approval of the Press authorities, that pending the publication of the MS a second paper might be

¹ The man who retranslated the Greek into old Coptic, written in Demotic symbols, rendered the Greek πανπετομετογβανες phonetically not 'as if it consisted of magic names' op. cit. p. 108, but simply from religious fear of altering the exact sound of the formula, which of course he understood very well.

acceptable, which should to some extent fill up the gaps in Dr Axon's article, and answer—so far as is possible at this stage—the questions raised therein.

Summarily, then, the document seems to have been described quite accurately by Sale, Toland, and La Monnaye. Toland's version of the concluding words is however, to say the least, very free—he renders, e.g. *quanto habia scritto* by 'according to the measure of our knowledge'. Nor is it easy to point to any definite passage in our MS which can be identified with the sentence quoted by Grabe from the Gnostic Gospel of Barnabas¹. Further, whatever Toland may have found in the complete Spanish version, we have not found in the Italian text the title *Paraclete* ascribed to Mohammed, who is most often entitled *il splendore* and *il nontio*².

The Two Versions.

With regard to the lost Spanish version (to discover a trace of which all our efforts have so far been fruitless), the extracts reprinted by Dr Axon (l. c. pp. 446–51) differ very considerably from the corresponding passages of the Italian text. They are much less diffuse, and moreover actually diverge in several important points. On the other hand, Sale's extracts from the original Spanish represent the Italian text almost word for word. As these latter passages are few and short, it may be worth while to print them here, side by side with the Italian. The likeness is so remarkable that it would seem much more probable that one of these should be translated from the other, than that they should be independent sister-translations of a lost Arabic original.

Spanish.

Italian.

ORIGIN OF CIRCUMCISION.

<p>Entonces dixo Jesus; Adam, el primer hombre aviendo comido por engaño del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebelò su carne à su espiritu;</p>	<p>Allora disse iessu adamo primo uomo avendo mangiato per fraude di satana il cibo proibito da Dio nel paradisso si ribelo al spirito la charne sua onde giuro dicendo per</p>
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¹ Grabe *Spicilegium* I. 302 (ex cod. barocc. 39): Βαρνάβας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἔφη· ἐν ἀμίλλαις ποτηραῖς ἀθλιώτερος ὁ νικήσας, διότι ἀπέρχεται πλέον ἔχων τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

² There is one passage where Christ is represented as revealing the name of the 'messenger' in which the phrase is *il nome del Messia he admirabile*; and shortly afterwards *Machomete he il suo nome benedeto* (ch. xcvi p. 203^b). There is nothing of the kind in the chapters which correspond to St John xiii–xvi. Toland's remark seems to be based upon the *Arabic gloss* on p. 46^b, which runs thus: *in the Arabic tongue Ahmed, in the Amran tongue Anointed, in the Latin tongue Consolator, in Greek Paracletus.*

por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar; y rompiendo una piedra tomò su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra. Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel Gabriel, y el le dixo; Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroso no lo serè jamas. Ala hora el angel le enseñò la superfluidad de su carne y a quella cortò. De manera que ansi como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, ansi esta obligado a cumplir aquello que Adam con juramento prometì.

[*ap. Sale, Prel. Disc. § iv.*]

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The relation of our text to the Italian Vernacular Bible would seem to be a matter of some importance in connexion with the question of its origin—the question, i.e. whether the original document was Italian or whether the Italian is a translation of a lost Arabic document.

In view of this I have compared passages of Biblical narrative incorporated in 'Barnabas' with the leading types of Italian version, down to the first printed Bible of Malermi in the fifteenth century. So far as can be judged from a somewhat cursory examination, the 'Barnabas' version is independent. It is true indeed that there is perpetual variation, of a sort, between the several MS versions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—*quot codices tot varietates*; but Prof. Samuel Berger has shewn that all the extant Italian versions, though independent in a modified sense, belong to a single family, typically represented by the Old Provençal.

The independence of our version seems to be of a different character, and to represent either an original translation from the Vulgate or a translation from another tongue by one to whom the Vulgate was extremely familiar. Frequently, and especially in the Psalms, he closely follows the Vulgate's wording, even where he departs a little from the sense. In Ps. lxxxiv 5, 6, e.g. we have *lo ascendere nello chor suo dispone nella valle delle lachrime*, following the Vulgate word for word—and equally obscure. And many similar instances might be quoted.

¹ The suggestion is due to Prof. C. A. Nallino, of Palermo.

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The Italian, though well and fluently written, is very curious, alike in its orthography and its grammar, as may be judged, to some extent, from the foregoing extracts. Perhaps the most likely solution of the problems it raises may be stated as follows: The original appears to have been written in Tuscany in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but the existing MS is the work of a Lombardo-Venetian scribe perhaps a couple of centuries later, who is responsible in the main for the orthography, and, in part perhaps, for the grammatical solecisms¹.

The relation of our text to the Italian Vernacular Bible would seem to be a matter of some importance in connexion with the question of its origin—the question, i.e. whether the original document was Italian or whether the Italian is a translation of a lost Arabic document.

In view of this I have compared passages of Biblical narrative incorporated in 'Barnabas' with the leading types of Italian version, down to the first printed Bible of Malermi in the fifteenth century. So far as can be judged from a somewhat cursory examination, the 'Barnabas' version is independent. It is true indeed that there is perpetual variation, of a sort, between the several MS versions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—*quot codices tot varietates*; but Prof. Samuel Berger has shewn that all the extant Italian versions, though independent in a modified sense, belong to a single family, typically represented by the Old Provençal.

The independence of our version seems to be of a different character, and to represent either an original translation from the Vulgate or a translation from another tongue by one to whom the Vulgate was extremely familiar. Frequently, and especially in the Psalms, he closely follows the Vulgate's wording, even where he departs a little from the sense. In Ps. lxxxiv 5, 6, e.g. we have *lo ascendere nello chor suo dispone nella valle delle lacrime*, following the Vulgate word for word—and equally obscure. And many similar instances might be quoted.

¹ The suggestion is due to Prof. C. A. Nallino, of Palermo.

I subjoin a short passage from the Parable of the Prodigal Son, in which our MS shews more freedom, but also a decided independence of the Provençal type.

Barn. p. 160 a.	Provençal thirteenth cent. (ap. Berger).	Italian fourteenth cent. (MS Riccardi No. 1252).	Vulgate (Lu. xv 11-13).
Egli fu uno padre di famiglia il quale haveva dui figlioli he il piu giovine disse padre dami la mia portione di roba ilche li dete il padre suo il quale riceuta la portione sua si parti he andete in paese lontano onde sconsumo tutta la fachulta sua chon meretrice vivendo lussoriosamente.	Un homo era lo- qual aveva ij fiolj e llo plu çovene disse a so pare pare dame la mia parte de lo chastello che mi tocha, e lo pare parti la sustancia e dè a queluy la soa parte et dentro brieve termine tute cose asemlade in- sembre lo plu ço- vene fyo andè fuore de lo paese e spendi là tuta la soa sus- tancia vivando luxu- riosamente.	Uno huomo ebbe dui figliuoli et disse lo più giovane di quelli padre dami la parte mia della nostra sustantia et non dopo molti die raghuno tutte le parti delle cose sue lo piu giovane fi- gliuolo et andone malandrinando in un paese alungi et là distrusse et scia- lacquò la sustantia sua vivendo lussu- riosamente.	Homo quidam habuit duos filios et dixit adolescentior ex illis patri: Pater da mihi portionem substantiae quae me contingit. Et divisit illis substantiam. Et non post multos dies, congregatis omnibus, adole- scentior filius per- egre profectus est in regionem longin- quam, et ibi dissipa- vit substantiam suam vivendo luxu- riosè.

Evidence for an Arabic Original.

Mention has been made of a supposed Arabic original. The conjecture was made by Cramer, in the preface affixed to the copy which he gave to Prince Eugène—the actual copy of which the Clarendon Press is publishing a transcription—and it has often been repeated. But no trace of such an Arabic text has yet been discovered. And the Italian text affords little or no decisive material for a conclusion. A Mohammedan document, even if compiled by a European renegade and in a romance language, would necessarily be tinged in general and in detail with semitic colouring. When that, and the orientalisms due to our document's obvious dependence on the Bible, have been subtracted, there remains, apparently, little or no evidence in favour of an Arabic original. The text does not, according to experts, read like a literal translation from the Arabic; and the fact that it is annotated with Arabic glosses in the margin would seem to tell against rather than in favour of the theory. The purpose of these glosses is somewhat mysterious. It has been suggested to me by Mr F. C. Burkitt, that their function may have been to protect the MS from destruction at the hands of Moslems ignorant of western languages. Thus the internal evidence remains, so far as I can judge, perplexingly indecisive.

If we assume that Italian was the original language, the compilation

must probably be the work of a Christian renegade. There are no traces of southern or Sicilian dialect, so we are forbidden the romantic conjecture that it had its birth at the court of Frederic II. There remains the equally interesting possibility that its author may have been one of the apostate Templars.

But whatever may have been the place and the environment of its origin, the document may well prove to be one of considerable interest and importance—perhaps to the student of early Gnostic literature, certainly to the student of mediaeval thought, and to those interested whether academically or practically in the relations between Islam and Christianity.

LONSDALE RAGG.

NOTES ON THE *DE LAPSU VIRGINIS* OF NICETA.

AMONG the *opera dubia* in his admirable and epoch-making edition of the works of Niceta of Remesiana Dr A. E. Burn prints from two manuscripts of the seventh and tenth centuries a treatise inscribed *epistula Nicetae episcopi de lapsu Susannae deuotae et cuiusdam lectoris*. It bears the same title in a MS of Einsiedeln (186 saec. xi), which he has not collated. In all three manuscripts is found a remarkable colophon in which this (revised) form of the text is attributed to Ambrose.

The same work, with considerable differences, especially in the direction of expansion, is found in many manuscripts of Ambrose and Jerome, and has been printed by Migne in *P. L.* xvi as a genuine work of the former Father. Dr Burn, being mainly and rightly concerned with the form attributed to Niceta, has not provided collations of MSS of the longer form: he has however printed a complete collation of the shorter form, with the text as it appears in Migne.

The treatise, whether it be founded on fact or be merely fiction, is one of the most interesting remains of Latin literature, and it seemed worth while to call attention, by the publication of a few notes about it, to the need which exists for a new edition of the longer form. It is desirable to find out exactly what the correct text of the longer form is, not only for its own sake, but also for the sake of the shorter form. Only when a complete collation has been made of all the old MSS of the longer form (or forms) will it be possible to say where this form took its rise, and what claim it has to be associated with Niceta, Ambrose, or Jerome.

I have not undertaken anything like a complete examination of catalogues of MSS for this article, but in the course of a partial examination of a few for another purpose I have noted various MSS. They are the following¹:—(A) attributed to Ambrose; Avignon 276 (saec. x), Tours 340 (s. xv), München 496 (s. xv), Cambridge Trin. Coll. B. 4. 31 (s. xii), B. 4. 30 (s. xi–xii), Chartres 172 (s. xii), Oxford Bodl. 238 (s. xiv), 768 (s. xi–xii), 792 (s. xii), 757 (s. xiv–xv), St John's Coll. 163 (s. xii), Merton Coll. 47 (s. xv, ch. 9 only): (B) attributed to Jerome; St Omer 267 (s. ix), Köln LX (s. ix), Köln LIX (s. xii), München 4723 (s. xv), 15912 (s. xii–xiii), 18523^b (s. xii), Trier 213 (s. xv), Troyes 558 (s. xii–xiii), 637 (s. xii), Escorial b iii 12 (s. xii), Madrid Biblioteca Nacional 11, 20 (s. xiv), Cambridge Kk III 24 (s. xii), Dd VII 2 (f. 349 vb. s. xv), London British Museum Harl. 3164 (s. xv f. 180 b), Holkham (Earl of Leicester's) 128 (s. xv). The numbers are about equal and the dates also. The oldest MSS known to me are those of St Omer and Köln, which support Jerome; the oldest in favour of Ambrose is that of Avignon. Italy does not appear to contain any old MS of the treatise at all; Spain knows only the attribution to Jerome. It seems improbable that Niceta issued two forms, and certain that neither Ambrose nor Jerome had anything to do with the treatise.

Of the MSS enumerated I possess a full collation of the Holkham MS (which was deposited in the Bodleian by the kindness of its owner), a fairly full collation of the Cambridge Dd VII 2 (which seems a worthless copy), and a full collation of portions of MSS Bodl. 768 and 792. These collations will be gladly put at the disposal of any editor of the longer form. A study of them has led me to the view that the Jerome form was the earlier revision of the pure Niceta, and that the Ambrose form is a revision of the Jerome form. Lord Leicester's MS, though of late date, is of high quality, as its readings and orthography shew. In the following passages it seems to have preserved the correct reading of the oldest form: p. 112, 10 (Burn) *passioni* (*passionis* Burn), p. 114, 1 *quod* (*quae* Burn), p. 116, 12 *Ut* (*Et* Burn), p. 116, 17 *hebescit* (*tabescit* Burn), p. 117, 17 *e* (*de* Burn), p. 118, 15 *polliceris* (*pollicita es* Burn), p. 119, 5 *ac* (*aut* Burn), p. 119, 14 *actu* (*facto* Burn), p. 122, 3 *ligna* (*lignum* Burn), p. 122, 9 *tuo hoc* (*tuo* Burn), p. 122, 13 *ecclesiam sanctam* (*sanctam ecclesiam* Burn), p. 122, 16 *mari* (*mare* Burn), p. 123, 6–8 follow the MS in punctuating thus—*paenitentia?* 'Quae aut aequet... excedat; et... magnitudo', p. 124, 18 *conuertimini* (*conuertemini* Burn)².

ALEX. SOUTER.

¹ I borrow four from Dr Burn's Introduction.

² Immediately on the completion of the collation of the Holkham MS, it was put into the hands of Dr Burn, but unfortunately too late for use in his edition. The above notes appear here with his approval.

LUCAS OR LUCANUS?

THAT 'cata Lucanum' is the genuine formula for quotations from St Luke's Gospel in the *Testimonia* of St Cyprian has now been put beyond doubt by the evidence of the wide use of the formula, both in Cyprian and in three at least of the old Latin Biblical texts (*a*, *f*³, *s*), adduced by Mr Turner in the January number of the JOURNAL (vi 256 ff). But to make the account of the extant evidence complete, it may be worth while to add that on the well-known sarcophagus of Concordius, at Arles, the inscription under the representations of the four evangelists runs as follows MATTEVS MARCVS LVCANVS IOANNIS: see, for the most recent publications of the text, Le Blant *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* ii no. 542 (p. 277), the same writer's *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles* p. 8, and Garrucci *Storia dell' arte cristiana* plate 343 no. 3 (text v 70); compare also the discussions in de Rossi *Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana*, A.D. 1866, p. 34, and Gatti *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* A.D. 1904, p. 328.

Again, on the fragmentary cover of a sepulchral chest in the Museo Kircheriano (Gatti *loc. cit.* by mistake says of Apt near Avignon) occur the letters . . . vs IOANNIS, where Tongiorgi and de Rossi *l.c.*, comparing the Arles sarcophagus, supply (LVCAN)vs. But though this supplement is probable enough, in order to make it certain we should need to be certain that the order of the evangelists was that now in common use, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, seeing that it was exactly with the Westerns that this order was not invariable (Zahn *Geschichte des NTlichen Kanons* ii 367 ff).

Anyhow, whatever may be said of this second instance, we have in the other a quite certain example of 'Lucanus' from an inscription (and that a localized one) to bring into comparison with the examples of the same form in MSS.

And à propos of this, would it not be a useful thing for some one to collect all inscriptions, be they few or many, in which occur the names of the Evangelists, and to classify them (in respect both of the order of the names and of their forms) according to place and time? The attempt has been already made to collect the similar evidence of the MSS of the Gospels, and of the lists of Canonical books.

G. MERCATI.

THE COMING CAMBRIDGE SEPTUAGINT: A PLEA FOR A PURE TEXT.

THERE are few works whose appearance is more anxiously looked forward to by scientific theologians than the great edition of the Greek Old Testament upon which Mr Brooke and Mr McLean have been working for many years.

Recent criticism has made it plainer and plainer that the decision of the Reformation divines to substitute what they called the Hebrew Verity, by which they meant the Masoretic text of the Bible, for that once accepted by the Jews themselves as well as by all members of the primitive Christian Church, namely the Septuagint text, was at least a doubtful experiment and one which might reasonably claim revision. The opinion of the relative value of the Septuagint text, as compared with the Hebrew, has indeed been revolutionized even since the last great revision of the English Bible, and there can be little or no doubt that if that work had to be done again now, the new revised version would shew a very much larger infusion of Septuagint readings than the present one does.

This being so, those of us who have tried in late years to champion the Septuagint text as against the Hebrew are naturally very anxious that the great Cambridge Bible shall be (what it was, I take it, meant originally to be) a collection of all the manuscript materials available for the reconstruction of the Septuagint text in its original purity, and a sifting out of all those materials by which the true Septuagint text has been sophisticated at different times, and more especially by the syncretic handiwork of the initiator of Biblical criticism, Origen.

I am not quite sure, however, that this most admirable aim will be secured by what I understand to be the intention of those responsible for the new Cambridge corpus of Old Testament readings. They apparently contemplate, not as complete a collection of Septuagint variants as they can secure, but merely a more complete and elaborate edition of Professor Swete's admirable Greek Bible.

Professor Swete's Greek Bible has on its title-page this inscription: 'The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint.' As a matter of fact, it is merely a careful edition of the Vatican Codex, with various readings from all the uncial MSS and in certain parts from some cursives, and it confessedly contains at least one work which has nothing to do with the Septuagint at all, namely Theodotion's Greek translation of Daniel. This appears in the book, I take it, merely because it is contained in Codex B and the other uncials, but no one now believes that it formed part of the Septuagint Bible, and to print

it, not as an appendix with a proper 'caveat', but as an integral part of the text, in a work claiming on its title-page to be an edition of the Septuagint Old Testament is, I think, misleading.

Lately, I have been permitted to write a series of articles in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. In these I have at some length argued, what was long ago urged by Grotius and later by Whiston, namely, that not only Daniel, as it appears in the great uncials, was derived from Theodotion, but that the certainly once united Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, and probably Esther, as they appear in the same uncials, are not in any way Septuagint texts, but are all derived from Theodotion also. In the case of one of these books we still possess the Greek rendering, namely the long-neglected document called 1 Esdras in the English 'Apocrypha'.

The conclusions I have ventured to urge have been accepted (as I am assured by themselves) by the greatest authorities on the Greek Bible in this country, in Germany and America, and notably by those who have made a special study of the books in question.

It seems to me that when the New Cambridge Bible appears, it ought not to contain any of these translations of Theodotion, and for two reasons. In the first place, it would utterly mislead every student into the notion that we have in them parts of the great work of the Seventy, which we wish so much to recover in its integrity. Secondly, it would repeat the inducement to the compilers of Septuagint lexicography to introduce, as they have done previously, a large number of words into their lexicons which have nothing to do with Septuagint Greek at all, and merely represent the Greek of the second century A. D. in the district where Theodotion lived and worked.

May I venture to urge, while it is still not too late, that before any Greek text is admitted into the Cambridge Bible there shall be at least an *a priori* probability that it is a Septuagint text?

May I further urge that it would be an excellent complement to the new corpus of Greek Bible readings, if it were possible to bring together all the remains of the other Greek translations of the Bible, namely those of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, &c., and to print them together and not scattered (as they are in Field's great work) over the various books of the Bible? In this case, Theodotion would naturally loom very big, and the various books now attributed to him and printed in Dr Swete's professedly Septuagint Bible would find a very natural place.

Dr Nestle assured me some time ago that he had once contemplated such a work, and looked upon it as one of great value and perhaps necessity.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

[The title of the manual edition of the Cambridge Greek Old

Testament was adopted after full discussion by the Committee to whom the Editor was responsible. It is right to add that he fully concurred with the decision at the time, and still sees no reason to regret it.

To exclude a text which holds the place of the Alexandrine version of Daniel in all our MSS but one might have been held to savour of pedantry, and would certainly have caused much inconvenience to the majority of readers. It is not easy to understand how any one can be misled by the presence of the Theodotonic version, when every page on which it appears bears the symbol of Theodotion.—H.B.S.]

THE MIRACLE OF CANA.

HAS it ever occurred to the reader what a singularly uncomplimentary speech that was which, according to our version, the ruler of the feast addressed to the bridegroom, when he said to him 'Thou hast kept the good wine until now'? It was as though he had said: 'Other people give their good wine first, and their inferior wine later, but you have given us your inferior wine first, and kept your good wine until now, when we have already drunk freely, and it matters little whether the wine be good or bad.'

And yet the words were, rightly rendered, an intended compliment, and not the contrary. The error has lain in the mistaken interpretation of *τηρήκας*. The verb *τηρεῖν* does not mean 'to retain', but 'to maintain', i.e. 'to maintain as it was', 'to preserve unbroken', 'to keep inviolate'. Thus—'He keepeth not (unbroken) the Sabbath-day' (John ix 16); 'If ye love me keep (unbroken) my commandments' (John xiv 15); 'Endeavouring to keep (unbroken) the unity of the Spirit' (Eph. iv 3); 'I have kept (inviolable) the faith', or 'my faith' (1 Tim. iv 7). These examples illustrate the true signification of the term.

Hence, in the present passage, the sense is not that of 'guarding, reserving, retaining', and so (here) 'keeping in store', but of 'maintaining', 'keeping up', 'keeping going', which throws quite a different light upon the words used. 'Thou hast kept going the good wine even until now', this is what the ruler of the feast said. Good wine at the beginning and good wine at the end. Not a limited amount of good and an unlimited amount of inferior wine, but good wine all through. The compliment is manifest.

W. SPICER WOOD.

REVIEWS

Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. Canonum et Conciliorum Graecorum Interpretationes Latinae. Edidit CUTHBERTUS HAMILTON TURNER, A.M. Fasciculi primi pars altera. Nicaeni Concilii praefationes capitula symbolum canones. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1904.)

MR TURNER and his University are to be congratulated on the appearance of the second part of the first fasciculus of his *Monumenta*. It is hardly too much to suggest that he is himself the only scholar fully competent to criticize it. The minute care and accurate scholarship which have been devoted to its production leave almost nothing to be said—unless a critic were fortunate enough to have discovered a manuscript which Mr Turner had overlooked. Mr Turner has indeed found some new MSS since the publication of the first part of the work five years ago, and has made a careful examination of others which were imperfectly known. From these sources he has drawn additional material for the Subscriptions to the Council of Nicaea which he edited in Part I.

The present instalment contains the Nicene Symbol and Canons in ten Interpretations, which fall into three groups. I. (a) The Interpretation found in the Codex Ingilrami (saec. ix), apparently made in the fourth century in Italy. (b, c) The Interpretations of Caecilian and Atticus, made for the benefit of the African Church in 419 A.D. (d) Interpretatio Prisca, compiled from (a) and (c) in the fifth or sixth century. II. (a) Interpretatio Gallica, fourth century. (b) The paraphrase of Rufinus (*Hist. Ecc.* x 6), beginning of fifth century. (c) Interpretatio Gallo-Hispana, compiled in the fifth century from (a) with help of (b). (d) Interpretatio Isidori (so called), composed at Rome in second quarter of the fifth century; Mr Turner shews that the oldest tradition of this Interpretation is contained in the three codd. which he has grouped together as M, and that the text in the Quesnel Sylloge (Q) depends on M. III. Two Interpretations of Dionysius Exiguus, differing little from each other. The first of these Mr Turner has edited for the first time from four MSS. Dionysius had before him the Interpretatio Isidori in its Q form, and amended it from the Greek text.

The text of the Prisca raises critical questions on which a few obser-

vations may be offered. Neglecting the late Codex Veronensis, there are two independent traditions of this Interpretatio: one represented by a Bodleian MS of the seventh century (J), the other by three MSS, of the ninth and tenth centuries, which hang together (v). For the restoration of the original text the system on which the compiler proceeded must be noted. Collating the parallel texts, we soon discern that he has generally followed the Interpretation of Atticus, and has used the Int. Cod. Ing. where its language seemed clearer (more familiar) or fuller. Thus in Canon II, last sentence (p. 115), the brief *ipse periclitabitur de clero* is expanded into the clearer *ipse se periclitans privabitur a clero*, with the help of Int. Cod. Ing. In Canon IV, where the written consent of bishops who are unable to be present at an episcopal ordination is required, Atticus has simply 'consentientibus et his qui absentes sunt episcopis et spondentibus per scripta', and the Prisca adds the unnecessary but vivid *tamquam se praesentes* from the auxiliary source. Again, in Canon VII, the more precise statement of Int. Cod. Ing. as to the position of the Bishop of Jerusalem is preferred. In Canon IX, the substitution of *interrogati* for *cum discutuntur* and the insertion of *temere* are similarly characteristic. Only occasionally, as in portions of Canon XIX, *De Paulianistis*, does the preference of the Int. Cod. Ing. to Atticus appear arbitrary.

The following three cases are sufficient to prove that the two traditions of the Prisca are derived from a manuscript which was not free from errors. P. 113, l. 11, the codd. gives *alios* for *alias* (so Att.), which is restored by the editor. P. 120, l. 14 'hunc consilium censuit sanctum et magnum concilium non esse episcopum' was the reading of the common tradition (*concilium* for *consilium* in two codd. of the v family being evidently a correction). In the next following sentence, ib. l. 17, all the codd. omit the indispensable word *decreto* which Mr Turner restores from Atticus.

The archetype then was not flawless. Was it the compiler's autograph or only a copy? Mr Turner's acute treatment of a passage in Canon IX is based on the hypothesis that it was a copy of a (the compiler's?) corrected manuscript. Here the MSS have 'tales enim canon non suscipit. quod autem', &c. The sense repudiates *enim*. Atticus has 'tales canon non suscipit sed abicit. hoc enim quod', &c. Mr Turner accounts for *enim* by supposing that the text which the copyist transcribed—presumably the compiler's autograph—presented

tales
enim

canon non suscipit quod autem

and that the copyist thoughtlessly supposed that *enim*, which had been

written as a substitute for *autem* (cp. Atticus and Cod. Ing.), was to be inserted after *tales*.

The *consilium* passage, referred to above, I would interpret as confirmatory evidence of the conclusion that we have to do with a copyist who sometimes went wrong in copying out fair a corrected or semi-corrected original. Here, I think, we get a glimpse of the compiler busy at his work of conflation with his two sources in front of him. Atticus has 'talem concilium magnum definiuit non debere esse episcopum'. The compiler preferred the other rendering, 'hunc concilium hoc sanctum et magnum censuit non esse episcopum'. His first thought was to write 'hunc consilium censuit non esse episcopum'; but when he had written *censuit* he changed his mind and, deciding to preserve the honourable epithets of the Council, he proceeded with *sanctum et magnum concilium*, but without deleting the superfluous *concilium* which he had already written. But *concilium* was not exactly what he had written, though it was what he had intended to write. He actually wrote *consilium*, and it is easy to see why. His eye had been on the text of the Atticus, where in the preceding clause *consilium* occurs correctly, *praeter consilium metropolitani* (for which the compiler with Cod. Ing. wrote *sine arbitrio eius qui est in metropolim*).

A passage in Canon V must, I think, be explained as another instance in which the scribe of the common parent of J and v misunderstood his exemplar.

'Et si quis incunctanter offenderint episcopum suum et rationabiliter excommunicati apud omnes esse probatum et omnium consilio innotescat, quamdiu episcopo placeat humaniorem pro his ferre sententiam.'

Here there is an important omission; Atticus has 'quamdiu *aut in communi aut* episcopo placeat', &c., and Cod. Ing. expresses the same alternative. The whole character of the Prisca excludes the supposition that the omission was intentional. If we observe that the expression 'apud omnes esse probatum et omnium consilio innotescat' corresponds to 'apud omnes esse putentur' (Att.) and 'constet' (Cod. Ing.), and reflect that it is unlike the compiler to employ such a circumlocution without a cue from either of his sources; and if we observe further that Cod. Ing. has 'omnium consilio uel episcopo eorum placeat'; it occurs as a very probable solution that the words *omnium consilio* were inserted in the wrong clause by a mistake of the scribe, with the substitution of *et* for *uel*. The mistake could have easily arisen, if the words had been accidentally omitted in the original MS and subsequently added *supra lineam*.

There are some other places where we are entitled to suspect that errors were committed by the writer of the parent of J and v. *Ceteri* in Canon I (p. 113 l. 5) is probably a mistake of his for *cetero*

or *ceteroqui*. And we may perhaps impute to him too the omission of *matrem* in the list of innocuous female persons mentioned in Canon III (p. 117, l. 9).

The compiler adhered closely to his two sources, but in one or two cases he wrought *suo marte*. In Canon X (p. 127), to the words of Atticus *cogniti etenim deponuntur* he added *abiciantur* (suggested perhaps by *sed abicit* in Atticus, Canon IX, p. 126, l. 8). *Ueniam meruerint* in Canon VIII (p. 125, l. 18) seems to be another case of such initiative. Here Att. and Cod. Ing. have *inuenti fuerint*, and Mr Turner suggests that *ueniam meruerint* (v; *mereantur* J) arose out of this by corruption. But the preceding *fuerint* (l. 16) is against this view; 'ubicumque uero fuerint' (Prisca) corresponds to 'ubicumque uero... inuenti fuerint' (Att.). The compiler has modified the Interpretation of Atticus so as to include a wider category than the *ordinati*.

I do not quite agree with the exegesis, which Mr Turner imposes by his punctuation, of this passage in Atticus. The comma, I conceive, should be after *fuerint*, not after *ordinati*. Punctuated thus it runs:—

'ubicumque uero omnes siue in castellis siue in ciuitatibus ipsi soli inuenti fuerint, ordinati qui inueniuntur in clero sint in eodem habitu.'

Ordinati goes closely with *inueniuntur*; and *ord. qui inuen.* are a portion of the larger class (*omnes*) of the preceding clause. *In eodem habitu* means in the same clerical order.

Mr Turner's corrections of his texts are nearly always convincing; some of them are remarkable. I may specially notice *quia adsentiant* for *quid sentiant* (p. 202), and *ex tractatione* for *extra legatione* (p. 137), which deserves to take rank with Maassen's *sequestrentur* for *sequerentur* (p. 228). In the Decretal of Damasus (p. 157 l. 25) he has boldly adopted *uas*, the reading of the best MSS, as a genitive (*Pauli apostoli uas electionis*), appealing to the well-known statement in Cicero's *Orator* 45 as to the colloquial elision of *-is*.

There are still some passages in these documents which require emendation. In the text of the Quesnel Sylloge, Canon XIX (p. 277), *qui ex nudo corporis recedunt*, we should probably restore *nodo*, 'from the bond of the body'. There is a graver difficulty in one of the spurious canons which are found in the MSS of the Prisca (except J). The canon is as follows (p. 146):—

'Hoc placuit ut si quis subdiaconus aut diaconus aut presbiter uel episcopus fuerit ordinatus in his personis † si neglectus †, episcopus qui hoc fecerit personam tantum uindicet, peculium qui ordinatus est restituat domino huius; clericus tantum, deponatur, etiam etsi domino interueniente. illut tantum obseruandum sit ut liber militet aecclesiae. (variants: *si neglectus, se neglectus*).

Mr Turner's explanation of the general meaning is unquestionably

right. A slave, ordained to the subdiaconate or a higher order, thereby acquires his freedom, but must compensate his master by giving up his *peculium*. This does not apply to lower orders (*lectores, exorcistae*). Now in the former case, ordinations might be of two kinds, ordinations of laymen, and ordinations of clerics to a higher order. I suspect that this distinction is concealed in the corruption *si neglectus*, and propose to restore

siue clericus (siue laicus).

Reference must be made to the instructive notes on special points which will be found in Mr Turner's Addenda, particularly to the material which he has collected on the dating *post consulatum* in Africa, to his ordered presentation of the *testimonia* concerning the deaths of the apostles Peter and Paul, and to his note on the use of *inferi* and *inferni*.

J. B. BURY.

Das morgenländische Mönchtum. Von STEPHAN SCHIWIEZT. Band I, pp. 352. (Mainz, Kirchheim, 1904.)

THE greater part of this volume, the first instalment of Dr Schiwietz's work on Eastern Monachism, had already seen the light in the *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* (1898-1903), and the present reviewer had there learned to appreciate its value. The book is divided into three parts, whereof the first treats, in fifty pages, of pre-monastic Christian asceticism and ascetics during the first three centuries. As is common on all hands nowadays, the beginnings of Christian asceticism are traced back to apostolic times, and its root and justification are found in the New Testament itself. In these pages probably most that can be known concerning ante-Nicene Christian ascetics among men, and dedicated virgins and deaconesses among women, has been brought together, and Schiwietz's articles are put in the first place among the authorities on the subject in Grützmacher's article 'Mönchtum' in the new edition of Herzog. But whatever anticipations there may have been in earlier times, Schiwietz concludes, and surely rightly, that Christian monachism properly so called began only with the opening of the fourth century.

The rest of the volume is a portrayal of Egyptian monachism during the fourth century. It opens with thirty pages on St Anthony; the first fifteen pages are a laboured refutation of Weingarten's theories: this surely was quite unnecessary in face of the practically unanimous verdict of critics during the past few years in favour of the historical

character and the Athanasian authorship of the *Vita Antonii*. And Schiwietz does not mention the really new factor in the case—the Syriac version of the *Vita* signalized by Schulthess in 1894; indeed, he writes in apparent unconsciousness that any advance has been made since 1886. The two sections, however, describing St Anthony's work and place in the history of Christian monachism, and based mainly on the *Vita*, are well done. The monachism of the Nitrian and Scetic deserts and of the Nile valley from Siout to Alexandria is described in forty pages. This portion is practically an analysis of the *Historia Monachorum* and the relevant parts of the *Historia Lausiaca*. It again is well done; but I hope it is not an illusion to think that the author has been at a disadvantage in not knowing the first volume of the *Lausiaca History of Palladius*, published in 1898: it is referred to, indeed, in one note, but it was not used in the making of the book. However, Schiwietz has been guided aright by Preuschen's *Palladius und Rufinus* as to the main ground-lines of the criticism of the two chief sources; but the views adopted in regard to the authorship, original language and literary character of the *Historia Monachorum* are not those of the generality of critics. The hundred pages on Pachomian monachism are still more thoroughly executed, and furnish a solid contribution that may fitly rank with the monographs of recent years on this branch of the subject. In the criticism of the documents Schiwietz closely follows Abbé Ladeuze in his excellent *Cénobitisme Pachomien*, and so has been led on to correct lines, particularly in regard to the priority of the Greek Life over the Coptic and of the Coptic over the Arabic. In the matter of the evaluation of sources for the history of Pachomian monachism, Schiwietz follows Ladeuze also in his unfavourable estimate as to the trustworthiness of Palladius's account of the Pachomian Rule and organization: here I have to disagree; I have dealt with the question in a partial manner in notes 50-9 of my second volume of the *Lausiaca History*, but, as there stated, I hope to have an opportunity hereafter of going into the matter fully. Here I shall only direct attention to what I have said in note 53, on the liturgical practices of the Pachomian monks: it is there shewn that Palladius's evidence is to be preferred to Cassian's, because Palladius had visited a Pachomian monastery and Cassian had not, and because Palladius's statements are borne out by the earliest Pachomian documents.

The Third Part—'A Survey of Egyptian monachism in the fourth century'—is not only the newest but also the most original and constructive portion of the book. It contains interesting discussions of the ps.-Athanasian 'Syntagma Doctrinae', of the early ethical teaching (found in Evagrius and Cassian) on the Eight Capital Sins, and of the relations of the Egyptian monastic system to the general ecclesiastical

life of the time. There is also a refutation (mainly following Ladeuze's) of Amélineau's charges of general immorality against the Pachomian and Nitrian monks: in a system embracing many thousands of men and women it may be taken for granted that there must be many individual failures and falls; but after going over the documents carefully I can say nothing else than that, so far as extant records go, Amélineau's sweeping accusations are baseless and frivolous; and I see that this is the verdict of a quite independent judge, von der Goltz, in his review of Schiwietz (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1905, 79). The case of Schenoudi's monastery is, perhaps, less clear; but Ladeuze and Leipoldt (*Schenute von Atripe*) both reject Amélineau's inferences. Schiwietz does not touch on this part of the question, nor, indeed, on Schenoudi and his monks at all; and the most serious criticism on his book must be this unaccountable lacuna in any picture of fourth-century Egyptian monachism. For Schenoudi's was the most permanently exclusive Coptic manifestation of monastic life; and the literature, being largely letters and conferences, illustrates the inner working of the system in a more vivid and realistic way than is possible with the more formal Pachomian documents. All this matter has been admirably collected by Leipoldt in his *Schenute von Atripe* (1903). It has also to be said that Dr Schiwietz's articles needed much more revision before re-publication than they received, in order to bring them up to the level of present knowledge, the seven trifling alterations in the 'Nachträge' being wholly inadequate: e.g. the conditions of the problem concerning the *Vita Pauli Eremitae*, as stated in the note to p. 50, have been completely changed by the Greek text printed by Bidez in 1900. But in spite of such defects the book, as a co-ordinated digest of the materials, is a meritorious and useful contribution to history, monastic, ecclesiastical, and religious. Still more welcome will be the second volume, if it treats with like thoroughness of the less worked fields of Asiatic and Greek monachism.

E. C. BUTLER.

De Timotheo I Nestorianorum Patriarcha (728-823) et Christianorum Orientalium condicione sub Caliphis Abbasidis. Accedunt XCIX eiusdem Timothei Definitiones Canonicae e textu Syriaco inedito nunc primum Latine redditae. Thesis facultati Literarum Parisiensi proponebat HIERONYMUS LABOURT (pp. xv, 86). (Paris, 1904.)

IN the preface to this little treatise M. Labourt informs us that he has abandoned his intention of writing a history of the Oriental Churches under the Ommayad and Abbasid Caliphs (thus continuing the work commenced in his *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, Paris, 1904),

owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the available material. Here he confines himself to the history of the famous Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I, which occupies a little more than half of the volume, and presents us with a translation of an unedited document, viz. the Ninety-nine Canons of Timotheus I. The treatise itself (which is prefaced by a useful list of Timotheus' writings) he divides into three chapters. The first deals somewhat briefly with the life of the Patriarch, giving an account of the troubles incident to his election. The second, which is of more general interest, deals with a variety of topics connected with the Nestorian Church of that age: interesting is the section (II) in which the authorities employed by Timothy are discussed, and a list of the works referred to by him is given. Constant reference is made to unpublished writings of Timotheus in illustration of various points which are adduced.

The third chapter is rather of the nature of an appendix, and deals with Nestorian Missions. Here much interesting and valuable material is brought forward from the letters of Timotheus, who lived at a time of great activity in this respect. The treatise is interesting reading, and suggests several lines of thought and research capable of further development, especially in chapter 3. It is, however, difficult to criticize conclusions which are to so great an extent based on inaccessible documentary evidence.

The document, a translation of which is here printed for the first time—the Ninety-nine Canons of Timotheus—contains several points of interest. Two pages of the MS. are wanting, and consequently seven entire sections and parts of two others are lacking; this is the more unfortunate as it occurs at the point where Timothy is dealing with forbidden degrees in matrimony, in which connexion his decisions are noteworthy. As a whole the Canons bear a strong resemblance to the Western penitential books—e.g. the Penitential of Theodore, some points of contact with which are noted below. In form it takes the shape of questions and answers, thereby resembling the *XVIII Responsa Canonica* of Timotheus of Alexandria (Beveridge *Pandect* Can. II 165); but there appears to be no matter common to the two documents. This is not the case with the Canons of St Basil—adopted by the Trullan Council—which agree in places with our document (cp. Basil, Can. 23 [Beveridge II p. 81] and Timothy, qu. 20 p. 61, both prohibiting marriage with a deceased wife's sister or a deceased brother's wife). The Canons are prefaced by a short introduction containing some autobiographical matter, and are divided into three sections as follows:—

Can. I–XVIII. De ordinibus ecclesiasticis.

Can. XVIII–XLVI. De re matrimonii.

Can. XLVI–XCIX. De hereditatibus.

Throughout, the Canons cast interesting sidelights on the conditions of the times, the internal discipline of the Nestorian Church, and the relations of Christians to the civil (Mohammedan) power. (Cp. especially qu. 12, 13, 31, 75, 76, 77.)

The first section, which deals chiefly with matters of the internal discipline of the Nestorian Church, bears strong testimony to the firmness of Timotheus' rule and the extension of his activities; it is difficult to fail to see herein some reflection of the difficulties attendant upon his own election and consecration. Only one Canon deals with a liturgical matter, and it is of some interest. In reply to the question 'Num liceat relinqui Eucharistiam super altari in diem alterum?' Timotheus replies in the negative, basing his decision on Ex. xii 10, and xvi 4 ff. In the second section, dealing with matrimony, the discipline enforced by Timothy is considerably stricter and more in accord with later Western practice than that prescribed in Theodore's Penitential. It is, on the other hand, noteworthy that Timotheus (qu. 32) permits a man to divorce his adulterous wife and to marry again if he does not wish to forgive her, and take her back; but he prohibits either the adulterer or adulteress from marrying. With regard to 'prohibited degrees', Timotheus forbids a father and son to marry a mother and daughter (qu. 18); this is permitted by Theodore (ch. 28). On the other hand, Timotheus forbids two brothers to marry two sisters (qu. 19); but this is allowed by Theodore (ch. 28).

In the third section, dealing with the laws of inheritance, there are two passages of some interest, giving us specimens of Timotheus' exegesis (pp. 73, 74), by which he justifies his enactments with regard to inheritance by women. One or two other matters are dealt with in this section, e. g. the question of the appointment of a Mohammedan as the guardian of Christian children (qu. 75), the credibility of the testimony of a Mohammedan against a Christian (qu. 76), whether it is permissible to a Christian to take an oath (qu. 80), &c. On the whole the responses impress one with the wisdom and moderation of the author, and explain to some extent his amicable relations with the civil powers (cp. especially qu. 76).

In conclusion, a careful perusal of this treatise seems to emphasize the desirability of publishing in a convenient form the text of the Canons, and of other unedited writings of Timotheus, in order that the undoubtedly valuable material therein contained may be placed in the hands of students of Oriental Christianity with as little delay as possible.

H. LEONARD PASS.

Zwei Gnostische Hymnen, ausgelegt von ERWIN PREUSCHEN, mit Text u. Übersetzung. (Giessen, J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904. Pr. 3 m.)

THE object of this work is to reconsider the meaning of the two well-known hymns in the Acts of Thomas, and to bring out their exact relation to Gnosticism. The Syriac text is best known in Wright's edition (*Apoc. Acts of the Apostles* i p. ܡܚܕ [wrongly printed ܡܚܕ on p. 9 of this book] sq. and p. ܡܚܕ sqq.). The Greek text is found in M. Bonnet's *Acta Apost. apocr.* ii 2 (Lips. 1903) p. 109 sqq., 219 sqq. The Syriac text printed here, however, is G. Hoffmann's reconstructed text published in *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissensch.* iv 273 ff. In the case of the first hymn M. Bonnet's Greek text is given as well, and German translations of both Greek and Syriac. The second hymn, the so-called Hymn of the Soul, is, of course, wanting in the Greek. The German translation in each case seems to be identical with Hoffmann's. Seven lines of a fragment of an Armenian translation of the first hymn from Cod. Paris. Fonds Armén. 46 III now appear for the first time. The main characteristic of Hoffmann's Syriac text is an almost ruthless attempt to reduce or increase each line to exactly six syllables. Thus, in the Hymn of the Soul, there are more than twenty alterations. Prepositions and conjunctions are omitted and inserted freely. Some interesting corrections of the text are made on other grounds. Thus in ll. 13 and 14 of the first hymn instead of 'The twelve Apostles of the Son and the seventy-two thunder in her' we have

ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ
ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ

which is founded partly on the Greek, partly on a hint of Thilo's.

In the second hymn in l. 26 for the difficult ܡܚܕܐ Hoffmann reads ܡܚܕܐ and translates 'Sohn Gesalbter' with the footnote '= Königssohn = Christianus [Oder Christus? vgl. Schluss]'. Preuschen accepts the translation but omits the note. They both agree that there is no lacuna here, as against Bevan (*Texts and Studies* v 3, pp. 14, 15, 35). Preuschen follows Hoffmann in suggesting that 'He' should be read instead of 'I' in l. 28. In l. 29 b the difficult ܡܚܕܐ is avoided by reading ܡܚܕܐ. In 90 b Hoffmann reads ܡܚܕܐ (singular). In 103 b surely Prof. Bevan's ܡܚܕܐ is more reasonable than translating the text 'mit Wasser-Orgelstimmen preisen,' and supposing ܡܚܕܐ to be the same as ܡܚܕܐ (ὕδραυλίων).

In the case of the first hymn Preuschen regards the Greek text as having the greater originality, and gives for his authority Lipsius *Die*

apokr. Apostelgeschichten i p. 301 ff, which in his view settles the question. But Lipsius himself seems to have later leaned to the other view, cf. vol. ii² 423-5, and especially Mr Burkitt's article in this JOURNAL, Jan. 1900, p. 280 (to which this reference is due). The Syriac shews signs according to Preuschen of having been altered to suit Church feeling. In this he is opposed to Hoffmann who holding to the priority of the Syriac supposes the Greek to contain Gnostic glosses. Both, however, agree in emending ܐܠܗܐ to ܐܡܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ in the first line, influenced no doubt partly by the metre.

Preuschen's view is that the hymn is modelled upon the marriage-songs of Syria, but it is not secular as such expressions as 'Daughter of Light', 'splendour' (ܐܡܝܢ), 'gate of heaven' shew. Who is the bride? He realizes that the Syriac gives an intelligible answer when it says the Church. But this he puts on one side, though the Armenian apparently supports the identification. He shews how natural the expression was in this connexion by references to the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon, and in the New Testament to Eph. v 23. But it will not do to apply this meaning to the Hymn, because it must be Gnostic. This Preuschen regards as practically settled by Thilo *Acta Thomae* p. 121 sqq.

A careful and highly interesting discussion of early Semitic views of creation follows. The presence of masculine and feminine elements in the Godhead is brought out by references to Ba'al, Ba'alat, ܥܡܐ and the part of the Spirit in Creation. The importance of Wisdom (ܚܚܡܐ) in later Jewish literature in similar connexions is pointed out. These elements are shewn to be found in Irenaeus' description of Gnostic cosmogonies. It is interesting to find the author placing such reliance on the exactness of Irenaeus' descriptions as he does. Turning to the song, he identifies the Daughter of Light with Wisdom who is shut up by Matter and waiting for the coming of Christ to release her. The connexion of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit is shewn by the pleasant smell that hangs about her.

Then we come on something definitely Gnostic—the hands which shew the way to the land of Aeons. But it should be noted that the Syriac has 'place of life', and there seems no doubt that Hoffmann is right in supposing τὸν χρόνον αἰώνων to be a 'falsche Auslegung'.

Similarly our author finds difficulty in the thirty-two who offer praise. The Syriac suits the connexion at least as well. The seven male and seven female attendants of the bride are Aeons of course. It should be noted that they occur both in Greek and Syriac. This mysterious pair of sevens certainly lends colour to the idea that the author of the hymn was influenced by something like Gnostic thought, especially if 'The Twelve' really refers to the signs of the Zodiac.

Finally it may be said that much that is clearly Gnostic in the Greek is much simpler and more natural in the Syriac, which forms a very nearly coherent whole. If the ascription of praise at the end is compared in the Greek and Syriac it will be seen how much more primitive and convincing the Syriac is. If on other grounds we are led to suppose the Syriac older, this tends to confirm the view.

In his treatment of the second hymn Preuschen objects to the view of its meaning usually held. The story of a soul going on a journey to seek another soul has no parallel in Gnostic systems, in so far as they are known to us. Moreover the story is quite out of place in such a system. For the soul that undertakes the mission must be an Aeon. This suggests to Preuschen what he regards as the true explanation. The subject of the poem can be none other than Christ. He is the speaker. It is His descent from Heaven, life on earth, and return to the Father that is described.

The hymn is regarded as embodying in a poetical form the teaching of the Gnostics on Redemption, and thus fills a gap in our knowledge. The 'brother' ܐܕܡܝܐ, cf. ll. 156, 42 a, 48 a, 60 a, would seem to create a difficulty. This is disposed of by a comparison with *Iren.* i 30. 1 f, from which it appears that the Aeon Christus proceeds from the union of *Filius Hominis* and *Spiritus Sanctus*.

Preuschen supports his identification as follows. The burden is a reference to *Matt.* xi 30. Egypt is the World (*Clem. Al. Strom.* i 5. 30; *Orig. Hom. in Gen.* xiv 3). The serpent is Nus (*voûs*) of *Iren.* i 30. 5. The two couriers are compared with the two companions of the Transfiguration. Reference is also made to *Ev. Petri* 39 f, and *Luke* xxiv. *Pistis Sophia*, p. 133, Schwartz gives a similar account of two accompanying angels. Maisân and Sarbûg are 'Äonenherrschaften' through which Christ has to pass to reach the underworld.

Jesus is the companion, whom Christ takes to Himself. The clothing, which he puts on to avoid remark, is the body of this pure man Jesus. The eagle that brings the message presents a more stubborn obstacle. Preuschen thinks the reference may be to the Transfiguration.

The theory is interesting and in some ways attractive. But it leaves certain points in the hymn unexplained. For instance the idea that Christ fell asleep and forgot His heavenly origin seems difficult to understand. Preuschen represents it as the result of partaking of the food of the world. The view that this established communion is perfectly natural. But to what period of Our Lord's life are we to suppose that the Gnostics referred? If it was the childhood, the connexion with the food of the Egyptians, even supposing the expression to be entirely allegorical, seems out of place. It is difficult to think

that the suggestion really explains the Hymn as well as the 'soul' theory.

In a final chapter Preuschen inclines to the proposition that Bardaisan was the author of both hymns, finding in the first the closest points of connexion with his teaching as given by St Ephrem.

His view of the significance of the Hymns is thus summed up: 'Die Grundfrage war nicht die philosophische, woher das Übel in der Welt stamme, sondern die religiös-sittliche, wie man vom Übel loskomme.'

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

L'Afrique chrétienne, by Dom H. LECLERCQ. 2 vols. 7 fr. (Paris, Lecoffre, 1904.)

DOM LECLERCQ, who is not only a really great archaeologist but a Frenchman with all the patriotic interest in Roman Africa, regarded as a part of the national soil, which inspires the scholars of his country, has written a very interesting and in many respects a very valuable book. The first volume, with its wealth of illustration from inscriptions, is an admirable account of the African Church down to the rise of Donatism, though the inevitable allowance must be made for anachronism in regard to the relation of Rome to other Churches in that early period, and the Italian element in the population of the provinces seems to be understated. Dom Leclercq lays due stress on the simultaneous rise of the African cities, and on their close resemblance to one another, adopting in this the views of Toutain; he might have said that the nearest analogy to them is that of the young cities in the Western States of America. The latter, we know, have grown through immigration; it is difficult to believe that the former sprang up simply, or mainly, through prosperity due to settled government without an influx from abroad. But French scholars, reasonably ambitious that their nation should repeat the civilizing work of Rome, though unable to supply a preponderant share of the population, are unconsciously prejudiced in favour of the view that Rome triumphed over African barbarism by administrative methods. Dom Leclercq is not alone in overlooking the evidences for a close connexion with Southern Italy, and among them the multiplication of bishoprics, which can best be explained by a large immigration from the region which is now peopling with its surplus the Argentine Republic.

The interest of the present work is very largely one of detail, and Dom Leclercq, with singular conscientiousness and skill in selecting

points of interest, has collected the epigraphic evidence for the earlier, and some of the later, stages of African Christianity. But the work is unequally done, and there are large omissions at some of the most important points. Nor is the general treatment of the history of uniform excellence. St Cyprian does not receive justice, and Dom Leclercq ignores recent researches, being content to base himself upon Benson, or, in other words, practically on Fell. For St Augustine and his period he deliberately omits the archaeological evidence, preferring to dwell upon the hackneyed episode of Apiarius and other commonplaces of the older school of controversialists. His treatment of Pelagius is peculiarly unfortunate; he plunges without warning into the subject, in a manner that must confuse an unfamiliar reader, and some pages after we come to the preliminary matter which was needed to render it intelligible. In fact, the volumes shew signs of haste; much of them is completely worked out, and much appears to have been strung together in haste in order to connect the isolated pieces of finished work. And in these less serious chapters, which are chiefly to be found in the second volume, there is an amazing quantity of matter conveyed within inverted commas from other writers. The passages, of course, are well chosen and the loan is always acknowledged; but it is disappointing that a writer who has so rich a knowledge of his own should hurriedly copy page after page from others.

But Dom Leclercq, profound as is his archaeology and wide as is his reading—indeed, his bibliography by itself would make the book worth buying—has unfortunately made psychology his foible. There is a great deal of it, and it is not convincing. He has a preconceived notion of what the Africans must have been, and anything appropriate, however generally characteristic of the whole society of the Imperial period, is made a peculiar feature of theirs if only it be suitable to form part of the picture. And a certain amount of violence is used in forcing the evidence, such as it is, into its place in the pattern. The result is much as we should have expected; we find the narrowness, the vehemence, and the other qualities for which we look in the conventional African. If Stridon had not been unhappily situated on the wrong side of the Mediterranean we should have had from Dom Leclercq a study of St Jerome as the typical African. He would have served the purpose better than any personage native to the soil whom Dom Leclercq can produce. But all this generalizing fails to give the impression of reality. The characteristics of the North-African subjects of Rome were as various as their origin, and it is only by an arbitrary process of choice and rejection that the illusion of a uniform type is imperfectly produced. How arbitrary it is may be judged by some of the *obiter dicta* of the discussion. Tertullian is among those who are 'decidedly dead for us';

the Catholic conception is too vast for the Africans ; it escapes a race whose imagination does not pass the frontiers, political or national, of its province. St Augustine alone escapes this condemnation ; yet Cyprian had a reasoned theory, which still seems to have some life in it, and his horizon included Cappadocia.

But Dom Leclercq, even where he fails to convince us, is always interesting ; and nowhere more interesting than in passages which carry us back to the age when his Order was pre-eminent in scholarship. There is a robust Gallicanism about some of his utterances, as when he speaks of the African Church as that which 'la première en Occident donnait le modèle de ces institutions si glorieuses qui ne sont plus que des souvenirs : les églises gallicane et wisigothique', or contemns a 'poor episcopate, eager to efface itself', which allowed Rome to become a court of first instance for African affairs. The age seems to be that of Louis XIV; and surely so vigorous a defence of violence as a means of converting dissenters has not been printed since the Dragonnades required an apology. Yet we are conscious of a slight anachronism when we find the Chouans classed with Donatists and Calvinists as appropriate subjects for such treatment ; and perhaps a mild Anti-semitism belongs to a still later phase of thought. But a good book concerning the past is all the better when it gives an insight into feelings and policies of the present, and if Dom Leclercq's work is not always on the level of its best pages, it is as a whole incomparably the best compendium of African Church History that is at present accessible, and students who are specially concerned with any aspect of Roman Africa will be grateful for the wealth of knowledge from his own stores and from literature not easily accessible that Dom Leclercq has put at their service.

E. W. WATSON

Ideals of Science and Faith. Edited by T. E. HAND. (G. Allen, 1904.) 5s. net.

THIS volume consists of a number of essays by various writers. The first six endeavour to sketch how far each of several branches of science supplies an approach to religion, or to the fundamental theological beliefs on which religion rests. At the same time some of them describe the 'ideals'—in one or more senses of that ambiguous word—of the sciences from whose standpoints they are respectively written. The essays comprised in the latter portion of the book similarly describe the religious or theological ideals of some of the historic forms of Christianity, and the attitude of various Churches towards science. Though

written in complete independence of one another the essays are, to a considerable extent, mutually complementary. They indicate the causes of unnecessary variances between scientific thinkers and theologians in the past, and suggest lines along which must be sought a better mutual understanding and a common basis for reorganization and co-operation in the future.

The first essay of the volume describes a physicist's approach to religion, and it is from the pen of Sir Oliver Lodge. This writer attributes the hostility of the scientific temper towards the religious to the narrowness of the field of orthodox science as fixed by itself. He hopes that when science is willing to take account of the phenomena which we may describe as those of spiritism, and which are at present beyond her pale, though some of them are 'inside the Universe of fact', the regions of religion and science will be found to be one. Sir Oliver Lodge is writing very freely just now on questions as to which science and religion are supposed to be at issue, and in so far as his utterances administer a rebuke to the naturalistic dogmatism which is at the present time being widely read in England, he is rendering a useful service to religion and to truth.

At the same time, it must be questioned whether his standpoint and mode of argument are the best which can be adopted. There are physicists who have found a better method. Though Sir Oliver fully believes that science and religion admit of 'reconciliation', he waives aside the aid of philosophy for the purpose. He ignores the critical investigation of scientific presuppositions which has been one of the most important of the recent tendencies of scientific thought. In spite of his leanings to some kind of religious belief, his essay seems to have more kinship, in method and standpoint, to the writings of Tyndall and Huxley than to those of the physicists who have lately given their attention to the relations of science and religion.

The 'trend and temper' which Sir O. Lodge attributes to the orthodox science of to-day does not really inhere in science at all. It is the naturalistic philosophy which, no doubt, many men of science profess. Science itself has no metaphysics, though scientific men have. Yet Sir Oliver can hardly discover such a 'trend' as he describes in science, unless he first reads into science several metaphysical presuppositions. Whether matter is ontologically prior to mind, whether the world is 'self-existent' and wholly independent of our experience, whether 'law' is a physical fact or a subjective postulate and whether it applies to mental life as well as to physical phenomena, whether the mechanical models in terms of which physics describes Nature are only conceptual or are something more real than the phenomena themselves: all these are questions with which physical science has nothing to do;

and yet, if Sir O. Lodge's account of the 'trend' of science is correct, science must assume one of each of these pairs of alternatives as if the other were non-existent. And if she be allowed to do so, it must be remarked that there is then an end to all 'reconciliation' of science and theology. Modern spiritism may or may not be supplying us with an extended knowledge of the cosmos; but it is not thence that we hope for relief from the anti-theistic tendencies attributed to physical science. It is rather from a frank facing, on the part of the students of the physical sciences, of those fundamental questions with regard to reality and knowledge which the scientific worker may afford to ignore, but which the scientific opposer of religious beliefs cannot be allowed to take for granted, that it will become easier to escape the seductiveness with which naturalism often appeals to the scientific mind.

Professors J. A. Thomson and P. Geddes write with more care and caution on the biological 'approach'. They are fully aware of the limitations of natural science. These writers handle a number of points that are of interest to philosophy and theology, but their treatment of them suffers from extreme compression. It is shewn that biological analysis is not the same thing as ultimate explanation of biological facts; that heredity must not be understood to suppress individuality and responsibility; that the anti-ethical aspect of Evolution was exaggerated by Huxley and by Darwinistic writers generally; and thus correction is meted out to the tendency to solve certain problems over-hastily in a sense at variance with theological doctrine. But more than this: in establishing inductively the Unity of Nature, in revealing ever more and more mystery and wonder and beauty in the world, and by discovering possibilities of 'betterment, saving, strengthening, regenerating men', biology, it is maintained, is positively approaching one aspect of the idea of God.

The approach which psychology presents is treated of by Prof. Muirhead. He notes the change of tone in the expressions of men of science with regard to religion which has come about during the last generation. The attempt to reduce mind to a mode of matter, he points out, has been abandoned; the conceptions of causality and law have been revised; the limits of mechanical interpretation have come to be generally recognized; attempts to explain our mental life by laws of association of ideas on the analogy of the physical sciences belong to a day now past; and these changes are attributed to psychology. We should have thought that epistemology should be credited with them to a greater extent than psychology; but perhaps the former science is meant to be included in the latter. There is no doubt that the mental sciences have done a considerable work for religion in 'removing the difficulty that comes from the opposition of the physical

to the mental, and from the apparent secondariness of the latter in the order of creation'. We are not told, in this essay, of any positive contributions from psychology which tend to make the scientific approach to religion more easy; but its criticism of materialistic and mechanical theories represents a permanent contribution to philosophy of religion.

The essay on the sociological approach does not contribute so much that is relevant to the title or the aim of the book of which it forms a part. It is intended by its author to suggest a practical policy which he states thus: 'Let the religious idealists, purging themselves of formalism, laying aside desanctified ceremonialism, take the lead in combining the naturalists, the workers, the humanists, the educationists, the evolutionists, and the sages into one joint movement for the awakening of the young, for the salving of the degenerate, for the conversion of the unregenerate.'

The Hon. Bertrand Russell writes from the standpoint that science presents us with a world such that man, his hopes and fears, his loves and beliefs, are but the transient product of accidental collocations of atoms. The only attitude which we can take up with regard to such a Fate-ruled world, and the human destiny which it implies, is said to be one of resignation rather than of Promethean rebellion. Even in such a world as this there is, however, still room for ethical ideals. 'Brief and powerless is man's life; on him and all his race the slow sure doom falls pitiless and dark. Blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way; for Man, condemned to-day to lose his dearest, to-morrow himself to pass through the gate of darkness, it remains only to cherish, ere yet the blow falls, the lofty thoughts that ennoble his little day; disdaining the coward terrors of the slave of Fate, to worship at the shrine his own hands have built; undismayed by the empire of chance, to preserve a mind free from the wanton tyranny that rules his outward life; proudly defiant of the irresistible forces that tolerate, for a moment, his knowledge and his condemnation; to sustain alone, a weary but unyielding Atlas, the world that his own ideals have fashioned despite the trampling march of unconscious power.' Is this, we would ask, an 'ethical approach' to 'religion', or is it eloquent mockery? Again we recommend to would-be reconcilers of science and theology a study of what science really is and a critical examination of the first principles of the naturalism which is weakly allowed to usurp its name.

Prof. P. Geddes brings the first part of the volume to a conclusion with a contribution on the ideals common to education and religion. Again there is not much said that is directly relevant to the main purpose of the book, though this chapter contains much refreshing criticism of our educational methods.

Of the latter portion of the book, dealing with 'approaches through Faith', not much needs to be said by way of criticism. The first treatment of the conflict between science and religion is presented from a Presbyterian standpoint. A sketch of the history of the Presbyterian attitude towards scientific doctrines which have in the past seemed to conflict with theology is given; and, speaking of the present, the writer is proud to recognize 'in Presbyterian faith the basal principles of all true science—the demand for unity and order, and the assertion of the rights of intellect'. These principles are, of course, not the unique property of any one branch of Protestant Christendom.

It would seem that the Anglican Church is the one that most rapidly adapted its teaching to the new light on Nature and the Bible which during the last century poured in upon us in continuous streams. But the author representing the Anglican standpoint in this volume is less concerned to dwell upon his Church's attitude towards science than upon its ideals—nationality, as against the inevitable limitations and over-emphasis of seceding bodies, and comprehensiveness or spiritual spaciousness, as against departmental types of mind such as Puritanism. The Anglican Church is admitted to be 'tormentingly below what she might be'; but her ideal, as embodied in her most typical son, Richard Hooker, is 'to be as full and passionate and strong as English human nature'.

Father Waggett's paper on 'The Church as seen from outside' is not so plainly connected as most of the others with the general aim of the volume, but it is none the less valuable on that account. It needs a high churchman to describe the idea of the Church in its length and breadth and height, and the editor could not, perhaps, have entrusted this subject to better hands. The essay is marked by many fine qualities, amongst which breadth of mind and generous sympathy are conspicuous. The force of the word 'outside', in its title, is not self-evident; certainly the conception of the Church presented to us is one which could only be arrived at from within.

The reader will doubtless turn with some curiosity to Mr Wilfred Ward's defence of the attitude of the Church of Rome towards scientific pronouncements concerning Nature and the Bible. He will find a clear, able, and a partially acceptable, if somewhat plausible, *apologia*. The relative slowness of the Roman Church to adopt the results of natural science and biblical criticism is represented as a virtue and not a fault. We can readily admit that 'what is advanced as science is in reality often subtly coloured by the presuppositions of its advocates', and that the alleged results of science need careful scrutiny before they can safely be assimilated by the Church. Further, it must be granted that it is the business of the appointed rulers of the Church of Rome—or of

any other Church—to guard the ‘deposit’ of traditional doctrine; and over-suspiciousness of novelty on their part may be looked upon as no greater a failing than over-hastiness of reconstruction. But when all this has been said, it may be questioned whether the Church of Rome is best adapted, as Mr Ward claims, ‘by its constitution and even its *modus agendi*’, for the synthesis of science and faith. It is one thing to wait for verification of alleged facts; it is another to ban them previously to a judicial hearing and to repress critical inquiry within predetermined bounds. Yet this line of action must be attributed to the appointed rulers of the Roman Church. Mr Ward’s representation of the Romanist attitude is therefore too favourable a picture; and even as it stands it fails to present an ideal condition. Jealousy of the tradition to be safeguarded is compatible with honest scrutiny, in the light of facts from external sources, of the premisses on which traditional doctrines rest, and with a fervent and transparent desire to keep them pure from error. And it is only a Church which freely and frankly encourages and stimulates such investigations, without assigning any limits whatsoever, to which we can attribute an ideal attitude towards natural science and biblical criticism.

F. R. TENNANT.

A Fourteenth-Century English Biblical Version, edited by ANNA C. PAUES, Ph.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1904, 8vo, pp. lxxxvi + 263.)

THIS is a solid piece of work, conscientiously performed. It had its origin in a thesis sent in for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Upsala. What was then a brief Introduction has been developed into the eighty-six pages forming the Introduction to the present work; and Miss Paues already contemplates a further expansion which shall take in the general subject of early English Versions of the Bible. We heartily wish her success in her important undertaking. What interesting discoveries in this branch of Biblical study may still await the explorer will be apparent when it is mentioned that of the five MSS here printed, three were unknown to, or at least are not mentioned by, Forshall and Madden, while one was not known to Miss Paues herself till the work of publication had begun. Of these five MSS, it should be added, three are in Cambridge Libraries, those of Selwyn College, Corpus Christi College, and the University respectively; the fourth is in the Bodleian, and the last in the Library of Holkham Hall, Norfolk.

For the purposes of the present work these are severally denoted by the letters S, P, C, D and H.

The reader will notice how fragmentary and incomplete in many instances is the Version here given of some of the books of the New Testament. Thus, for example, we have no more of the Gospels than a fragment of St Matthew (i-vi 13), while the Epistle to Philemon and the Revelation are absent altogether. A general Prologue, breaking off abruptly, is prefixed to the Version as a whole, while shorter ones precede some of the separate books. A dramatic effect is given to some of these, as well as to the general Prologue, by the introduction of interlocutors—an unlearned 'brother' and 'sister' seeking instruction from a more learned member of the fraternity. That a monk and nun are signified by these terms of human relationship will be readily understood by the reader who recalls Scott's lines:—

Sister, let thy sorrows cease;
Sinful brother, part in peace.

Several questions of interest are suggested by the facts thus briefly noted. For one thing, it would appear that there was not that hostility shewn by the rulers of the Church to translations of the Bible into the vernacular at the end of the fourteenth century, which some writers assume to have existed. It is, indeed, true that by the Constitutions of Arundel in 1408 the making a translation of the Scriptures or any part of them into English was forbidden under pain of excommunication, unless sanctioned by the proper authority. But it is plain from such works as the *Myroure of oure Ladye*, written in or about the year 1415, that considerable latitude was allowed to the members of religious houses. In the anonymous *Chastising of Goddis children*, composed during the Wycliffite period, it is distinctly stated by the author that he will not 'repreue suche translaciouns, ne I repreue not to haue hem on Engliche, ne to rede on hem where þei mowe stire þou to more deuocioun and to þe loue of God'.

Another interesting point to be noticed is the support given by the Version to a statement by Sir Thomas More, which some have sought to discredit; namely, that he had seen with his own eyes Bibles in English made long before the appearance of the Wycliffite Versions¹. For it is evident that the Version edited by Miss Paues shews no traces of any attempt to introduce Wycliffite doctrines. It follows the Vulgate with a closeness that is almost servile, as will appear from one or two examples:—*offendiculum* (Acts xxiv 16), 'offendikel'; *annumeratus* (Acts i 26), 'anoumburde'; *fnitimae civitates* (Jude 6), 'þe cytee of Fynytyme'; *insigne Castorum* (Acts xxviii 11), 'fairnes of castels';

¹ See More's *Dyalogues* (ed. 1530) p. 138, and compare Gasquet *The Old English Bible* p. 176.

Aristarcho Macedone Thessalonicensi (Acts xxvii 2), 'Aristarchus Macedonye of Thessalonye'.

It is needless to accumulate more instances. Enough has been said to shew the bearing of this Version on the position taken by Sir Thomas More, and his followers in modern times, on the subject of early English translations of the Bible. While thanking Miss Paves for the labour she has already spent on this field, we shall await with much interest the appearance of her third and concluding work, which, like the fabled *τελευμία* of the Greeks, is to surpass and complete the rest.

J. H. LUTON.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

1. DR DRIVER'S *Book of Genesis* is in a sense the most valuable of all his published works. Probably it does not bring to scholars so much new light as the *Notes on Samuel* or the *Commentary on Deuteronomy*. Perhaps it will not be so acceptable to the general reader as *Isaiah: His Life and Times*. On the other hand none of these three works responds to so crying a need as does this volume, none of them combines so well help for the scholar with help for the English student of the Bible.

The Introduction of seventy-four pages is full and yet remarkably concise. The subject of the Antiquity of Man is admirably handled and references are added to the best relevant scientific literature. The Religious Value of Genesis is treated with a fullness and a sense of the importance of the subject which are often absent from modern works. The text is that of the Revised Version, and the limits of the various 'documents' are marked clearly but unobtrusively in the margin. The comments are usually as brief as they are good, but there are more than thirty detached notes on important subjects, and an Excursus of five pages on Gen. xlix 10, 'Until Shiloh come'. Among the notes which may be specially recommended for study are those on:—

- xi 31. 'Ur and the Hebrews.'
- xii 1 ff. 'The method of transmission of Patriarchal History.'
- xii 3. On the words, *And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed*.
- xxii 19. 'The Sacrifice of Isaac.'
- xxxiv 31. 'The Narrative of Jacob's dealings at Shechem.'
- xlix (*passim*).

This Commentary for candour, reverence, and thoroughness has few equals in the field of modern exegesis of the Old Testament.

2. Dr Preserved Smith's *Old Testament History* is a disappointing piece of work. The author has read widely and possesses a considerable knowledge of his subject. On the other hand the book is too long, and the narrative often degenerates into mere talk. The style has neither dignity nor force. The tone throughout is 'superior', and the writer manifests hardly one touch of sympathy with Eastern modes of thought and feeling. Dr Smith has read many German monographs,

but he has not sounded the depths of the Hebrew spirit. Difficult questions are settled with a stroke of the pen.

A few specimens of the style of the book may be given. 'The Canaanites had pulled themselves together' (p. 91); 'So indelicate a denunciation could not fail to offend the smart set' (p. 256); 'I remember the love of thy youth, the affection of thy honeymoon' (translated from Jer. ii 2 on p. 287); 'The Edomites were pushing up from the south—small blame to them' (p. 359).

It must be recorded in the author's favour that he has not been carried away either by the Jerahmeelite theory or by the proposed identification of Zerubbabel with the Servant of the LORD of Isa. liii.

3. Mr A. H. McNeile's *Introduction to Ecclesiastes* contains not only an Introduction but also an important collection of Notes on Select Passages, a Translation in which the different elements in the book are distinguished by the use of different type, and lastly two Appendices, one on the Greek version of the book, the other on the Greek text. The author by a careful investigation extending over twenty pages shews how strong is the probability that the version of Ecclesiastes printed in editions of the Septuagint is in truth the first edition of Aquila. The discussion of the Integrity of the book is clear and interesting; the suggestion that the author wished to represent the contest of two voices is decisively rejected. As regards a possible influence of Greek thought on Ecclesiastes Mr McNeile holds that while there are affinities with Stoicism, it is a mistake to suppose that Koheleth was well acquainted either with Stoicism or with Epicureanism. Mr McNeile's book is full of good work both in religious philosophy and Semitic philology.

4. Mr A. S. Peake, Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester, who contributed the article ECCLESIASTES to Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, has written an interesting volume entitled, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*. The book is divided into eight chapters, the first of which discusses the rise of the problem in connexion with the utterances of Habakkuk, though Prof. Peake is by no means assured that Hab. i, ii are pre-exilic. Chapter II deals with the prophecies of Ezekiel, and chapter III with the figure of the Servant of the LORD as portrayed in Deutero-Isaiah and in Psalm xxii. Chapter IV, headed *A Century of Disillusion*, discusses briefly Haggai and Zechariah, Malachi, and Isa. lvi-lxvi. The Book of Job furnishes the subject of Chapter V. Chapter VI, entitled *Songs in the Night*, touches on the problem as presented in the Psalms, with a fairly full discussion of Psalm lxxiii. Chapter VII, *The Apocalyptic and the Pessimist*, embraces Isa. xxiv-xxvii, Daniel, and Ecclesiastes. Prof. Peake assigns the first of these to the period extending from Artaxerxes Ochus

to Alexander the Great, but he also believes with Duhm that the passage is not homogeneous. There are two Appendices, one discussing the date of Hab. i, ii, the other treating the critical problems of Isa. xl-lxvi. The book is written in an interesting way, and though it is of a 'popular' character, it contains not a little worthy of the attention of scholars.

5. *Les Psaumes traduits de l'hébreu par M. B. d'Eyragues* is introduced by a letter from M. Vigouroux to the Archbishop of Paris urging that a good translation of the Psalms may be of great use to priests, seminarists and the faithful generally, because 'La version latine de la Vulgate, quelque vénérable qu'elle soit, est, de l'aveu de tous, imparfaite'. M. d'Eyragues' rendering keeps closely to the Hebrew, as a few extracts will shew.

Ps. xxii 3, 'But thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel' (R.V.).

'Et pourtant tu es le saint, tu règues au milieu des louanges d'Israël' (d'Eyragues).

'Tu autem in sancto habitas, laus Israel' (Vulgate).

Ps. lxxviii 27, 'There is little Benjamin their ruler, the princes of Judah and their council' (marg. 'company', R.V.).

'C'est Benjamin, le plus jeune, qui les domine, les princes de Juda avec leur troupe' (d'Eyragues).

'Ibi Benjamin adolescentulus in mentis excessu, principes Juda duces eorum' (Vulgate).

Some of M. d'Eyragues' notes contain questionable statements, e. g. on Ps. xlv 10, 'Le substantif hébreu *šēgal* signifie épouse, mais il est employé seulement dans des circonstances solennelles et marque la dignité, la prééminence du rang.'

6. *The book of Isaiah* according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus), translated and edited by R. R. Ottley, M.A., ought to prove a useful book. A translation of the LXX into English by Sir L. Brereton was published some years ago by Messrs Bagster, but it was not furnished with such useful notes as Mr Ottley gives us. A translation of the Hebrew is interpagated with the translation from the LXX for the sake of ease of reference, and an Introduction is prefixed dealing with the Early History of the Septuagint, the Text of the LXX in Isaiah, Methods of rendering, and differences between the Hebrew and the LXX. The task of translating the rather bald Greek is a very difficult one, e. g. in x 32; liii 2, 3, and though Mr Ottley has not always succeeded, he has given us a literal rendering of no slight value. A few more exegetical notes on each chapter would have been welcome.

7. *Le livre d'Isaïe*, par le P. Albert Condamin (Paris, 1905), consists of a French translation of Isaiah accompanied by brief textual notes.

Longer notes embodying literary and historical discussions are frequently added at the end of the sections to which they refer. From one or the other of these two sets of notes all that is required for an intelligent reading of the text is supplied, but for a fuller presentation of critical material the author refers us to a forthcoming volume to be called *Introduction au livre d'Isaïe*.

The present volume is an excellent piece of work, and must be allowed a high place among the best recent commentaries on Isaiah—French, German, and English. Père Condamin shews an intimate acquaintance with the work of his predecessors, and exercises very sound judgement in handling it. He always knows his own mind, and states his views with lucidity and brevity. A student of Isaiah who was restricted to one book could hardly do better than choose this.

The text is arranged, except in narrative passages which are plainly prose, according to parallel members and strophes. Père Condamin, while avoiding certain dogmatic views about 'metre', attaches great importance to the theory of strophes defended by illustration in his book. For this theory indeed there is much to be said, and the author's well-reasoned defence of it is certainly persuasive.

W. EMERY BARNES.

The Theology of the Old Testament, by the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Edited from the author's manuscripts by S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., F.E.I.S. (International Theological Library: T. & T. Clark, 1904.)

DR DAVIDSON'S book on Old Testament Theology has long been awaited by Biblical students, and it is needless to say that it well deserves the warm welcome which it will receive as the most important contribution to the subject as a whole which this country has produced. Dr Salmond alludes to the 'difficult and anxious task' which he has had in dealing with the mass of material contained in Dr Davidson's manuscripts; and it will be evident to readers how large a debt is due to the labour of the editor, involving as it did the selection and arrangement of matter which came to him 'in a variety of editions—four, five, or six in not a few cases—the long results of unceasing study and searching probation of opinion'.

Looking at the author's work as a whole, and endeavouring to express in a few words the impression which it leaves upon the mind, it may be said that, whereas so many Old Testament scholars appear to be better versed in the latest results of modern criticism than they are in first-hand study of the materials of criticism, Dr Davidson knows his sources first of all; and, in this as in his other books, what he

offers to the world represents the result of minute original study and of judgements based upon the careful weighing and sifting of all available evidence.

In a work which was unfortunately never finished by the author it is inevitable that there should be found great inequality in the treatment of the several departments of the subject. Thus, whilst the doctrine of the Last Things (pp. 402 ff) is worked out with wealth of detail by a master-hand, the discussion of Sacrifice (pp. 311 ff) is very thin and unsatisfactory, and was probably intended to undergo revision and expansion. To the same cause we may assign some amount of repetition which is likely to prove irksome to the reader. Under this head may be noticed the duplicate discussions of the root *קדש* and its derivatives (pp. 144 f, 164 f, 252 f), of *צדק* and its derivatives (pp. 129 f, 265 f), and of the distinction between *soul* and *spirit* in the N. T. (pp. 184 f, 419 f).

I have spoken of Dr Davidson's work as bearing the impress of his independent judgement, and it is perhaps not unnatural that it should sometimes exhibit the defects of this admirable quality. The discussion of Jehovah's natural attributes as seen in Isa. xl-lxvi (pp. 161 f) might have gained in value had the author reviewed the commonly received opinion that these chapters are not the work of one hand or of one age. Similarly, consideration of Jehovah's *love* and *choice* of Israel (pp. 170 f) would certainly have reached greater breadth and lucidity if something had been said about the chronological development of these ideas. And the writer would scarcely so confidently have placed Isa. liii in the mouth of 'Israel redeemed' (p. 263) had he given due consideration to Budde's masterly review of the conception of the 'Servant of Jehovah' in Isa. xl-lv which appeared a few years ago in the *American Journal of Theology*. Under this head may be noticed such unsupported statements as those of p. 61, 'And it cannot be doubted that all the leading minds in Israel, and many of the people, had from the beginning reached this high platform' (virtual monotheism); and p. 66, 'the xviiiith Psalm, the undoubted composition of David'. In both cases very delicate questions are involved, and the reader would be glad to be convinced that doubt can really be excluded.

In certain cases the renderings of passages from the Hebrew are not such as might have been expected from so refined a scholar as Dr Davidson. Some of these are citations from the A. V. which will scarcely pass muster. So p. 96, 'As if the rod should say it was not wood' (Isa. x 15; apparently a free reminiscence of A. V.); p. 143, 'The righteous Lord loveth righteousness' (Ps. xi 7); p. 264, 'As a bridegroom decketh &c.' (Isa. lxi 10; similarly mistranslated in R. V.

instead of 'As a bridegroom who decketh'): and, in the same way, p. 164, 'As the potter treadeth clay' (Isa. xli 25). Other passages are rendered or explained in a manner which scarcely admits of justification. So on p. 139 we have an explanation of Joel ii 23, "For he shall give you the former rain for righteousness"—יְדִקְהָ, i. e. in token of righteousness, right standing with God'. But surely the preposition can be nothing else than *of* norm—'in accordance with righteousness', i. e. as His righteousness sees fit to give it. Again on p. 190 Deut. v 26 is rendered 'For what is all flesh, that it might hear the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we, and live?' This translation exhibits an extraordinary disregard of the Hebrew tenses (perfects:—וַיִּהְיֶה . . . וַיִּשְׁמַע), and the true meaning of the passage is certainly that which is given by A.V., R.V. Further, the explanation (p. 56) of the formula of Ex. iii 14 אֲנִי אֵלֹהִים אֲנִי is in defiance of Hebrew idiom:—'Or if it mean "I will be what I will be", it resembles the expression in Ex. xxxiii 19, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy", the meaning of which would appear better if it were read, "On whom I will have mercy, I will have mercy"; I will have mercy fully, absolutely. The idea of selection scarcely lies in the formula; it is rather the strong emphatic affirmation, *I will have mercy*.' This explanation is repeated on p. 70. But what is the justification for importing into the words 'I will be', 'I will have mercy', a fuller and more emphatic connotation in their first occurrence in the sentence than in their second? No such justification exists. On the contrary, both passages are good illustrations of a far from infrequent mode of expression which Dr Driver has suitably named 'the *idem per idem* idiom', employed when the speaker is unable or unwilling to speak more explicitly. Examples of this may be seen in Deut. i 46, 'Ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode there', i. e. for a period which need not be specified precisely: 1 Sam. xxiii 13, 'And they went about where they went about', i. e. it is unimportant to specify their wanderings more closely: 2 Sam. xv 20, 'Seeing that I go whither I go'. Similarly, 'I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy' implies that God refuses to define beforehand a course of action which will be determined by His sovereign will; and 'I will become what I will become' means that what He will become is at the time of speaking not to be specified, but will be unfolded in the course of Israel's future history.

Whilst alluding to the significance of the formula by which the Tetragrammaton is explained in Exodus, we may question the statement of pp. 46 f, repeated on p. 102:—'It seems certain that in Isa. xl seq. the name Jehovah is not used as having any special significance etymologically, but is the name for God absolutely.' 'Here the name

of *Jehovah* has no special meaning; it is the highest name of God.' Such a passage as Isa. xlii 8, 'I am Jehovah, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images', is by itself sufficient to contradict such an assertion, since the statement, 'that is my name' can only signify, 'I am all that the name implies'. But if we compare Mal. iii 6, 'For I am Jehovah, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed', and the constantly recurring formula of Ezekiel, 'And they (ye, thou) shall know that I am Yahwe' (vi 7, 13; vii 4, 9, &c.), it is surely clear that for the later prophets a very special meaning was attached to the Divine Name. 'I will become what I will become' suggests the idea of *absolute self-determination*. 'He who will become' is absolutely self-determined, and therefore unchangeable, true to His promise and His threatening. That this was the underlying idea for Isa. xl ff is further substantiated by the repeated occurrence of the alternative formula 'I am *He*', where it is difficult to escape the impression that a play is intended upon the similarity of the consonants יהוה and יהי. We may notice Isa. xli 4, 'I, Jehovah, first and with the last I am He', and especially Isa. xliii 10-13, 'Ye are my witnesses, saith Jehovah, and my servant whom I have chosen: that ye may know and believe Me, and understand that I am He; before Me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after Me. I, even I, am Jehovah, and beside Me there is no Saviour. I have declared, and I have saved, and I have shewed, and there was no strange God among you: therefore ye are My witnesses, saith Yahwe, and I am God. Yea, since the day was I am He; and there is none that can deliver out of My hand: I will work, and who can reverse it?' Cf. also Isa. xlvi 4, Deut. xxxii 39, Ps. cii 27.

In concluding this notice, it must be added that such criticisms as are here offered are made in no captious spirit. In proportion to the importance of a book lies the obligation upon the reviewer to make such criticisms as may suggest themselves to him; and in a work which contains so great a mass of learning extending over so wide a field it is inevitable that details here and there should afford occasion for criticism. Had Dr Davidson lived to carry his work to completion, it is probable that some of the points to which exception has been taken would have been modified or altered. As the book no doubt will run into more than one edition, it is worth while to chronicle such printer's errors as have been noticed. On p. 45 read 'Ammon' for 'Moab', and *vice versa*; p. 56 read Ex. xxxiii 19 for xxxiii 9; p. 151 read Hos. xi 12 for x 12; p. 438, l. 10 correct 'His feet is set'; p. 333, l. 18 correct 'effect'. Misprints in Hebrew words are to be found on pp. 41, 65 (4), 85, 149, 293, 295, 320, 336, 350, 448.

C. F. BURNEY.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, APOLOGETICS, AND HOMILETICS.

Selbstbewusstsein und Willensfreiheit, von D. GEORG GRAUE. (Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1904.)

SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS and free-will are treated in this work as fundamental presuppositions of the Christian view of life, and with especial reference to modern controversy.

The book falls into two parts. The former of them endeavours to establish that self-consciousness is 'a new thing', 'an absolute beginning', something over and above Nature. After criticizing the views of certain recent writers, among whom Avenarius and Mach may be mentioned, as to the so-called 'inner' and 'outer' experience, the author urges that the contents of self-consciousness are to be studied by observation of the individual's inner experience as it is for himself and not as that experience presents itself to another. This is a point of great importance, and is ably discussed. Such study, the author admits, is beset with difficulties, but nevertheless can yield results equally objective with those of physical science. The writer then proceeds to argue that such a 'new thing' as self-consciousness, with its 'absolute beginning' in the course of Nature, is not precluded by the law of causality, the principle of the conservation of energy, or the doctrine of descent, rightly understood. The argument here is perhaps not wholly convincing. The psychical life of man, it is concluded, presupposes a real and permanent ego; and it is from self-consciousness, and not from human environment, that the moral consciousness takes its rise.

In the latter portion of the book, which deals with free-will, there is not much that is new, though many of the writer's comments are good. The author here traverses well-trodden ground, and does not take us to the root of the problem.

Das Weltbild der Zukunft, von DR KARL HEIM. (Berlin, Schwetschke und Sohn, 1904.)

THE preface and introduction to this book arouse great expectations. The work is addressed, its author tells us, to such as are oppressed with the burden of their own thought; and it undertakes to elaborate a *Weltanschauung* on the foundation of 'four tendencies of modern thought' which are 'characteristic of our time'. These tendencies are (1) Kantism purged of scholastic elements, (2) phenomenalism such as

is represented by Mach, (3) the substitution of energetics for atomism in natural philosophy, and (4) the search, represented by the Ritschlian school, for a theology purified of metaphysics. This programme sounds interesting; but I must confess that the high hopes which it raises are somewhat dashed when one tries to read the book.

Dr Heim attributes the intractability of the great problems which, for thousands of years, have engaged Western speculation, to the assumption, by the European mind, of certain fundamental distinctions or dualisms, such, for instance, as those between the subject and the objective world, perception and thought, thought and will. It may be granted to Dr Heim that the intractability of some of the greater problems of philosophy may largely be due to the faulty way in which they have been stated; but the attempt to state some of them at least in ways which render the prospect of ultimate solution more hopeful has already been made, and with some success. I do not feel that the reconstruction which Dr Heim offers us, in so far as I can understand it, rids us of the difficulties in which philosophy finds itself enveloped, nor that it brings us much relief from the burden of the insolubility of metaphysical problems.

The Parable of Man and of God, by HAROLD B. SHEPHEARD, M.A.
3s. net. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.)

THE author of this little book is to be congratulated upon its graceful and admirably lucid style. It is a great achievement so to have written on the deep things of science and philosophy.

The writer contends that both science and philosophy are of the nature of parable. Science does not 'explain'. This is true of her utterances as a whole, but it is most evidently illustrated in her account of the phenomena of organic life. Her axioms—we should prefer to say postulates—involve antinomies; her mechanical models are symbols, not reality. All this has been often and strenuously insisted upon lately; but we are glad to witness another attempt to push the truth home and to give it increased currency.

In a somewhat different sense the utterances of philosophy too are of the nature of parable. Perhaps the writer's treatment of Agnosticism, which he examines as one type of philosophy, is not wholly satisfactory; it does not seem true to say of it, for instance, that it is an attitude of mind and not a system of philosophy: and it is doubtful whether its assertion that ultimate reality is unknowable supplies a basis for the contention that all philosophy speaks in parables. Neither is this wholly true of Idealism, though we may grant that all attempts to describe the Supreme Mind are necessarily symbolical in nature.

The writer proceeds, in the latter part of the book, to examine man's limitation to such symbolic knowledge both from the side of man and from the side of God. 'It is no evil fate that causes man to learn in parables, but a beneficent provision which ensures his possession of knowledge equal to his power and not dangerous to himself, and affords the opportunity for thorough and full understanding' (p. 129). But justice cannot be done to Mr Shepherd's treatment of this theme by brief citations; the reader must be referred to his interesting book.

F. R. TENNANT.

IN *Some Christian Difficulties of the Second and Twentieth Centuries*, the Hulsean Lectures for 1902-3 (London, Edward Arnold), Mr Foakes Jackson, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, gives a clear, popular, and interesting account of the controversy between Tertullian and Marcion, with the special object of bringing out the resemblance between Marcionism and our modern difficulties. The main points were the imperfect morality of the Old Testament, and the appearances of waste and bad design in Nature. These antitheses led Marcion to dualism, to the rejection of science as a helpmate to religion, and to an attempt to build theology upon the love of God alone. Mr Foakes Jackson rightly regards the great Gnostic as a most interesting personage, but perhaps rather misses the mark when he says (p. 52) that 'Marcion represents the mystic, the sentimentalist, the dreamer'. At any rate the last two epithets do not seem to convey quite the right impression of this austere rationalist and agnostic to whom neither sentiment nor science revealed anything but an evil or half-evil Creator, and who therefore was obliged to fall back upon a wholly arbitrary mysticism. Mr Foakes Jackson's book may be found very useful by those who have to grapple with the religious difficulties of our artisans.

C. BIGG.

Where Believers may doubt, or Studies in Biblical Inspiration and other Problems of Faith, by VINCENT J. McNABB, O. P. (London, Burns & Oates, 1903.)

THE oddly chosen first title, which gives no hint as to the nature of the book, is due to the author's desire to make it clear that he is not writing a textbook upon the recognized teaching of the Church, but tentatively putting forward a theory of inspiration which is more or less new, but which as he thinks is not excluded by the definitions on the subject which have already been promulgated. The subject is one in which all just now are keenly interested, and many will like to

know what one of the subtlest thinkers that the Church of Rome possesses in England has to say about it. The most important part of the book is that in which he deals with Cardinal Newman's classical article on Inspiration, which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in February, 1884. He defends the Cardinal against the attacks which have been made upon his teaching, chiefly by those who desired to submit what he had written to an excessive accuracy of 'paper-logic', which was foreign to Newman's mode of thought. Father McNabb thinks it is mainly a question of terminology, and that Newman did not distinguish sufficiently between Revelation and Inspiration, with the consequence that his meaning is sometimes uncertain. The treatment of the subject is very technical, and hardly likely to be interesting to any except professed theologians, and the style tends to be a little obscure. Father McNabb often seems to be thinking aloud, rather than giving us the results of his thought in a clear and luminous form. At the same time the book is a real contribution to the literature on the difficult question of Inspiration, and ought not to be neglected by any student of the subject.

A. S. BARNES.

Three Bulwarks of the Faith : Evolution, the Higher Criticism, and the Resurrection of Christ, by the Rev. E. H. Archer-Shepherd (Rivingtons, London, 1902), is a book which may with safety and advantage be placed in the hands of students entering on a scientific study of the Bible. The chapter on the results of the Higher Criticism states them clearly, and gives the evidence on which they rest. The chapter on the Paschal Lamb, a study in comparative religion, seems fanciful and overdrawn; and the author throws little fresh light on the evidence for the historical truth of the Resurrection. The book combines acceptance of the position of the Higher Critics with a reverent use of the Bible.

Things Fundamental, a course of thirteen discourses in modern Apologetics, by C. E. Jefferson (London, Brown, Langham & Co., 1904), contains a rather wordy treatment of such fundamentals as faith, reason, Scripture, the Deity of Jesus, miracles, sin, the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. They are dealt with in a practical way, and in every-day language. The book contains popular sermons, and appeals rather to the rapid reader than to the careful student. But one might reasonably expect more sustained thought, as the sermons profess to be 'for the man who does not really know what the foundations of the Christian faith are'. They are, however, an earnest and honest effort to interpret things fundamental to the modern and practical man in the light of modern knowledge and the Higher Criticism.

W. L. E. PARSONS.

IN *Some Difficulties in the Life of our Lord*, by the Rev. George S. Cockin (Elliot Stock, London 1904), the author follows the Gospel narrative of our Lord's life from the Genealogies to the Ascension; and under each section he mentions difficulties and objections that have been raised in various quarters, and suggests a solution. No claim is made to originality. The aim is praiseworthy, but the value of the book would have been greater if its scope had been less ambitious. It is not likely to be used by more advanced students, but mainly by those to whom the questions propounded are new. For such readers a careful and lucid discussion of some fundamental questions would have been more useful than the mass of heterogeneous matter which is dealt with in the present work. A large number of questions are discussed, and the treatment of many of these is too sketchy to be of much real value to a sincere enquirer. There are numerous quotations from modern writers, but often the references are not given. The author has not been sufficiently careful to avoid mistakes, e.g. on p. 12 he argues that the Massacre of the Innocents may well be an historical event because Herod, who caused the death of John the Baptist, would have little hesitation in destroying a number of young babes—as though it were the same Herod in each case. On pp. 95-96 he seems to confuse the image of Christ as the corner-stone with the totally distinct image of Christ as the foundation. Still, the book may offer helpful suggestions to some students.

G. A. S. SCHNEIDER.

Christus in Ecclesia. Sermons on the Church and its Institutions, by HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.Litt., D.C.L. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

THIS volume of sermons, representative of the five years during which the author held the office of Preacher to Lincoln's Inn, will be read with interest and respect even by those who are least prepared to accept its point of view.

Dr Rashdall, while acknowledging unreservedly the debt which the English Church owes to the Oxford Movement, never attempts to minimize the differences which separate him from its leaders and their successors of the present day. Indeed he is so averse from what he calls the *magical* theory of religious observances, that he sometimes seems to curtail unduly the proper sphere of imagination and emotion. But if he sternly rejects much that seems to him not to bear the test of reason and experience, he holds with no uncertain grasp to the underlying essentials, and vindicates for Religion, for the Bible, and for the Church, an authority which may astonish those who imagine the purposes of the Broad Church Party to be chiefly negative. There is

here nothing of solvent individualism, nothing of cynical conformity: the purpose of the book is edification, in its literal sense, by means of an intelligent treatment of the facts of history and human nature illuminated by profound piety.

The sermons fall into three divisions, each dealing with a main subject. In the first nine chapters taken with the two dealing with Sunday, and the two on the relations of Church and State, Dr Rashdall makes out a case for the Church with its Ministry, Sacraments, and Worship which goes far to justify in a way intelligible to the average thoughtful man the dictum *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. No doubt in some points, especially in his treatment of the priesthood, he will fail to satisfy many readers: nevertheless he sets before us an ideal which is mediaeval in its grandeur, primitive in its stern righteousness. His very plain dealing with the doctrine of Apostolical Succession and its results may be useful alike to those who accept it and to those who reject it.

With regard to the Bible (xvii-xix) Dr Rashdall, while admitting to the full the critical principle, occupies a position which is really profoundly conservative, and gives his reasons why the Old and the New Testament can be and should be read as no other books can be: and his warning is needed, in view of the popular idea that the Higher Criticism has demolished the Bible.

The section on Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Penitence (x-xiv) is the least logical, and perhaps the most satisfying of all. Looking upon the deep problem of Prayer Dr Rashdall finds the 'dry light' of reason fail him, and yields to the gentler guidance of sympathy. He has demonstrated that it is wrong to pray for exceptions to the general course of nature: but he allows us to pray for the recovery of a sick child, though he will not let us pray for rain. The distinction is obvious enough to affection, but hardly to science. The sermon on Penitence is a clear and impartial statement of the theological and non-theological aspects of sin, and shews that they are complementary, neither of them adequate without the other.

Dr Rashdall's purpose is clearly stated in his preface, and that purpose, of explaining and reassuring, his book seems eminently fitted to carry out. This is just the type of sermon which innumerable educated men and women are looking for, and often looking for in vain: the sermon that deals faithfully with questions of faith and practice which seem pressing enough to them, but are too often answered by obsolete formulas or vague generalities.

J. H. F. PEILE.

OF Mr Hensley Henson's volume of sermons (*The Value of the Bible and other Sermons*. Macmillan & Co., London, 1904) it is not necessary to say much, so late in the day. It is doubtless already well known to all readers of sermons. A frankly personal note sounds through them. They are a vigorous defence of 'liberalism' in regard to the Bible and the Creeds, of literary and historical criticism, of the attempt to correlate our doctrine of inspiration with our philosophy of religious history and with all knowledge from whatever sources it may be derived, and in general of 'the open mind'—alike for clergy and for laity—in a time of transition; but they are also the expression of deep conviction of the living power of Christ in the world and of the supremacy of the Gospel version of human life over all other theories; and they are always interesting.

Christian Life: Suggestions for Thought, by the Rev. G. Egerton-Warburton (Elliot Stock, London, 1904), is a series of short reflexions on simple and familiar Christian principles of thought and conduct.

In *The Lord of Humanity; or the testimony of human consciousness*, and *From our dead selves to higher things* (3rd editions, Elliot Stock, London, 1904), Mr F. J. Gant brings his technical knowledge and experience as a surgeon—a close observer of men and women—to bear on the relation of Christ to the human race, the investigation of man in himself, and the witness of his experiences to the conceptions of Christian theology, especially those of regeneration and redemption.

Through forty pages with the somewhat cryptic title *Modern Philosophers and the 'Per Quem'* (Elliot Stock, London, 1904) Mr G. E. Turner inveighs against the materialistic character of much of the philosophy and science of the day. As he dismisses the 'higher criticism' with indiscriminating contempt, and does not manifest any special knowledge of the philosophy and science of the day, his identification of our Lord with Him 'by whom' all things were created (this is the meaning of the title of his book), and his reaffirmation of the truth of the Resurrection, will not be of much service to the good cause which he has at heart.

The True Ground of Faith, by the Rev. R. S. Mylne, with a preface by Dr Benham (Elliot Stock, London, 1904), is a little volume containing five sermons preached in Bangor Cathedral. In *The Work of the Ministry* (Elliot Stock, London, 1903), the Rev. R. G. Hunt publishes five addresses to candidates for ordination, which others than those who heard them may read with profit.

There is much that is excellent, and excellently said, in the sermons that make up *The Unity of the Spirit: its seven articles* (Skeffington & Son, London, 1904), by the Rev. H. W. Holden. There are, however, phrases and sentences, notably in the sermon on 'One Body', which

are to be regretted. It is surely possible to expound the strong Churchman's conception of the Church and the Sacraments without classing all nonconformists together as failing to realize in the faintest degree 'the revelation of a *Second Adam*: that we stand incorporate in Christ, His very *members*—of His flesh and blood, His *Body*—whereof He is the Head' (pp. 45, 46). The sermons would be stronger, and perhaps more Christian, if such references were omitted.

An Exposition of the Church Catechism, by the Rev. R. Cooper-Fugard (St Giles' Printing Co., Edinburgh, 1904), might be useful in the preparation of candidates for confirmation, but only as notes which would require a good deal of supplementing.

J. F. BB.

Lent and Holy Week, by HERBERT THURSTON, S.J. (Longmans, Green & Co. London, 1904.)

MANY people must have felt the need of a book which should supply in a concise form, and in not too severely technical a manner, information on the various liturgical services of the Latin Church which are peculiar to the seasons of Lent and Easter. Father Thurston has given us a volume which in many ways is precisely what is needed. In so small a compass it was necessary to make a selection; and in consequence almost all observances of a merely local character have been left unnoticed; and the same reason has prevented any serious examination into the ceremonies which were formerly observed in England, or by various Religious Orders, but are now obsolete. The book is a commentary on existing customs of the Church, and only alludes to other customs by way of illustration. One cannot help regretting this reticence in a great many instances, but at the same time it is evident that it would have been quite impossible to give adequate treatment to the larger subject without greatly enlarging the size and cost of the book. The subjects dealt with include the ceremonies of Ash Wednesday, the Forty Hours, Palm Sunday, Tenebrae, and the special services of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Day. They are all treated with the accuracy and wide learning which we are accustomed to associate with Father Thurston's books, while at the same time the book is written in a style which even those who have no previous knowledge of liturgical matters will find interesting and attractive.

A. S. BARNES.

Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode in der Theologie, by Prof. Carl Clemen (J. Ricker, Giessen, 1904), is an inaugural lecture which was delivered before the University of Bonn. In it Professor Clemen surveys what has been done, especially by German scholars during recent years, in applying to Christian theology the method of comparative religious history. He points out briefly what different results have been looked for as the consequence of such investigations. To most readers the second portion of the lecture will be the more interesting. In this the author criticizes the attempts made of late to derive New Testament ideas from other religions. The influence of Babylon he thinks is to be traced only in a few details and expressions of the Apocalypse; and he rejects the opinion of Gunkel that St Paul's teaching of Baptism and the Holy Communion is drawn from this source. He also rejects the opinion that it is derived from the religion of Mithras. On the other hand, he considers it very possible that the so-called Hermetic literature exercised some influence on the New Testament writers, especially on St John. Several Johannine ideas occur in the *Poemandres*, e. g. the striking combination of the terms *logos*, light, and life; the designation of God as the *πλήρωμα*, &c. Yet even here the author considers certainty to be at present unattainable. At the most, it is only expressions and forms which are taken from foreign sources; into these Christianity has poured its own original contents. And further, the essential doctrine of Christianity, the love of God shewn in Christ even to sinners, cannot be derived from any other religion. The treatment, owing to the limits imposed upon a lecture, is very brief. There is room, perhaps, for a larger work on the subject.

G. A. S. SCHNEIDER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, January 1905 (Vol. lix, No. 118: Spottiswoode & Co.). The Christian Society: II The Teaching of our Lord—Missions to Hindoos: IV The Methods (concluded), the Results—The Ecclesiastical Crisis in Scotland—Books of Devotion—A new way in Apologetic—The science of Pastoral Theology—Mr Stanley Weyman's novels—The Synoptic Gospels: IV The recent literature—Eton and Education—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1905 (Vol. iii, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). A. T. INNES The Creed crisis in Scotland—J. WATSON The Church crisis in Scotland—W. A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE The Christ of dogma and the Christ of experience—G. W. ALLEN A plea for mysticism—N. HOWARD The warp of the world—C. J. KEYSER The universe and beyond—SIR OLIVER LODGE 'Mind and Matter'—K. LAKE The new Sayings of Jesus—C. J. SHEBBEARE The inner meaning of liberal Theology—B. W. BACON The Johannine problem—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography of recent literature.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January 1905 (Vol. xvii, No. 66: Macmillan & Co.). G. MARGOLIOUTH An ancient illuminated Hebrew MS at the British Museum—H. HIRSCHFELD The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge (8th art.)—H. S. Q. HENRIQUES The Jews and the English Law—C. TAYLOR The alphabet of Ben Sira—J. SKINNER The cosmopolitan aspect of the Hebrew Wisdom—L. GINZBERG Genizah Studies: IV—M. N. ADLER The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela—D. PHILIPSON The reform movement in Judaism (4th art.)—M. STEINSCHNEIDER Allgemeine Einleitung in die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters—S. KRAUSS Die jüdischen Apostel—S. FRAENKEL Jüdisch-arabisches—S. POZNAŃSKI The High Priest's procession—Notes—Review.

The Expositor, January 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 61: Hodder & Stoughton). G. A. SMITH Sion: the city of David—W. M. RAMSAY The olive-tree and the wild-olive—G. JACKSON The ethical teaching of St Paul: I The sources—G. A. CHADWICK The Virgin Birth—A. CARR The foreshadowing of the Church—B. GRAY The 'Steppes of Moab'—J. MOFFAT Literary illustrations of Ecclesiastes.

February 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 62). G. A. SMITH Jerusalem

under David and Solomon—J. DENNY Harnack and Loisy on the essence of Christianity—J. WATSON Isaac, the type of quietness—W. H. BENNETT The Life of Christ according to St Mark—G. JACKSON Some general characteristics of the ethical teaching of St Paul—W. M. RAMSAY The olive-tree and the wild-olive.

March 1905 (Sixth Series, No. 63). B. W. BACON Papias and the gospel according to the Hebrews—A. R. GORDON Wellhausen—G. JACKSON Pagan virtues in the ethical teaching of St Paul—W. M. RAMSAY The book as an early Christian symbol—G. A. SMITH Jerusalem from Rehoboam to Hezekiah—J. MOFFAT Literary illustrations of the Book of Daniel.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1905 (Vol. ix, No. 1: Chicago University Press). A. H. SAYCE The Babylonian and Biblical accounts of the Creation—J. WILSON The Miracles of the Gospels—H. A. REDPATH Mythological terms in the LXX—S. F. MACLENNAN The fundamental problem of religious belief and the method of its solution—K. BUDDE On the relations of Old Testament science to the allied departments and to science in general—W. RAUSCHENBUSCH The Zürich Anabaptists and Thomas Münzer—Recent Theological Literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1905 (Vol. iii, No. 1: Philadelphia, MacCalla & Co.). R. M. McELROY The American Revolution from the standpoint of an English scholar—J. LINDSAY Greek Philosophy of Religion—M. C. WILLIAMS The multitude of Denominations—J. S. DENNIS The educational campaign of Missions in India—R. D. WILSON Royal Titles in Antiquity: an essay in criticism (3rd art., pt. ii)—B. J. WARFIELD Augustine and his 'Confessions'—Recent Literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1905 (Vol. xxii, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Le catalogue des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Gorze au XI^e siècle—R. ANCEL La question de Sienne et la politique du cardinal Carlo Carafa—J. CHAPMAN Aristion, author of the epistle to the Hebrews—H. LECLERCQ Mélanges d'épigraphie chrétienne—P. BASTIEN Questions de principes concernant l'exégèse catholique contemporaine—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—Recensions.

Revue Biblique, January 1905 (Nouvelle série, 2^e année, No. 1: Paris, V. Lecoffre). M. E. COSQUIN Fantaisies biblico-mythologiques d'un chef d'école—M. J. LAGRANGE Le Messianisme dans les psaumes—Mélanges: BATIFFOL L'Eucharistie dans la Didaché; A. GROOTAERT

L'Ecclésiastique est-il antérieur à l'Ecclésiaste?; A. JAUSSEN, R. SAVIGNAC, H. VINCENT 'Abdeh; P. CHEBLI Notes d'archéologie libanaise—Chronique: R. SAVIGNAC Glanures épigraphiques; H. VINCENT Milliaire romain à Abou Ghôch, varia, les fouilles anglaises de Gézer—Recensions—Bulletin.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, January–February 1905 (Vol. x, No. 1: Paris, 74, Boulevard Saint-Germain). P. DE NOLHAC La 'Conversion' de Madame de Pompadour—A. LOISY Le message de Jean-Baptiste—J. TURMEL La controverse prédestinatoire au ix^e siècle—M. DE WULF Philosophie médiévale: III Philosophie arabe; IV La philosophie du xiii^e siècle: 1 Ouvrages généraux; 2 Renaissance philosophique du xiii^e siècle; 3 L'ancienne direction scolastique ou la direction augustinienne—P. LEJAY Ancienne philologie chrétienne: Ouvrages généraux et ouvrages d'ensemble (1897–1904) (*suite*).

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January 1905 (Vol. vi, No. 1: Louvain, 40, Rue de Namur). F. CAVALLERA Le *De Virginitate* de Basile d'Ancyre—P. DE PUNIET Les trois homélies catéchétiques du sacramentaire gélasien pour la tradition des évangiles, du symbole et de l'oraison dominicale (*à suivre*)—G. MOLLAT Jean XXII (1316–1334) fut-il un avaré? (*suite et fin*)—L. WILLAERT Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598–1625) d'après les papiers d'État et de l'audience conservés aux archives générales du royaume de Belgique à Bruxelles (*à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, October 1904 (Vol. ix, No. 4: Paris, A. Picard et fils). H. GRÉGOIRE Saints jumeaux et dieux cavaliers—S. VAILHÉ et S. PÉTRIDÈS Saint Jean le Paléolaurite, précédé d'une notice sur la vieille Laure (*fin*)—P. DE MEESTER Le dogme de l'immaculée conception et la doctrine de l'Église grecque (*suite*)—V. ERMONI Rituel copte du baptême et du mariage: Baptême (*suite*)—F. TOURNEBIZE Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie—L. CLUGNET Vie de sainte Marine (*suite*)—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, November 1904 (Vol. xiv, No. 6: Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr). E. FUCHS Christentum und Kampf ums Dasein—P. LOBSTEIN Wahrheit und Dichtung in unsrer Religion.

February 1905 (Vol. xv, No. 1). HERRMANN Der Glaube an Gott und die Wissenschaft unserer Zeit—HOFFMANN Zeitgemäss oder Zeitlos?—TRAUB Die Gegenwart des Gottesreichs in den Parabeln vom Senfkorn und Sauerteig, von der selbstwachsenden Saat, dem Unkraut und dem Fischnetz—WOBBERMIN Loisy contra Harnack (Das Wesen des Christentums in Evangelischer und katholischer Beleuchtung).

March 1905 (Vol. xv, No. 2). KATTENBUSCH Die Lage der systematischen Theologie in der Gegenwart—LOBSTEIN Zur Feier des 200jährigen Todestags von Philipp Jacob Spener—SELL Luther im häuslichen Leben—HÄRING Das Verständnis der Bibel in der Entwicklung der Menschheit.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, December 1904 (Vol. xlviii, No. 1: Leipzig, O. R. Reisland). F. LIPSIIUS Die moderne Welt- und Lebensanschauung und das Christentum—A. HILGENFELD Die Einleitungsschriften der Pseudo-Clementinen—M. POHLENZ Philosophische Nachklänge in altchristlichen Predigten—F. GÖRRES Charakter und Religionspolitik des vorletzten spanischen Westgotenkönigs Witiza—J. DRÄSEKE Zu Basileios von Achrída—Anzeigen: J. Grill *Der Primat des Petrus* (A. H.); L. Brehier *La querelle des images* (J. DRÄSEKE); J. Schnitzer *Savonarola III* (J. DRÄSEKE); F. Lipsius *Kritik der theologischen Erkenntnis* (G. GRAUE).

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THE LORD'S COMMAND TO BAPTIZE (ST MATTHEW XXVIII 19).

I PROPOSE in this article with necessary brevity to consider three points relating to the Lord's command to baptize as recorded in St Matthew xxviii 19. These three points are (1) the source of the last section of St Matthew (vv. 16-20), in which this command occurs; (2) the integrity of the text; (3) the interpretation of the command. The passage runs thus:

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες (v. 1. βαπτίζαντες) αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

(1) The source of the last section of St Matthew (xxviii 16-20).

One result of the study of the Synoptic problem, which during the last few years has been so vigorously pursued, seems now to be generally acknowledged and to be placed beyond the reach of reasonable doubt. It is the position that either St Mark's Gospel itself or else the story of our Lord's ministry, whether documentary or oral, which is embodied in St Mark, was used by the two other Synoptists. St Matthew follows very closely the account found in St Mark. He often expands the historical matter of St Mark, but very seldom does he omit anything important in it.

The authentic Gospel according to St Mark ends abruptly in the early part of the story of the day of the Resurrection, viz. at xvi 8. We may, I think, reasonably put aside as improbable the suggestion that some sudden emergency compelled the

Evangelist to break off a task which he was never to resume; and we may take it for granted that St Mark wrote a conclusion to his Gospel which was accidentally torn off in that copy of the Gospel from which all later copies have been derived.

St Matthew, I believe, gives us the clue as to what were the contents of the lost conclusion of St Mark.

On the night of the betrayal, just after the Lord and His Apostles had left the upper room, St Mark records our Lord's words, 'Howbeit, after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee'. Again, on the morning of the Resurrection, St Mark represents the Angel as saying to the women who visited the tomb, 'Go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you'. Thus St Mark in two places records a promise of a meeting between the risen Lord and His disciples in Galilee. The Gospel which gives such prominence to the promise must have contained an account of its fulfilment. We infer then with confidence that the last section of St Mark was a record of the manifestation of the risen Lord to His disciples in Galilee.

We pass on to compare St Matthew and St Mark. St Matthew follows St Mark in recording the Lord's promise on the night of the betrayal, and (with some slight amplification and variation) the words of the Angel at the tomb. In regard then to the twice repeated promise the two Evangelists coincide. Further, when we compare the account of the visit of the women to the tomb given by St Matthew with that given by St Mark, we find the similarity between the two so close that we infer that St Matthew in this portion of the Gospel has for his source St Mark or the original of St Mark. When therefore we note that St Matthew in the closing section of his Gospel records that meeting in Galilee which, as we saw, must have had a place in St Mark's Gospel as originally written, we cannot but conclude that this section of St Matthew bears the same relation to the lost section of St Mark which generally an historical section of the former Evangelist bears to the corresponding section of the latter. In other words, we may affirm with a high degree of probability that this Matthaean section is derived from the primitive Petrine Gospel.

There is some further confirmatory evidence for the position

that St Matthew has, in this section, reproduced with substantial accuracy the words of our Lord as recorded in his source.

St Mark has been careful in his Gospel to preserve sayings which may well be thought to anticipate and to prepare the way for the two essential elements in the Lord's final commands. In the first place he preserves two sayings which foretold the catholic destination of the Gospel: 'The gospel must first be preached unto all the nations' (xiii 10); and again, 'Whosoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world' (xiv 9). In the second place the first section of St Mark's Gospel gives an account of John's baptism, and includes John's prophecy of Christ's baptism as essentially spiritual. It would be wholly congruous that the last section of the Gospel should contain the fulfilment of that prophecy in Christ's final command to His disciples, that they should baptize 'all the nations' and bring them into a vital union with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Such a relation between the first and the last section would bind the whole Gospel together, and would constitute that command a fitting climax and close of the Gospel story.

Again, St Matthew's tendency is commonly to expand his source. The closing section however is brief. The record as contained in the lost section of St Mark can hardly have been briefer. One point, insignificant in itself, is of some interest. St Mark, in regard to the meeting in Galilee, records the promise 'There shall ye see him' (xvi 7). St Matthew, who reproduces these words (xxviii 7), and puts similar words into the mouth of the risen Lord Himself (xxviii 10)—'And there shall they see me'—tells us of the fulfilment of this promise (xxviii 17)—'And when they saw him (*ἰδόντες αὐτόν*), they worshipped him.' This *ἰδόντες αὐτόν* we should expect to find in the last page of St Mark were it ever restored to us. Beyond this we cannot go in regard to the question of verbal identity between the last section of St Matthew and the lost last section of St Mark.

(II) The integrity of the text in Matt. xxviii 19.

The integrity of the text in Matt. xxviii 19 has lately been called in question by Mr F. C. Conybeare, first in an article published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1901, pp. 275 ff, and afterwards in the *Hibbert Journal* for

October, 1902, pp. 102 ff. Professor Lake in his Inaugural Lecture at the University of Leiden (Jan. 27, 1904) adopted Mr Conybeare's conclusions. They are controverted in an able and learned article ('Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl') by Professor Riggenbach of Basel, published in the *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, 1903. My investigation is independent of Professor Riggenbach's.

It is almost superfluous by way of preface to the discussion of this question to say that the matter is simply and solely a matter of evidence, and of the conscientious and dispassionate interpretation of evidence. Every scientific critic, whether he call himself a conservative theologian or not, is bound to take all possible care in scrutinizing the facts on which alone he bases his conclusion for or against the genuineness of any passage of the New Testament. If he is satisfied that a real case has been made out against any passage, he is bound to abide by the verdict of criticism. In regard to this particular passage, it should further be remembered that the doctrine of the Trinity does not depend upon any one 'proof-text'. No doubt, as purporting to be the words of Christ Himself, this text has played an important part in the history of the doctrine. But, if we put aside the philosophical aspects of the doctrine of the Trinity, Christian people hold that doctrine because they believe that it is implied in the general teaching of the Gospels and of the Apostolic writings. It is the formal statement of that conception of God which the writers of the New Testament express in informal and undogmatic language.

The position then of Mr Conybeare is this. He maintains that the clause βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος was in early times (i.e. before the time of Tertullian) interpolated for dogmatic reasons in some copies of St Matthew, and that its place in the text was not fully assured till after the Council of Nicaea.

Mr Conybeare's chief argument for this conclusion lies in the fact that Eusebius, who was Bishop of Caesarea 313-339 A.D., and had access to the treasures of the great library at Caesarea, when he quotes or refers to Matt. xxviii 19 f, habitually omits, or stops short of, the words which refer to Baptism. The relevant passages of Eusebius fall under two heads. (1) In the *Demonstratio Evangelica* Eusebius cites the words which precede

and the words which follow the command to baptize, but does not cite the command itself. In i 3 he writes, 'After the resurrection from the dead, having said to His disciples, *Go and make disciples of all the nations*, He adds, *teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you*'. In i 4, i 6, iii 6, he quotes the Lord's words thus, *Go and make disciples of all the nations (+ in my name, iii 6), teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you*. (2) In some seventeen passages (e.g. *Hist. Eccles.* iii 5 2) Eusebius quotes the first clause of v. 19 in this form, πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου and (except in *Dem. Evan.* iii 6; see above) does not quote the subsequent words. In one of these passages (*Dem. Evan.* iii 7), he expressly comments on the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου: 'For He did not simply and without definition bid them make disciples of all the nations, but with the necessary addition *in His name*. For inasmuch as the power belonging to His title was such that the Apostle said that *God gave to Him the name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven and things on the earth and things under the earth*, [the Lord] did rightly when He declared the virtue which is in His name but is unknown to the more part of men, and said to His disciples, *Go and make disciples of all the nations in my name*.'

Mr Conybeare thinks that the evidence of these passages in Eusebius points to the conclusion that Eusebius 'found in the codices of Caesarea the following form of text: πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν'.

The two groups of passages in which Eusebius quotes from Matt. xxviii 19 raise somewhat different questions, and it will be convenient to discuss them separately.

(1) We take the passages from the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, in which Eusebius quotes more than one clause of St Matthew. It will generally be allowed, I think, that theological and religious writers, whether ancient or modern, when they adduce a passage of Scripture, are in the habit of omitting a clause which is not relevant to the subject of which they are treating. They are probably all the more likely to do this if that clause is itself important and would serve therefore to draw away the attention

of their readers from the matter in hand. A writer of our own day would probably indicate the omission by inserting dots (...) in the proper place. If then we turn to the passages in the First Book of the *Demonstratio*, we find that in them Eusebius is dealing generally with the Christian rule of life. In chapter iv, for example, he says that we Christians receive the Sacred Books of the Hebrews, and that they contain prophecies about 'us Gentiles'. He then cites passages from the Psalms, among them those passages (Ps. xcvi 1 ff, xcvi 1 ff) which speak of the 'new song' which 'all the earth' should sing. This 'new song' Jeremiah (xxxix 31 ff) calls a 'new covenant'. Again, this 'new covenant' Isaiah calls a 'new law', saying (ii 3 f), 'Out of Zion shall go forth the law'. 'Now this law which has gone forth from Zion and is different from the law given through Moses on Mount Sinai, what can it be save the Evangelical word which through our Lord and His Apostles has gone forth from Zion and has reached all the nations? For it is manifest that from Jerusalem and from Mount Zion, which is nigh unto Jerusalem, where our Saviour gave most of His teachings, the law of His new covenant began, and that from thence it went forth and shined forth unto all men, in accordance with His own words which He spake to His disciples, saying, *Go and make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you*. And what were these things save the lessons and the instructions of the new covenant (τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης μαθήματα τε καὶ παιδεύματα)?'

Somewhat different is Eusebius's purpose when he quotes our Lord's words in iii 6. He is here dealing with those who alleged that Christ was a magician (γόης). I venture somewhat to abbreviate the passage. 'What magician ever conceived the idea of promulgating and making eternally victorious laws against idolatry, contrary to the edicts of kings and ancient lawgivers? But as to our Lord and Saviour, it is not the case that He conceived the purpose and then did not dare to make the attempt; nor did He make the attempt and then fail. But He spake but one word to His disciples, *Go and make disciples of all the nations in my name, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*; and then He added the deed to the word; for at once, in a short time, every race both

of Greeks and barbarians was made His disciples (*μαθητέροι*); and laws, contrary to the superstition of the ancients, were disseminated among all the nations.'

In both these passages then it is clear that Eusebius is concerned from somewhat different points of view with the new law of Christ and its dissemination among 'all the nations'. In both he quotes just those words of Christ which were relevant to his argument. In both it was absolutely natural that he should refrain from quoting the command to baptize in the Threefold Name; for it had no bearing on the argument. The case is precisely the same with the two remaining passages in the *Demonstratio* (i 3, i 6).
 * In both of them Eusebius is contrasting the new law of Christ with the ancient law of Moses; and in both of them it was as absolutely natural as in the passages which I have fully considered that he should not include in his citation the words as to Baptism.

But facts are more convincing than any assertion as to *a priori* probabilities. I take a parallel case. No one can doubt that the Antiochene text of St Matthew, with which Chrysostom was familiar, contained the clause *βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.* Chrysostom comments on the clause in his Homilies on St Matthew (see below) and he adduces the words in his exposition of Hebr. ii 18 (xii 54 B). 'For that it is He Himself who forgives the sins of all men He shewed both in the case of the paralytic, saying, *Thy sins have been forgiven*, and in the matter of Baptism, for He saith unto the disciples, *Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*' But when Chrysostom is speaking of conduct and of Christ's commands, and in this connexion cites Matt. xxviii 19, his quotation no more includes the words about Baptism than do the quotations in Eusebius's *Demonstratio*. In his exposition of Eph. ii 10 Chrysostom (xi 29 A) insists on the need of 'good works'—'As we have five senses and must use them all, so must we use all the virtues. . . . For one virtue sufficeth not to present us with boldness before the judgement-seat of Christ, but we have need of much and manifold virtue, nay of all virtue. For listen to Him as He says to the disciples, *Go and make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you*; and again, *Whosoever*

shall break one of these least commandments¹, he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven.'

The fact then that Eusebius in the *Demonstratio* four times quotes the words which precede and the words which follow the command to baptize in Matt. xxviii 19, but does not quote the command itself, does not afford, when we take in account the context in each case, even the slightest presumption that he was ignorant of that command or that he did not regard it as having an assured place in the text of St Matthew.

(2) We next turn to the consideration of the reading πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου. Mr Conybeare believes that this was the original form of Matt. xxviii 19; and he finds traces of it in two early documents, in a passage of the Shepherd of Hermas and in a passage of Justin Martyr. To these two passages I shall return presently.

Another supposition however is possible, namely, that the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου are an addition to the genuine text of the clause. On this hypothesis it is not difficult to account for the genesis of the reading. I venture to call attention to the following considerations. (1) The addition is in itself absolutely natural. (2) The 'Western' text of the N. T. is, I believe, an artificial text. We find in this text passages in which a reference to the name of Jesus is added. Thus in Acts vi 8, to the words ἐπολεῖ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ, Cod. E adds ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου: Cod. D (with some cursives) appends διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. See also Tischendorf's *apparatus criticus* in Acts xiv 10; xviii 4, 8. (3) An 'impulse of scribes', and we may add of the Fathers also, 'abundantly exemplified in Western readings, is the fondness for assimilation' (Dr Hort *Introduction* p. 124). There is scarcely a page of Codex Bezae in the Gospels which does not afford instances of this tendency. Now there are three passages in the Gospels, recording words of the risen Lord, which are closely related and are often quoted together by the Fathers (see e.g. below p. 494), viz. Matt. xxviii 18-20; [Mark] xvi 15-18; Luke xxiv 46-49. It is sufficient to call attention to the fact that words from these three passages are intertwined in Tatian's *Diatessaron* (see Hamlyn Hill *The Earliest*

¹ It will be noted that the words *and shall teach men so* (Matt. v 19) are not relevant, and are therefore omitted in the quotation.

Life of Christ pp. 262 f, 376 f). Riggensbach (p. 27) suggests that the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου in the Eusebian form of Matt. xxviii 19 are probably derived from Luke xxiv 47 (καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν κ.τ.λ.). It is even more significant, I venture to think, that the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου occur in the other parallel passage [Mark] xvi 17 (σημεῖα δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἀκολουθήσει ταῦτα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια ἐκβαλοῦσιν). Those who have worked through any considerable portion of the 'Western' text of the Gospels and have seen how deep and wide is the effect of the tendency to harmonize will allow, I think, that this explanation of the Eusebian reading is highly probable.

On this theory as to the genesis of the Eusebian reading, it is open to us to choose between two alternatives.

(i) On the one hand the reading may be a 'Western' reading which Eusebius found in some codices of the library at Caesarea. This supposition is quite in accordance with facts. 'The same' [i.e. 'Western'] character of text is found . . . predominantly in Eusebius' (Dr Hort *Introduction* p. 113). Have we any evidence of this reading elsewhere? Mr Conybeare adduces two passages.

The first is from Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 39, p. 258 A: ὃν οὖν τρόπον διὰ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἐκείνους τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐπέφερε τότε ὁ θεός, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ νῦν οὐδέπω τὴν κρίσιν ἐπήνεγκεν ἢ ἐπάγει, γινώσκων ἔτι καθ' ἡμέραν τινας μαθητευομένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολείποντας τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πλάνης, οἱ καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα ἕκαστος ὡς ἄξιοι εἰσι, φωτιζόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου. With this passage Mr Conybeare compares a later passage in the *Dialogue* (53, p. 272 C), in which he thinks that 'Justin glances at Matt. xxviii 19': καὶ τὸ Δεσμεύων . . . [Gen. xlix 11] τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ παρουσίας γενομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁμοίως τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν αὐτῷ προδηλώσεις ἦν. οὗτοι γὰρ ὡς πᾶλος ἀσαγῆς καὶ ζυγὸν ἐπὶ αὐχένα μὴ ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, μέχρ' ὃ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἔλθῶν διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πέμψας ἐμαθήτευσεν αὐτούς. In the second passage, indeed, there is nothing directly bearing on the question of the reading in Matt. xxviii 19; but 'the very occurrence of the passage', Mr Conybeare urges, 'strengthens the surmise that Justin was acquainted with Matt. xxviii 19, and really glanced at it in p. 258'. The evidence of

the former passage (p. 258 A) seems to me, I confess, very slight. The word μαθητεύειν (-εσθαι) occurs in several contexts in Justin—*Ap.* I 15 (62 B) οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, *Ap.* II 4 (43 D) μαθητευθῆναι εἰς τὰ θεῖα διδάγματα, *Dial.* 39 (258 C) οἱ ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἀληθείας μεμαθητευμένοι¹. Thus the phrase μαθητενομένοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ is quite in Justin's manner, and there is nothing in the context which recalls the language or the thought of Matt. xxviii 19 f.

'The second passage', to quote Mr Conybeare's words (*Zeitschrift* p. 283), 'is in the Pastor Hermae and is a less certain reference': *Sim.* ix 17 4 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν κατοικοῦντα ἀκούσαντα καὶ πιστεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἐκλήθησαν [τοῦ υἱοῦ] τοῦ θεοῦ. λαβόντες οὖν τὴν σφραγίδα μίαν φρόνησιν ἔσχον καὶ ἓνα νοῦν, καὶ μία πίστις αὐτῶν ἐγένετο καὶ [μία] ἀγάπη. There is some doubt as to the reading ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι. The Aethiopic version apparently omits the words. Dr Harmer in the critical note in Dr Lightfoot's edition conjectures ἐνὶ ὀνόματι—a conjecture which certainly fits in admirably with the context. But in fact the passage appears to me to have no point of contact with Matt. xxviii 19 and may safely be set aside.

Thus the evidence outside Eusebius for the reading μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου consists of a single passage in Justin; and the reference to St Matthew in this passage seems to me exceedingly doubtful². If the reference were clear and

¹ It is quite natural that, wholly apart from any remembrance of the language of the N.T., the word μαθητεύειν (-εσθαι) should have a conspicuous place in the vocabulary of the early Christians. It occurs e. g. in Ignatius *Eph.* iii (οὖν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι), x (ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς κἀν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν μαθητευθῆναι), *Rom.* iii (ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε), v (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι).

² Mr Conybeare further appeals to the form in which Aphraates quotes Matt. xxviii 19 'Go forth, make disciples of all the peoples, and they shall believe in me' (ed. Wright, p. 12). Aphraates 'composed his works, as he himself tells us, in the years 337, 344 and 345' (Wright *Syriac Literature* p. 33). Mr Conybeare (*Hibbert Journal* p. 107) says that 'the last words [i. e. and they shall believe in me] appear to be a gloss on the Eusebian reading in my name'. I venture to point out that the meaning of *in my name* is essentially different from the meaning of *and they shall believe in me*, and that therefore the latter words are not a natural gloss on the former. It appears to me that *and they shall believe in me* is an addition quite independent of the addition *in my name*, but generated in the same way, i. e. due to assimilation. One MS of Aphraates' Homily *On Faith* reads 'Go forth, preach to . . .'. The word 'preach to' is the common Syriac word of this meaning. It is the word used in the Syriac Vulgate (neither the Curetonian nor the Sinaitic

decisive, I should point out (1) that Justin preserves very early 'Western' readings, and that therefore the reference would not justify any conclusion as to the original text of Matt. xxviii 19; (2) that in the immediately succeeding context we have an allusion to Baptism—*φωτιζόμενοι* (cf. *τὴν σφραγίδα* in *Hermas*)—and that therefore the passage would afford an indication that Justin found in the text of St Matthew the command to baptize. The absence of evidence, however, for the currency of this reading cannot be taken as a proof that it was not current. It has constantly happened in the past that a fresh investigation of Patristic texts or the discovery of a new document has brought to light independent attestation of a reading what had before been regarded as the 'singular' reading of some MS or of some Father.

(iii) On the other hand the addition of the words *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου* may be an eccentric reading peculiar to, and due to, Eusebius himself. That such readings occur in the writings of the Fathers and that such readings became more or less habitual to them is certain. It must suffice to refer to Dr Westcott's analysis of the quotations from the N.T. in Chrysostom's *Treatise on the Priesthood* (*Canon*, ed. 5, p. xxx). That Eusebius comments

is extant in this verse) in the parallel passage [Mark] xvi 15. I believe that the addition *and they shall believe in me* is drawn from [Mark] xvi 15-17. I call attention to four points: (1) In [Mark] xvi 15 'belief' follows 'preaching'. *Preach the gospel to all creation. He that believeth...* Hence the addition of *and they shall believe in me* is a most natural addition in the parallel, Matt. xxviii 19. (2) In [Mark] xvi 15 f 'belief' is the link between the 'preaching' and the 'baptizing'. *'Preach the Gospel to all creation. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* The well-known interpolation in Acts viii 37 (see below p. 499) is an indication how much stress was rightly laid in early times on the necessity of 'belief' in this connexion. Compare the following passage from the same Homily of Aphraates (p. 21), 'And when again our Lord gave the mystery of Baptism to His Apostles, thus He said to them *He that believeth and is baptized shall live and he that believeth not is judged.*' I submit therefore that Aphraates' form of quotation is a strong argument that in his text of Matthew the baptismal command followed the words which he quotes. (3) The phrase itself, *they shall believe in me*, is, I believe, an echo of [Mark] xvi 17, *These signs shall follow them that believe.* This suggestion is strongly confirmed by the fact that in the Curetonian (the Sinaitic is not extant here) we read in [Mark] xvi 17 *that believe in me*, though it should be added that when Aphraates quotes the verse (p. 21) he has simply *those that believe.* (4) The fragments of Tatian's *Diatessaron* preserved in Ephraem's Commentary shew that Matt. xxviii 19 and [Mark] xvi 15 were intertwined in the form of the Gospel chiefly known among Syriac Christians. The words are these, *Go ye into all the world... and baptize them in the name, &c.* (Hamlyn Hill *The Earliest Life of Christ* p. 376).

on the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου is no proof that they were not an addition of his own. To take one example, Chrysostom (vii 275 C) in place of ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ (Matt. vi 29) has a reading which has no other support, and is, I think, clearly his own invention—ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ. But he expounds it: 'Solomon was proved inferior to the flowers in splendour, not once or twice, but throughout his whole reign.'

Between these two alternatives which we have just considered it is not necessary to endeavour to make a choice. I do not think that the evidence at our disposal justifies an absolute decision. The really important point is that the inclusion of the words ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου in the text of Matt. xxviii 19 does not prove the absence from that same text of the Lord's command to baptize. The words πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη are very frequently quoted as a proof-text in regard to the extension of the Church to the Gentiles by writers who certainly looked on the command to baptize as part of the genuine text of the Gospel¹; and I confess that it appears to me most probable that they were appended to the command to 'make disciples of all the nations' as a natural complement, in the light of the parallel passages [Mark] xvi 17 and Luke xxiv 47, when that command was quoted by itself apart from its context. But there is not anything unnatural, still less impossible, in the combination—'make disciples of all nations *in my name*, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' It is best, however, to appeal to facts. In the *Theophania* v 17, 46, 49 (ed. Lee pp. 298, 333, 336) Eusebius quotes and emphasizes the words 'in my name' as part of the Lord's command as to the Apostles' mission to 'all the nations', while in an earlier passage of the same treatise—iv 8 (ed. Lee p. 223 ff)—he unmistakably refers to the command to baptize (see below p. 494).

We are thus led in the next place to take note of the fact that in three of his writings Eusebius either explicitly quotes or clearly alludes to the words βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.

(a) Eusebius's Letter to his Church at Caesarea, written just after the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, is preserved in Socrates *H. E.* i 8. The Bishop's object is to justify to his flock his

¹ See, for example, Chrysostom's works, e.g. Migne *P. G.* lvi 30; lviii 649; lix 368, 434 (*dis*).

proceedings at the great Council, and to defend himself against the aspersions made on him by representatives of both sides. He laid before the Council, he tells his diocese, a document which was read at the Council and approved. It runs thus: 'As we received from those who were Bishops before us both in our catechumenate, and when we received the washing [of Baptism], and as we have learned from the divine Scriptures, and as in the presbyterate and in the episcopate itself we have believed and taught, so now believing, we do lay before you this our statement of faith.' The Creed of Caesarea follows. Eusebius then continues, 'We believe that each of these Persons is and subsists, the Father truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost; as also our Lord, when sending His disciples to preach, said *Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. As touching these matters we affirm that we so hold and so think, and have ever so held, and will so hold unto death, and that in this faith we are steadfast.'¹

(δ) In the Books *Against Marcellus* and in the continuation of

¹ In his article in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1903, p. 333, Mr Conybeare quotes the words of this passage ('We believe that each . . . Holy Ghost'). He then adds, 'The above passage has been foisted into the text from the *ἁλλῇ ἑκθεσίς πίστεως* produced at the council of Antioch in 341, in which it is found verbatim (Socrates II, Ch. 10, p. 87)'. The passage from the *ἁλλῇ ἑκθεσίς* is as follows: '... and [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, who is given to those who believe unto comfort and sanctification and unto perfection; as also our Lord Jesus Christ commanded the disciples, saying *Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*, that is [into the name] of the Father truly Father, of the Son truly Son, of the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost; the names not being used loosely and idly, but precisely expressing the subsistence and order and glory of the Persons named.' Students can judge whether Mr Conybeare is correct in saying that the passage in Eusebius's Letter is found 'verbatim' in the *ἁλλῇ ἑκθεσίς*. No doubt the two passages are very similar in meaning. Nothing is more common than that one doctrinal document should contain a passage very similar to a passage in another doctrinal document. In this particular case the similarity may be explained in one of two ways. (1) The *ἁλλῇ ἑκθεσίς* was an old creed reputed to be that of the martyr Lucian of Antioch (Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism* p. 116). Nothing could possibly be more natural than that Eusebius should echo the words of so venerated a teacher, whose pupils were numerous among those who more or less sympathized with Arius. (2) If it is contended that the Lucianic Creed coincided only with that portion of the *ἁλλῇ ἑκθεσίς* which is a Creed proper, then we may say that it was completely natural that the Arianizers at the Council of Antioch, bidding for 'conservative' support, should echo the doctrinal statements of the learned Eusebius, who had died only a few years previously.

that treatise, viz. the treatise *On the Theology of the Church*, written at the end of his life, Eusebius quotes or refers to the Lord's command to baptize, in two passages—*Contra Marcellum II* (Migne P. G. xxiv 716 B), *De Eccles. Theol.* iii 5 (Migne P. G. xxiv 1013 A). I have considered in a separate note at the end of this article the objections which Mr Conybeare has urged against the Eusebian authorship of these two treatises.

(c) The treatise on the Incarnation, called *Θεοφάνεια*, is preserved in a Syriac version, an English translation of which was published in 1843 by Professor Samuel Lee. A collection of Greek fragments of this treatise was in 1847 published by Mai in his *Bibliotheca nova Patrum* iv; these fragments are reprinted in Migne P. G. xxiv 609–690. The *Theophania* was perhaps left unfinished by Eusebius at his death; at any rate it appears to have been his last literary work (Bp. Lightfoot, art. Eusebius of Caesarea, in the *Dict. Chr. Biography* ii p. 333). In the Syriac version of the *Theophania* iv 8 (ed. Lee pp. 223 ff) Matt. xxviii 18–20 ('all power . . . the end of the world') is quoted in full and an explicit reference to the command to baptize occurs in the subsequent context. The passage in question is found among the Greek fragments (Migne P. G. xxiv 629). Here the command to baptize is not quoted but clearly implied. I give the substance of the passage and the important words in full. Eusebius adduces the words of Ps. ii 8 ('Ask of me and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance'). 'Wherefore, as if the prophetic testimony had now been fulfilled in deed, the Lord saith to His disciples—according to Matthew ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, and according to Luke ὅτι δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. . . . Not on any former occasion but only now at length did He command His disciples to go about and make disciples of all the nations. Ἀναγκαίως δὲ προστίθησι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀποκαθάρσεως· ἐχρῆν γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρεφέντας πάντος μολυσμοῦ καὶ μιάσματος διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι ἐκ τῆς δαιμονικῆς καὶ εἰδωολάτρου πλάνης . . . τούτους δὲ καὶ διδάσκειν παραινέει μετὰ τὴν ἀποκάθαρσιν τὴν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ μυστικῆς διδασκαλίας οὐ τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ παραγγέλματα . . . ἀλλὰ ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνετείλατο φυλάττειν.'¹

¹ Here it will be noted (1) that Matt. xxviii 18 and Luke xxiv 47 are quoted side by side; (2) that Matt. xxviii 18 is welded together with Matt. vi 10 (the Lord's

In this passage it will be noticed that Eusebius definitely refers to the passage as from St Matthew's Gospel. I believe that I am correct in asserting that he does not do so in any of the passages belonging to the two groups considered above (p. 485). He says that after the command *μαθητεύσατε κ.τ.λ.* our Lord added *τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀποκαθάρσεως*, and that 'after the cleansing' He commanded the disciples 'to teach' converts from heathenism. Thus 'the cleansing' has the same place in the series of commands here which the Baptismal command has in St Matthew. 'The cleansing' is defined as *ἡ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ μυστικῆς διδασκαλίας*, i. e. which comes to us through the Lord's teaching on the sacrament of Baptism. The habitual language of the Fathers leaves no doubt that the words *μυστήριον* and *μυστικός* refer to Baptism (see Sophocles' *Lexicon sub vocibus*¹).

But Mr Conybeare pleads (*Zeitschrift* p. 282) that these three passages 'belong to the last period of [Eusebius's] literary activity which fell after the council of Nice'. Again, 'it is evident', he says (*Hibbert Journal* p. 105), 'that this [i. e. *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου*] was the text found by Eusebius in the very ancient codices collected fifty to a hundred and fifty years before his birth by his great predecessors. Of any other form of text he had never heard, and knew nothing until he had visited Constantinople and attended the Council of Nice'. On this position, over and above what has been already said as to the real significance of the words *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου* (p. 492), I venture to call attention to two considerations.

(1) In the first place we turn to Eusebius's letter to his Church at Caesarea, quoted above (p. 493). 'Perhaps', writes Mr Conybeare (*Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft*, 1903, p. 334), 'the Epistle is after all wrongly ascribed by Socrates to Eusebius Pamphili.' Against this 'perhaps' must be set evidence both internal and external. The position which the writer of the Letter takes up, and the story which he tells, correspond with

Prayer); (3) that Luke xxiv 47 is welded together with verse 44; (4) *φυλάττειν* takes the place of *τηρεῖν*. These points are of importance in considering how far Eusebius is in the habit of quoting the N. T. accurately.

¹ Comp. Eus. *Vita Constant.* iv 71 *μυστικῆς λειτουργίας ἀξιούμενον*. Riggenbach (p. 20) refers to *Demons. Evan.* i 10 (Migne P. G. xlii 88 C) *οὗ διὰ τῆς ἐνθέου καὶ μυστικῆς διδασκαλίας πάντες ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐξ ἑθνῶν τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων εὐράμεθα*.

what we know of the position of Eusebius of Caesarea and of his relation to the various parties at the Council of Nicaea. Again, the Letter is not given by Socrates alone. It is alluded to by Athanasius in the tract *de Decret. Nic. Syn.* (Migne *P. G.* xxv 428); it is given in full as an appendix to that tract, and by Theodoret *H. E.* i 12 and Gelasius *Hist. Conc. Nic.* ii 34 (Mansi *Conc. Nov. Coll.* ii 913). Nor is there the smallest ground for thinking that Matt. xxviii 19 is an interpolation in the text of the Letter; for that text is given by all the authorities for the Letter, and the words 'as we have learned from the divine Scriptures' prepared the way for this *testimonium*. Eusebius expressly asserts that what he insists on in his Letter he had learned in his earliest days. To suppose that in the midst of protestations so public and so solemn, Eusebius appealed to a passage of St Matthew which he knew to be no part of the genuine text is entirely to misunderstand his character. He was an honest as well as a learned man. In emphatic language he bears his witness that 'nearly all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark' break off at xvi 8 (see Dr Hort *Notes on Select Readings* p. 31).

(2) The real question seems to me to be not the date but the character of the Eusebian writings in which our Lord's command to baptize is adduced. The Letter to the Church of Caesarea is intended only for 'the faithful'. The *Theophania* and the treatises against Marcellus are distinctly theological treatises. Riggenbach (p. 29) finds an explanation of the silence of Eusebius elsewhere as to the Baptismal command in the *disciplina arcani*.¹ Professor Lake, in his Inaugural Lecture (p. 10), dismisses the suggestion in a somewhat contemptuous footnote: 'The suggestion that it is due to the *Disciplina Arcani* seems a counsel of despair.' I cannot agree with him. What are the facts? Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* vi 29, Migne *P. G.* xxxiii 589) says, 'To a heathen (ἐθνικῷ) we do not expound the mysteries concerning Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nor do we speak plainly of the things touching the mysteries in the presence of catechumens; but we often say many things in a hidden fashion, in order that the faithful who know may understand, and that those who know

¹ Riggenbach (p. 30) refers to the very remarkable way in which the Eucharistic words are referred to by Epiphanius (*Anc.* 57) ἀνάστη ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ καὶ ἔλαβε τὰς καὶ εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τῶδε.

not may not suffer harm.' Chrysostom (x 379 A) will not, in explaining the words *οἱ βαπτίζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* (1 Cor. xv 29), refer explicitly to the baptismal rite—*οὐ τολμᾷ διὰ τοὺς ἀμυήτους*. This is only one out of many similar passages in his Homilies. No doubt this rule of silence was not consistently observed. That probably would have been impossible. But at any rate, in treatises which were apologetic, or which were likely to come into the hands of other than 'the faithful', a Christian teacher would refrain from bringing into prominence Scriptural passages dealing with Baptism or with the Trinity. The baptismal command in Matt. xxviii 19 deals with both. None of the Fathers quotes Scripture more incessantly than Chrysostom. But I can find no reference to the baptismal command in the Homilies on St Matthew's Gospel (except of course the comment on xxviii 19), nor in the Homilies on St John's Gospel. Twice only does he quote the words in the Homilies on St Paul's Epistles, viz. in his comments on 2 Thess. iii 17 f, and on Heb. ii 18 (see above p. 487). Even more significant than these facts is the brevity and restraint of Chrysostom's comment on the text itself when he comes to it in his exposition of St Matthew. After quoting the words (*πορευθέντες . . . ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν*) he proceeds thus: 'He gives them orders partly about doctrines and partly about commandments. And of the Jews He says not a word, nor does He make mention of the things which had happened, nor does He upbraid Peter with his denial nor any of the others with their flight; but He commands them to spread themselves over the whole world, entrusting them with a brief teaching, even that teaching which is by Baptism (*σύντομον διδασκαλίαν ἐγχειρίσας, τὴν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*). Then, when He had laid great commands upon them, raising their thoughts, He saith, *Lo I am with you all the days unto the consummation of the age*.' I submit then that, when we take facts into account, we find in the *disciplina arcani* an amply sufficient explanation of Eusebius's general reticence as to the baptismal command of Christ.

Lastly, we must review the textual evidence. Mr Conybeare (*Zeitschrift* p. 288) writes thus: 'Did it [i.e. Matt. xxviii 19] not arise, like the text of the three witnesses, in the African old Latin texts first of all, then creep into the Greek texts at Rome, and finally establish itself in the East during the Nicene epoch,

in time to figure in all surviving Greek codices?' He expresses (*Hibbert Journal* p. 103 f) the belief that he has 'been able to substantiate these doubts of the authenticity of the text, Matt. xxviii 19, by adducing patristic evidence against it so weighty that in future the most conservative of divines will shrink from resting on it any dogmatic fabric at all, while the more enlightened will discard it as completely as they have done its fellow text of the three witnesses'. I have endeavoured above to test the weight of the patristic evidence which Mr Conybeare adduces. Scholars will judge whether it is such as to 'substantiate these doubts of the authenticity of the text' in question. In regard to the comparison between Matt. xxviii 19 and the interpolation of the words about the Three Witnesses in 1 John v 7 I refrain from making any comment save an appeal to facts. The text as to the Three Witnesses is found in certain Latin authorities, viz. the *Speculum* (m), in one old Latin MS (r), in most of the MSS of the Latin Vulgate (but not in the best, such as *am. fuld.*), in some African Latin Fathers of the fifth and sixth centuries (Vigilius of Thapsus, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Victor Vitensis) and in the Spanish writer Priscillian (died 385). The only authorities for the Greek text are two cursive MSS, Codd. 162, 34, belonging respectively to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On the other hand, the command to baptize in Matt. xxviii 19 is found in every known MS (uncial and cursive) in which this portion of St Matthew is extant, and in every known Version in which this portion of St Matthew is extant. The Curetonian Old Syriac breaks off in St Matthew at xxiii 25, and the Sinaitic at xxvii 7; but it should be observed that the text in question is contained in Tatian's *Diatessaron* (Hamlyn Hill *The Earliest Life of Christ* pp. 263, 376). Again, Codex Bobiensis (k), the oldest representative among MSS of the African text, has nothing in St Matthew after xv 36. But Codex Bobiensis has some clear affinity with Codex Palatinus (e) and a still greater affinity with the text used by Cyprian. 'The text which the two MSS present is really Cyprianic' (Dr Sanday in *Old Latin Biblical Texts* II p. lxxvii). The Baptismal command is found in e and in many passages of Cyprian (e.g. *Epp.* xxvii, lxxiii 5). Passing on from the consideration of MSS and Versions, we note that Matt.

xxviii 19 is quoted by writers so early as Irenaeus iii 171 (Lat. version), by Hippolytus *Contra Noetum* 14, and by Tertullian (see below p. 502). The reference in the *Didaché* (see below p. 506) may reasonably be regarded as a quotation. Thus the attestation of Matt. xxviii 19 can only be described as overwhelming.

But in spite of this attestation is it possible to suppose that it arose, 'like the text of the three witnesses, in the African old Latin texts first of all, then [crept] into the Greek texts at Rome, and finally [established] itself in the East during the Nicene epoch, in time to figure in all surviving Greek codices'? The answer, I believe, is simple and decisive. All the 'surviving Greek codices' were not produced by a band of conspirators. They grew up naturally in different portions of the Greek-speaking Church. An interpolation could not be thus foisted into the text of the Gospels, and all evidence of its true character be obliterated. We appeal to facts. The comparison between Matt. xxviii 19 and 'the text of the three witnesses' is, I venture to think, singularly unfortunate. That text does not 'figure in all surviving Greek codices'. Or take the twelve verses which form an Appendix to St Mark's Gospel. They are attested by Irenaeus, Tatian (*Diatessaron*), perhaps by Justin Martyr. The evidence for their inclusion in the Gospel goes back to the second century. But in MSS and in statements of certain Fathers we have evidence, manifold and clear, that they are an unauthentic addition. Or again, take the passage—Acts viii 37—in which a question and answer such as became usual in the Baptismal rite of later times are inserted in the story of the Baptism of the Eunuch. Here is an interpolation which goes back to the time of Irenaeus. But a glance at an *apparatus criticus* shews how slight is the support which it has in MSS and Versions. I believe that it is only when we shut our eyes to facts that we can persuade ourselves, or allow ourselves to be persuaded, that it was possible for words to have been interpolated in the text of the Gospels without a trace of their true character surviving in MSS, Versions, and in statements of the Fathers.

The whole evidence—such I believe must be the verdict of scientific criticism—establishes without a shadow of doubt or uncertainty the genuineness of Matt. xxviii 19.

(III) We now pass on to consider the interpretation of the words which form part of the great commission—*βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*. What is the meaning of the phrase *βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*? The A. V., following the earlier English versions, renders 'baptizing them *in* the name'. The R. V. has 'baptizing them *into* the name'. Some may remember how Bishop Westcott used to say in regard to this passage that he would gladly have given ten years of his life to the work of the revision had it resulted in no other change save this one. 'How few readers of the Authorized Version', he writes in his book on *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament* (p. 62), 'could enter into the meaning of the baptismal formula, the charter of our life; but now when we reflect on the words, *make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into (not in) the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*, we come to know what is the mystery of our incorporation into the body of Christ.' This position, which probably a few years ago was almost universally accepted, has lately been challenged by one who would eagerly acknowledge his debt to the Cambridge scholars who took a foremost part in the Revision. The Dean of Westminster, in his article on Baptism in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (i 473), upholds the familiar rendering of the A. V. '*In the Name*, not "*into the name*". Although *εἰς* is the preposition most frequently used, we find *ἐν* in Acts ii 38, x 48; and the interchangeability of the two prepositions in late Greek may be plentifully illustrated from the N. T. Moreover the expression is a Hebraism; cp. *ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου* Matt. xxi 9 (=Ps. cxviii 26 מִשְׁמֵן); so in the baptismal formula of Matt. xxviii 19 the Syr. version has *ܥܡܡ* (Lat. *in nomine*). I must say at once that I believe that the R. V. represents the meaning of the words far better than the A. V.; for I do not doubt that the Greek phrase connotes the idea of incorporation. But I venture to question whether all the conditions of the problem have been fully taken into account.

It cannot be denied that the N. T. supplies instances of the preposition *εἰς* being thinned down in meaning and differing little from *ἐν*. But to speak of the interchangeability of the two prepositions is surely to overstate the case. The passages from

Inscriptions and Papyri collected by Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, Eng. Trans., pp. 146 ff, 196 ff; *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1900, p. 73 f) suggest caution. We have the formula τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος, meaning 'the property belonging to a person'. Again, a Greek inscription, apparently of the early imperial period, contains the following words: γενομένης δὲ τῆς ὥνῃς τῶν προγεγραμμένων τοῖς κτηματώναϊς εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα ('when the sale of the aforementioned articles had been effected to the purchasers into the name of the god', i.e. so that they became the property of the god). If then we went no further, we should be justified in the conclusion that St Matthew's phrase means 'baptizing them into the possession of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost'. It is worth while to note in passing that the same signification attaches to the formula ἐπ' ὀνόματός τινος (Deissmann, *ib.* p. 197). Hence we get light on the paraphrase by which Justin Martyr, using common current terms, tries to explain Christian Baptism to those outside the Church—ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος . . . καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῇ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται (Ap. i 61).

But whatever interest may belong to illustrations from Inscriptions and Papyri, it is far more important for us to enquire what interpretation of the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα was current in the Apostolic Church. The Epistles of St Paul are our earliest evidence. In them we find the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα (1 Cor. i 13, 15). But in two passages, in complete accordance with the Hebrew mode of speech whereby 'the Name' was used as a reverential synonym for God Himself, for the expression 'into (in) the name of' the Apostle substitutes the quite unambiguous expression 'into the Person Himself'—Gal. iii 27 ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Rom. vi 3 ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν [Ἰησοῦν]: comp. 1 Cor. x 2 πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο (v. l. ἐβαπτίσθησαν). Now it may be plausibly argued that βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Χριστοῦ means 'to baptize in the name, i.e. by the authority, of Christ'. But such an interpretation is out of the question with the phrase βαπτίζειν εἰς Χριστόν. The latter necessarily expresses the ideas of incorporation and union. There can be no doubt then that to St Paul's mind εἰς τὸ ὄνομα in connexion with Baptism signified not 'in the name of' (i.e. by the authority of) but 'into the name of'.

In this connexion it is of special interest to notice that Tertulian, the earliest Latin writer of Christendom, in referring to the words of St Matthew gives *to them* this strictly personal form. When he quotes the passage itself (*de Bapt.* 13) he has 'Ite, docete nationes, tingentes eas in nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti'. But his paraphrase of it in another treatise (*adv. Prax.* 26; comp. *de Praescr.* 20) runs thus, 'Novissime mandans ut tingerent in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum'. Compare Jerome *Dial. c. Lucifer.* 6 (Migne *P. L.* xxiii 161) 'Cum in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto baptizatus homo templum Domini fiat'.

But a secure interpretation of St Matthew's words must be based on the consideration not of the preposition *εἰς* only, but of the whole phrase—the preposition and the verb itself.

The Greek verb βαπτίζειν, found in Greek literature from Plato onward, need not detain us long. It means 'to plunge in or into', 'to immerse'. The historian Polybius uses it several times of men or boats being submerged and of men sinking in bogs; e.g. iii 72. 4 μόλις ἕως τῶν μαστῶν οἱ περὶ βαπτιζόμενοι διέβαινον: v 47. 2 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν βαπτιζόμενοι καὶ καταδύνοντες ἐν τοῖς τέλασι. So Plutarch *de Supers.* 3 (166 A) βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν. The word occurs several times in the LXX and in other Greek translations of the O. T. Thus in Isaiah xxi 4 the LXX (going wide of the Hebrew) has ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει, 'My iniquity overwhelms me'. Aquila in Job ix 31 ('Yet wilt thou plunge me in the ditch') translates thus, τότε ἐν διαφθορᾷ βαπτίσεις με: and Symmachus in Jerem. xxxviii 22 ('thy feet have sunk in the mire') ἐβάπτισαν εἰς τέλμα τοὺς πόδας σου. The prepositions (*εἰς*, *ἐν*) following the verb will be noticed.

But we cannot doubt that our Lord conversed with His disciples in Aramaic. The command to baptize, if uttered by our Lord, must have been clothed in an Aramaic dress. Prof. Dalman (*Words of Jesus*, Eng. Trans., p. 141) shews that the Aramaic word meaning 'to baptize' is the causative of the verb בָּטַל, which exactly answers to the Greek βαπτίζειν. Thus the word is used in the Hebrew Bible in e.g. 2 Kings v 14 'Then went he down and dipped himself (LXX ἐβάπτισατο) seven times in Jordan'; 2 Kings viii 15 'He took the coverlet and dipped it (LXX ἐβαψεν) in water and spread it on his face'. The corre-

sponding substantive טבילה was used in a quasi-technical sense of the Baptism of Proselytes.

Thus the meaning and the associations of the Aramaic and of the Greek word, as they entered into the Christian vocabulary, were clear and well defined.

Now the point to which I desire to call attention is this. In English we transliterate the Greek word βαπτίζω. When we use the word 'baptize' we think at once and we think only of the religious rite. Apart from that rite the word has no meaning for us. It is simply and solely a religious technical term. But the Aramaic Christian when he used the Aramaic word, and the Greek Christian when he used the Greek word, would never in this particular application of the term lose sight of its primary and proper signification 'to immerse', 'to plunge in or into'. An illustration will make my meaning plain. The words 'Communion' and 'Confirmation', when used in certain contexts, have the force of quasi-technical religious terms. But in that application they yet retain for us their proper meaning. The former necessarily suggests the ideas of union and participation; the latter the idea of strengthening.

In their versions of the New Testament the Syriac and the Egyptian Christians translated the word βαπτίζω. Latin-speaking Christians, though like ourselves they commonly transliterated it (*baptizare*), yet sometimes, as in the passages quoted above from Tertullian¹, used as its equivalent the Latin verb *tingere*. What if we dare to follow their example and, instead of transliterating it, venture to translate it—βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, 'immersing them into the Name'? So surely a Greek-speaking Christian would understand the words. He would regard the divine Name as the element, so to speak, into which the baptized is plunged. Thus the outward rite is seen to be an immediate parable of a great spiritual reality. As in the Eucharist the Bread and Wine are effectual symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, so in Baptism the water which cleanses the body is a type of nothing less than God Himself, as the one true and perfect power of cleansing. The natural man being brought into union with God, being made incorporate with God, is purified. He

¹ So Cyprian e. g. *Ep.* xxvii 3 'Cum Dominus dixerit in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti gentes tingi'.

rises from the water; spiritually he is born of God; he becomes 'a new creation'.

Does this interpretation of the familiar words seem strained and over-bold? It can, I think, be justified by other passages of the New Testament.

Consider first Mk. i 8 ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (comp. Matt. iii 11; Lk. iii 16). Water and Spirit are here strictly correlative. The πνεύματι ἁγίῳ stands in exactly the same relation to βαπτίσει in regard to Christ's work as the ὕδατι stands to ἐβάπτισα in reference to John's work. The forerunner 'immerses in water', the Lord Himself 'immerses in the Holy Ghost'.

Again, we turn to the words of the great interpretative discourse in St John¹, ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ

¹ I quote this passage without doubt or hesitation. I am, however, aware that Prof Lake in his Inaugural Lecture at Leiden (pp. 14 ff) has questioned the integrity of the text. His contention is that the words ὕδατος καὶ are a later interpolation. His chief arguments are as follows: (1) He maintains (p. 16) that 'the passage would be easier and would yield a more consistent sense if the words of water and could be omitted from v. 5'. Surely in this criticism Prof Lake forgets the Baptism of John and the Jewish custom of the Baptism of Proselytes (see Schürer *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* iii pp. 129 ff, Edersheim *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* iii pp. 745 ff). The proselyte after his baptism was regarded, in the language of the Rabbis, as 'a little child just born', as 'a child of one day'. It is true that these expressions are found in Jewish literature of a date far later than our Lord's life on earth. But it is wholly improbable that the Jews borrowed such language from the hated Christians. It seems to point back to a mode of speech current among the Jews of which the Christian phraseology is an adaptation. At any rate the Baptism of Proselytes would render the mention of water in such a context intelligible and not unnatural to Jewish readers of the Gospel. (2) Prof Lake appeals to Justin *Ap.* i 61, 'Then are they brought by us to a place where there is water, and by that mode of regeneration (ἀναγεννήσεως) whereby we ourselves were regenerated (ἀναγεννήθημεν), so are they regenerated (ἀναγεννώνται). For in the name (ἱεὺς) ὁνόματος of God, Father of all things and Lord, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then perform the washing in the water. For indeed Christ said, "Unless ye be regenerated (ἐν μὲν ἀναγεννηθῆτε) ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven".' The reference in the last words is to John iii 3. Prof Lake (p. 20) argues thus, 'If he [Justin] had known v. 5 in the traditional form it would have been exactly what he needed to prove the connexion of baptism with regeneration; whereas if he knew it only in a form which omitted the reference to baptism, it added nothing to v. 3, of which it is in the Gospel the explanation.' I answer that Justin quotes v. 3 rather than v. 5, for the simple reason that v. 3 justifies his insistence on 'regeneration'—'by that mode of regeneration whereby we ourselves were regenerated, so are they regenerated.' But I go further. I find in Justin's use of v. 3 a strong reason for believing that he read v. 5 as we read it now, 'born of water and of the spirit'. For if he did not know

δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (iii 5). Here clearly the thought is of the man being plunged into the water and rising out of the water born into a new and divine life. But no less clearly is the water regarded as symbolizing spirit, into which the man is immersed, and assimilated to which he rises a spiritual being. 'The image suggested', writes Bishop Westcott on this passage, 'is that of rising, reborn, out of the water and out of that spiritual element, so to speak, to which the water outwardly corresponds.'

From the Gospels we turn to passages from St Paul's Epistles.

1 Cor. x 2 πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωυσήν ἐβαπτίσαντο (*v. l.* ἐβαπτίσθησαν) ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. If we recall the use of the word βαπτίζεσθαι in Polybius, it becomes at once clear, I think, that we lose the full force of the Apostle's bold metaphor if we do not translate rather than transliterate. 'Our fathers were all under the cloud and did all pass through the sea, and did all immerse themselves (*v. l.* were all immersed) into Moses in the cloud and in the sea.' Instead of being immersed in the waters and dying, the sons of Israel were brought into a close and living union with the messenger of God.

Gal. iii 27. Again we *translate*: 'All ye who were immersed into Christ (ὅσοι . . . εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε) did put on Christ.' The former metaphor, which is lost if we transliterate 'baptized into Christ', prepares the way for the latter. As the neophyte is immersed into the water, so is he immersed into Christ. As the water wraps him round, so Christ wraps him round. Henceforth he is 'in Christ'.

Rom. vi 3 'Are ye ignorant that all we who were immersed into Christ Jesus (ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν) were immersed into his death. We were buried therefore with Him by means of that immersion into death.' Here again there are two metaphors which strictly correspond to each other. The thought

of any mention of water in *v. 5*, how should he connect the term 'regenerated' 'born again' in *v. 3* with baptism in water? In other words the citation of *v. 3* in this context implies a knowledge on the part of the writer of the words 'born of water and of the spirit' in *v. 5*.

It appears to me then that the slight evidence which Prof Lake produces in support of the theory that the words ὕδατος καὶ are not part of the true text of John iii 5 does not bear examination. I am constrained to add that in my judgement it is a theory which a scientific critic ought never to have put forward.

of immersion into Christ leads on to the thought of burial with Christ. Compare the closely parallel passage, Col. ii 12.

Reverting now to the words of the great commission, I submit that (1) the passages of the New Testament justify the position that the word βαπτίζοντες should be translated rather than transliterated; (2) that the whole phrase βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, 'immersing them into the Name', necessarily implies the idea of incorporation into the divine Name. So regarded Baptism is seen to be γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, γεννηθῆναι ἀνωθεν.

An important result in exegesis follows. If we are right in translating St Matthew's words 'Immersing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost', the risen Lord is plainly revealing the spiritual meaning of the outward and visible rite, which was already in use among His disciples (John iv 1 f¹). He is not prescribing the use of a formula. The words might rightly, as time went on, suggest the use of a formula. So only perhaps could the Church emphasize their application to each person baptized. Themselves they belong to a far higher sphere of spiritual and eternal truth.

I venture to suggest, though to some the suggestion may appear fanciful, that the very formula itself used in the Greek Church preserves the larger and more living interpretation of the words of the Gospel. The formula used in the Western Church—'I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'—lays stress on the act of the minister and on the authority by which he acts. In contrast to this Western formula is that of the Greek Church—βαπτίζεται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος². Here, as it seems to me, is an announcement of the spiritual fact involved in the act of baptism. The new relation of the baptized to God is proclaimed. Traces of this view in the early church are further, I believe, to be found (1) in the very ancient custom of trine immersion or affusion (see e.g. the *Didaché* vii); (2) in the ἐπίκλησις, the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the water of Baptism (e.g. Tert. *de Bapt.* 4), parallel to the invocation of

¹ Note the words μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει as a comment on μαθητεύσατε . . . βαπτίζοντες (Matt. xxviii 19).

² The former formula was also used in the Egyptian Church, the latter also in the Syrian (*Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, art. Baptism, i pp. 162 f).

the Holy Spirit upon the Eucharistic elements (cf. Cyril *Catech.* xxi 3, Migne *P. G.* xxxiii 1089).

There are several important questions to which our interpretation of the words of St Matthew, if it is correct, supplies an answer.

1. There is a question of phraseology. What is the relation of the two phrases, βαπτίζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα and βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι? Now in regard to the physical act we have two constructions of βαπτίζω (cf. above pp. 500 ff.). In Mark i 5 we read ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, 'they were immersed by him *in* the river Jordan'. The idea is of the stream encompassing those who submitted to the rite. Four verses lower down St Mark describes our Lord's baptism thus: ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος κ.τ.λ. Here the thought is of the Lord's entrance into the submerging water, followed by emergence. So in the *Didaché* (ch. vii) we have ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι followed immediately by εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ and that again by ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Exactly corresponding to these two constructions of βαπτίζω in reference to the physical act we have two corresponding constructions in reference to the spiritual reality—βαπτίζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ('to immerse into the Name'), βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι ('to immerse in the Name'). The two phrases are synonymous. They both represent the divine name as the element into which or in which the person baptized is plunged. At the same time, of course, it is always possible to interpret the phrase βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι as pointing to the divine authority in which the act of Baptism is done. Thus whether εἰς or ἐν is the preposition used the idea of incorporation is equally implied. It is involved in the whole phrase βαπτίζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα and βαπτίζω ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι and does not depend, as Bishop Westcott used to urge, on the use of the preposition εἰς only.

In this connexion it is worth while to point out that the Syriac Vulgate translates Rom. vi 3 thus: 'Those of us who were baptized (immersed) *in* Jesus Christ were baptized (immersed) *in* his death'; so Gal. iii 27. In these passages the notion of incorporation is necessarily involved. Thus the argument of the Dean of Westminster drawn from the Syriac '*in* the name' of (Matt. xxviii 19) is robbed of all its force.

2. Again, it is often urged that, whereas St Matthew represents our Lord as commanding His disciples to baptize in the name of the Three Persons of the Trinity, the evidence of the Acts and of the Pauline Epistles leads us to the conclusion that as a matter of fact they baptized their converts in the name of the Lord Jesus. So long as we regard the words of St Matthew as laying down the express terms of a baptismal formula, the difference between the alleged command of Christ and the practice of His first followers must give rise to serious difficulties. But when we consider the words of Christ recorded by St Matthew as revealing a spiritual fact about Baptism, then the question ceases to be one of rival formulas and becomes one of Christian theology. The writer of the *Didaché* gives the explicit direction (ch. vii): βαπτίζετε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. But when later on (ch. ix) he refers to the baptized he uses the phrase οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου. St Paul is not inconsistent when he ends one Epistle with the words 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit' (Gal. vi 18; cf. Phil. iv 23), and in another Epistle expands the benediction into 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all' (2 Cor. xiii 14).

3. Again, there is the question, Have we here a true saying of Jesus Christ? The Dean of Westminster (*Encyclopaedia Biblica* i 474) suggests, as a possible explanation of the divergence between the Lord's alleged command and the practice of the Apostolic Church, that 'Matthew does not here report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to Him the familiar language of the Church of the evangelist's own time and locality'. He adds that 'in favour of' this suggestion 'it may be stated that the language of the First Gospel, where it does not reproduce an earlier document, shews traces of modification of a later kind'. It is indeed true—and it is well that we should remind ourselves of the fact—that our Lord's words have come down to us through the media of human memories, human translators, human editors. It is very seldom that we can say with confidence, 'This is a precise representation of the words which Jesus spoke'. Now if the words which St Matthew puts into our Lord's mouth are regarded as laying down 'a baptismal formula',

then everything depends on their being the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord. But if on the other hand the words are intended to describe what Baptism essentially is, then we may be entirely satisfied if we have reasonable grounds for thinking that they give us the substance, possibly in a condensed form, of what the Lord actually said. We have already seen that we may with considerable confidence conclude that St Matthew is here depending on St Mark or on St Mark's original. The degree of closeness with which St Matthew, in recording solemn words of the Lord Jesus, would be likely to follow his source will be best estimated by any one who will compare the record in the two Evangelists of the words spoken by our Lord at the Institution of the Eucharist.

I proceed now to consider the question whether there are any indications in the New Testament that St Matthew records our Lord's words about Baptism with substantial accuracy.

(a) We find in St Luke (xxiv 43-49) an account of another discourse of the risen Lord which has points of contact with that contained in the last section of St Matthew. As in St Matthew so in St Luke 'all the nations' (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) are spoken of as the appointed sphere of the Church's work. Again, in St Luke the Gospel preached by the Apostles is to deal with 'repentance' and 'remission of sins'. But we have only to turn to the same writer's account of St Peter preaching on the day of Pentecost—'Repent and be baptized every one of you . . . unto remission of your sins' (Acts ii 38)—to see how closely 'repentance' and 'remission of sins' are related to Baptism. In fact in St Luke's record of the risen Lord's words the term 'Baptism' or 'baptize' seems to be implied but for some reason withheld. Once more, the reference to a proclamation of 'repentance' and 'remission of sins' to 'all the nations' is immediately followed by an allusion to the Lord Jesus, the Father, the Holy Spirit: 'And behold, I, even I, send the promise of my Father upon you'. Thus amid all differences in regard both to phraseology and to the presentation of ideas there is a substantial resemblance between the post-Resurrection discourse recorded by St Matthew and the post-Resurrection discourse recorded by St Luke.

(b) There is a series of passages in the Apostolic writings which contain a devotional reference to the Three Persons of the Trinity:

(1) Pauline, 2 Thess. ii 13 ff; 1 Cor. xii 4 ff; 2 Cor. xiii 14; Eph. ii 18; iii 14 ff; iv 3 f; cp. Acts xx 28; (2) Petrine, 1 Pet. i 2; (3) Johannine, Apoc. i 4; 1 John iii 23 f; iv 2; (4) other writings, Hebr. vi 4 ff; Jude 20 f. The writers speak without hesitation or misgiving. They assume that their friends to whom they write will at once understand their words about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Yet on the other hand to a Jew such language must have seemed revolutionary. How then should such an idea on the most awful of all subjects have arisen in the mind of a Jewish Apostle, much more in the minds of a group of Jewish Apostles? Such unanimity seems to postulate a word, or words, of Christ sanctioning the belief. A word of Christ, connected with a rite universally practised in the Church, at once explains a phenomenon for which it is not easy otherwise to account (see Dr Hort on the First Epistle of St Peter pp. 17 f).

(c) Lastly, have we in the New Testament traces of that doctrine of Baptism which is expressed in St Matthew's report of our Lord's words? Such apostolic language as that of St Paul in Eph. ii 18—'Through him [i.e. Christ] we both [i.e. Jews and Gentiles] have our access in one Spirit unto the Father'—sets forth that conception of the Christian's relation to God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which, in reference to the initiation of the Christian life, is contained in Matt. xxviii 19. No student of apostolic thought will feel any difficulty as to the doctrine that incorporation into Jesus Christ necessarily implies incorporation into the Father (cp. e.g. Mark ix 37; Rom. v 1 f; 1 Pet. iii 18; Heb. x 19 ff). It is of the essence of the work of the Mediator to 'bring' those who believe in Him to the Father Himself. But, though it may be said generally that there cannot be union with Christ without union with the Spirit of Christ (Rom. viii 9), some hesitation may be felt by some in regard to the doctrine that in Baptism the believer is united to the Spirit in the same sense in which he is united to the Father. In two passages, however, of the New Testament this thought is explicitly recognized. Consider in the first place the dialogue between St Paul and the disciples whom he found at Ephesus as reported in the Acts (xix 2 ff). In answer to the Apostle's enquiry whether they had received the Holy Ghost when they became

believers they replied, 'We have not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost'. His answer is the further question, 'Into what then were ye baptized (immersed)?' (*εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε*;) St Paul's question appears to be wholly irrelevant except on the assumption that he believed that those who were baptized were baptized (immersed) into the Spirit. In other words the dialogue seems to imply a knowledge of that conception of Baptism which is contained in Matt. xxviii 19. If we put aside the thought of a baptismal formula, no adverse inference can be drawn from the historical notice which follows, 'They were baptized (immersed) into the name of the Lord Jesus'. In the second place there are the words of St Paul in 1 Cor. xii 13, 'For indeed in one Spirit we were all immersed so as to form one body (*ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν*) . . . and were all made to drink of one Spirit'. Here too Baptism and incorporation into the Spirit are connected together. The metaphor of 'immersion in the Spirit' prepares the way for the second metaphor of Christian men drinking of one Spirit.

It is not, then, too much to say that the teaching contained in our Lord's words in Matt. xxviii 19 is presupposed in the thought and language of the Apostolic age. It is a fountain from which many streams flowed.

We have now reviewed the evidence on which an answer can be based as to the historical genuineness of the Baptismal Command which St Matthew records as the command of Christ. While we have no right to assume that in Matt. xxviii 19 we have the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord, we have, as I believe, no reason for thinking that the Evangelist is simply putting into our Lord's mouth a Church formula current when the Gospel was composed. When we compare the record of our Lord's sayings in St Matthew with the record of our Lord's sayings in St Mark, in my judgment we are justified in the belief that St Matthew records the command of Christ substantially in the form in which He uttered it.

It may be convenient that, in closing this article, I should recapitulate the main conclusions at which I have arrived and which I desire to commend to the consideration of students. They are these:

(1) There are grounds for thinking that the lost last section of St Mark, or its original (whether documentary or oral) was the source of the last section of St Matthew.

(2) There is not the slightest reason for questioning the integrity of the text in Matt. xxviii 19.

(3) We should translate rather than transliterate the word βαπτίζειν. The phrase 'to immerse into, or in the Name' necessarily connotes incorporation.

(4) Our Lord's words in Matt. xxviii 19 do not prescribe the use of a baptismal formula. They unfold the spiritual meaning of the rite. Baptism is the sacrament of incorporation.

(5) There is no reason to question that in Matt. xxviii 19 we have the substance of words actually spoken by the risen Lord.

F. H. CHASE.

NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CONTRA MARCELLUM*
AND THE *DE ECCLESIASTICA THEOLOGIA*.

MR CONYBEARE has contributed an article to the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, iv 4, 1903, pp. 330 ff, in which he maintains that the two books of the *contra Marcellum* and the three books of the *de Ecclesiastica Theologia* are the work not of Eusebius of Caesarea but of Eusebius of Emesa. His arguments are briefly as follows: (1) The writer of the *contra Marcellum* (ii 4, Migne *P. G.* xxiv 752) quotes a Letter of Marcellus. Epiphanius also, *Haer.* lxxii 2 (ed. Oehler ii pp. 50 f), quotes a Letter of Marcellus addressed to Julius, Bishop of Rome. When we compare the account of the one Letter with the account of the other Letter, we discover that they are not two Letters but one and the same. (2) At the beginning of the second book the writer of the *contra Marcellum* says that 'the times now call him to lay bare the impiety which for a long time had lurked in the man [i. e. Marcellus] and to strip it of the disguise of the Letter'. 'We know from other sources', Mr Conybeare argues (p. 331), 'that Julius was imposed upon by this Epistle in which Marcellus paraded the Roman Symbol as his own in order to obtain from the Pope a *testamentum* of orthodoxy.' (3) 'In Rome', he adds, 'they thought that Marcellus had been unjustly condemned in the Arian Synod of Antioch, and to this feeling reference is made in the second book of the *Ἀλεγχοί* p. 56 a [= Migne *P. G.* xxiv 824]: διὰ τοὺς ἡδικῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα νενομικότες.' (4) Lastly (p. 332), the author of the *contra Marcellum* 'repeatedly refers

to Eus. P. in the third person, and in the same context to himself in the first'.¹

Now the date of the Epistle to Julius is 340. A knowledge of this Letter, it is said, and of the results of this Letter is implied in the *contra Marcellum*. Hence, Mr Conybeare concludes, the *contra Marcellum* and the treatise which followed it, the *de Ecclesiastica Theologia*, cannot be the works of Eusebius of Caesarea; for he died 'at the very end of 338 or in the early days of 339'. Moreover, 'the dedication of the three last books to Flakillus indicates Eusebius of Emesa as their author' (p. 332).

I will consider these arguments in order. I desire to add that the object of this Note is not to endeavour to collect and review all the evidence in support of the common view as to the authorship of the two treatises in question, but simply to justify, in view of Mr Conybeare's arguments, my reference in the body of the article to the treatises against Marcellus as the work of Eusebius of Caesarea.

(1) Are we justified in identifying the Letter of Marcellus mentioned in the *contra Marcellum* with the Letter of Marcellus to Julius given in full by Epiphanius? It is true that in both Letters Marcellus protests that 'he had learned his faith out of the Divine Scriptures'. But such an assertion is the merest commonplace, and its presence in two documents is not the slightest proof that they are in truth one and the same document. Further, the Creed given in the Letter to Julius is, as is well known, our form of the Apostles' Creed save for some omissions and some slight variations. The only words which it is necessary to quote from the Creed in the Letter to Julius are these: πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατὸρ κτίστην, καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. The Creed quoted as from Marcellus's Letter in the *contra Marcellum* (Migne P. G. xxiv 752) is as follows: γέγραφε πιστεύω εἰς

¹ Mr Conybeare would, I believe, consider these the chief arguments in favour of his position. But he adduces other arguments also. (1) 'The style of the Elenchi [i. e. the *contra Marcellum*] is in every way different from that of Eusebius Pamphili.' My impression is different from that of Mr Conybeare. The laudatory passage from the *contra Marcellum* which I have quoted (p. 514), for example, seems to me exactly in the style of Eusebius. There is naturally a certain difference between a writer's style in a treatise of controversial theology and the same writer's style in a history or a laudatory biography. (2) Mr Conybeare thinks that the doctrinal position of the *contra Marcellum* is different from that of Eusebius. 'Eusebius belongs dogmatically to the pre-Trinitarian age,' he says. I will only say that (1) I think that Mr Conybeare exaggerates the importance of the Nicene epoch in the history of the doctrine of the Trinity; (2) I am quite ready to admit that there is a development, under the stress of controversy, in the doctrinal language of Eusebius and in the proportion of his dogmatic statements. On the theological opinions of Eusebius see Bishop Lightfoot's article on Eusebius of Caesarea in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* ii p. 347.

πατέρα θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ θεόν, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. When we compare this Creed with the Creed presented to Julius we notice (1) that in this Creed *πατέρα* is inserted; (2) that the titles of the Son in this Creed are different, and are given in a different order, from the titles of the Son in the Creed presented to Julius. The *εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* standing first corresponds to the *πατέρα* of the first clause. Above all, there is the notable phrase *τὸν μονογενῆ θεόν*. That is a distinctive phrase and seems at once to negative the possible suggestion that in the *contra Marcellum* we have an abbreviated and inaccurate version of the Creed presented to Julius. The case therefore for the identification of the Letter referred to in the *contra Marcellum* with the Letter to Julius preserved by Epiphanius breaks down on examination. I must go further and say that the evidence shews that the two Letters are distinct and independent documents. No reasonable being will feel any difficulty in thinking that Marcellus wrote two Letters at two different times in both of which he (1) affirmed that he 'had learned his faith out of the Divine Scriptures', and (2) quoted a Creed, the Creed in the one case being different from the Creed in the other case.

There is therefore no chronological reason for refusing to accept the assertion of Socrates (*H. E.* i 36) and the evidence afforded by the title of the Treatise itself that Eusebius of Caesarea wrote the three books of the *de Ecclesiastica Theologia* and consequently (since the opening words of this treatise refer to the earlier treatise) the *contra Marcellum* also.

It is now needless to examine at length those arguments which I have denoted as (2) (3). It must be remembered that from the time of the Council of Nicaea till his death Marcellus was in the thick of the Arian controversy. It is not likely that Julius was the only person whom his enemies alleged that he had deceived. As we shall see presently, he was not condemned for the first time at the Arian Synod of Antioch. And whenever he was condemned by a Synod, he and his friends would inevitably maintain that he had been condemned unjustly.

The argument (4) derived from the fact that the writer of the *contra Marcellum*, speaking in the first person, alludes to Eusebius by name is of some interest. Mr Conybeare gives the key-words of one typical passage (*contra Marcellum* i 4; Migne *P. G.* xxiv 749 f). I quote it in a slightly abbreviated form. 'I will set down (*θήσω*) first of all the words in which he essays to controvert that which has been written in accordance with the Church's faith, slandering the writers. For now he controverts Asterius. Now he turns against the great Eusebius, and next against that man of God, truly thrice happy, Paulinus, a man who was honoured by the presidency of the Church of the Antiochenes and

magnificently ruled the Church of the Tyrians as Bishop, and who was so illustrious in his episcopate that the Church of the Antiochenes claimed him as a blessing essentially their own. And yet at Paulinus, who so happily lived and so happily went to his rest, who long since [πάλαι—in A.D. 329] fell asleep, who never did him any harm—even at him this wonderful author jeers. Passing from Paulinus he makes war on Origen, who likewise long ago went to his rest. Next he assaults Narcissus; and he persecutes the other Eusebius (τὸν ἕτερον Εὐσέβιον διώκει); and in a word he does despite to all the Fathers of the Church, and is pleased only with himself.' In regard to this passage I would call attention to three points. (i) If Eusebius of Caesarea wrote the *contra Marcellum*, the elaborate panegyric of Paulinus is quite natural. Eusebius (*H. E.* x 1) dedicated his *Ecclesiastical History* to Paulinus; and the very rhetorical sermon on the occasion of the dedication of the great church at Tyre, which Eusebius has preserved (*H. E.* x 4), and of which it seems certain that he was the author¹, contains a passage of enthusiastic eulogy addressed to Paulinus. (ii) The author of the *contra Marcellum* calls Eusebius of Nicomedia 'the great Eusebius'. He praises the memory of Paulinus. If Eusebius of Emesa, a pupil of Eusebius of Caesarea, wrote the treatise within two or three years of the death of Eusebius of Caesarea, he would surely have added some words of laudation in the case of the dead Eusebius, the most distinguished ecclesiastic of his time, the favourite of the great Emperor, as in the case of the dead Paulinus. (iii) 'It is a literary impossibility', writes Mr Conybeare (p. 333), 'that the ἕτερος Εὐσέβιος should be the Eusebius who wrote these *Elenchi*.' I venture to appeal to facts. The history of Thucydides opens thus: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων. Lower down in the same short chapter we find the words ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων ὧν, ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μέγала νομίζω γένεσθαι. So v 26 (the third person gives place to the first person). Thucydides writes of himself in the first person in ii 48; he writes of himself as Thucydides in iv 104-107. Xenophon in the *Anabasis* (iii 1 4 and onwards) habitually refers to himself as Xenophon. The fact then that Eusebius of Caesarea is spoken of in the Treatise as ὁ ἕτερος Εὐσέβιος or as ὁ Εὐσέβιος, in a context where the first person is used, is no proof at all that Eusebius of Caesarea was not the author of the Treatise. There can be little doubt that he adopts the phrase used in each case by Marcellus; a modern writer would have used inverted commas.

¹ Eusebius introduces the sermon thus, καὶ τις ἐν μέσῳ παρελθὼν τῶν μετρίως ἐπεικῶν, λόγου σύνταξιν πεποιημένος . . . τοῖνδε παρέσχε λόγον. There can be no doubt that Eusebius means himself. His method of introducing himself as the preacher is instructive.

So far I have considered the argument which Mr Conybeare urges against the traditional view (which is in agreement with, and is perhaps based upon, the positive assertion of Socrates as to the *de Ecclesiastica Theologia*), that Eusebius of Caesarea is the author of the two treatises against Marcellus. These arguments seem to me to melt away under examination.

I now proceed to discuss a positive argument in favour of the traditional view. It is remarkable that Mr Conybeare omits to notice a passage near the end of the second book of the *contra Marcellum* (Migne *P. G.* xxiv 821 ff), which gives an account of the occasion of the composition of the treatise. I give the passage at length. 'It was but reasonable then that these doctrines should move the truly religious and thrice happy Emperor against the man, though he had flattered him in countless ways and in his treatise had expatiated on the praises of the Emperor. These doctrines also even against its will forced the holy Synod which met in the Imperial City and was gathered from divers Provinces, from Pontus and Cappadocia, from Asia and Phrygia, and from Bithynia and Thrace and from the regions beyond, in a document condemnatory of the man, publicly to brand him. These doctrines compelled ourselves also to embark on the present disquisition, that on the one hand we might thereby uphold the decision of the sacred Synod, and might on the other hand obey the injunctions of our fellow bishops that we should do this thing. And I think it especially needful that this document should be published for the sake of those who have imagined that the man has been unjustly treated. For we must needs soothe the suspicions of our brethren by proclaiming the man's impiety against the Son of God, which has long skulked in secret but has now been proved by means of his own tract, which of his own accord he presented to the Emperor, requesting him to peruse the contents thereof, hoping that he would himself obtain the Emperor's protection, and that the Bishops whom he traduced would be punished. But he did not attain what he hoped for. Pluming himself on his treatise, he approached the Emperor. But the Emperor entrusted the decision as to the contents thereof to the Synod. And the holy Synod of God condemned the treatise.'

The origin of the *contra Marcellum* is thus made clear. The author was asked to undertake the work by the members of a Synod which met in 'the Imperial City' and which condemned Marcellus's tractate. 'The Imperial City' where the Council met is clearly Constantinople. The Council of Constantinople in question must be that one which was held there in February 336. Proceedings against Marcellus had already commenced at the Council of Jerusalem, whence the Bishops were summoned by the Emperor to appear before him at

Constantinople (Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism* p. 87). It is very natural that Eusebius should dedicate a treatise against Marcellus (the *de Eccles. Theol.*) to Flacillus, Bishop of Antioch. For it appears probable that Flacillus presided over the Council of Tyre held in August 335 (Athan. *Apol. c. Ari.* 81; comp. Gwatkin *Studies* p. 86 n.), and possibly also at the subsequent Council of Jerusalem.

The account given in the *contra Marcellum* has independent support. We learn from Socrates *H. E.* i 36 (comp. Sozom. ii 33) that Marcellus and his book were condemned at the Council of Constantinople, and from Athanasius (*Apol. c. Ari.* 87) that Eusebius of Caesarea (Ἐρεπος Εὐσέβιος) was present at that Council.

The treatise against Marcellus, which the Bishops assembled at Constantinople requested Eusebius to compose, was doubtless taken in hand at once—i. e. shortly after February 336. There was abundant time for so practised a writer as Eusebius to finish this treatise, and the treatise on the same subject which followed it, before his death at the end of 338 or early in 339.

F. H. C.

[DR CHASE's argument seems to me to be complete and unanswerable from the standpoint which he has taken,—viz. meeting Mr Conybeare on his own ground, and accepting for the moment, without discussion, Mr Conybeare's assumption that the letter referred to in the *contra Marcellum* 19 b is at all events a letter of Marcellus. Granting that it is a letter of Marcellus, it seems quite certain that it is not the letter to Julius.

Also, it must, no doubt, be admitted that Eusebius might withhold his approval from Marcellus when he said that 'the Father was Father', and 'the Son Son', on account of the special use which Marcellus may have made of the phrases, although Eusebius himself and those who thought with him adopted the same form of words in order to safeguard the distinction of Persons (and perhaps to cover at least a modified subordinationism). Marcellus might well have insisted on the phrase 'the Son Son' in connexion with the theory attributed to him that the Logos was the title that corresponded to the eternal relation within the Godhead, whereas the Son (the historic person Jesus Christ) had only a limited and 'oeconomic' part to play (cf. *de Eccles. Theol.* i 5 p. 63 c).

But the passage does not read easily; and since Dr Chase's note was in type, further consideration has convinced me that the words which seem strange from the pen of Eusebius are not his words at all. They are just the words which we should expect from Marcellus himself about the opinions of Eusebius or of one of his school of thought. I was coming to this conclusion when I turned to Rettberg's *Marcelliana*. That admirable edition of the fragments of the writings of Marcellus,

published at Göttingen in 1794, which Zahn commended in 1867 (*Marcellus von Ancyra* p. 5) while he lamented that later writers on the subject made so little use of it, seems still to be neglected. We naturally read the *contra Marcellum* in the excellent print of the Oxford Press (ed. Gaisford 1852); and as a different type is used for the passages quoted from Marcellus, we can easily read there Marcellus too by himself. But of course we are at the mercy of the Editor, or even the compositor; and though Gaisford placed in the margin references to Rettberg's collection of the fragments, in this case either he did not read him correctly, or he deliberately (though without noting the fact) departed from his arrangement.

Rettberg prints the whole of the passage in question, *Ἀρξομαι τοίνυν ἀπ' αὐτῆς . . . καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὡσαύτως*, as a quotation from Marcellus. Reference to the context shews that he is right. Eusebius says of Marcellus *γράφει δ' οὖν ὀνομαστὶ κακῶς μνημονεύων ἀπάντων τούτων τὸν τρόπον*. Then follows the passage, *τούτων τὸν τρόπον* introducing the words which are cited (the same form of citation occurs just after). Then, at the end of the passage, come the words of Eusebius himself: *ταῦτα ὁ Μάρκελλος πρὸς Ἀστέριον, οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῷ τὸν πατέρα δὲν ἀληθῶς πατέρα ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀληθῶς υἱόν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὡσαύτως*. It is not Eusebius who finds fault with such expressions: it is Marcellus whom they do not please.

Eusebius has said just before that Marcellus set himself up as the single champion of the truth against the world and maligned by name a number of writers who had expressed themselves correctly and in accordance with the teaching of the Church. Then he gives a list of them (they are all men of the 'Arianizing' school). The first name in the list is that of Asterius, and—if I may borrow the method of positive assertion—the first quotation from Marcellus (the passage under discussion) deals with Asterius, ending with the words *ταῦτα ὁ Μάρκελλος πρὸς Ἀστέριον*. Then Eusebius goes on to cite and refute the attack of Marcellus on the others, in the order in which he has named them. References to Origen come in incidentally, and a good deal of space is devoted to the justification of Origen's expressions. (This is just what we should expect from Eusebius of Caesarea, and is an incidental confirmation of his authorship.) But the order of names is preserved all through, though there are repeated back-shots at those who have been already dealt with. (Marcellus was primarily concerned with the living—the insidious subverters of the Nicene faith, who had dared to pass through, as he says, his own diocese preaching heretical sermons. But they appealed to the authority of Origen; and so Origen comes in for his share of attention by the way, as the *fons et origo* of the whole mischief, just as Paulinus is attacked as 'the father' of Asterius.)

We see, then, that the words with which Marcellus finds fault are the words of Asterius ; words which Eusebius himself had used in his letter to his diocese, as he uses them earlier in this treatise (p. 4 c) ; words which were afterwards adopted in the Creed of the Dedication. This Creed, if not actually *the* Creed of Lucian, no doubt has a creed of Lucian as its basis (for summary of the discussion see Hahn *Symbole* ³ p. 184 note 60, and p. 187 note 90), and it is probable that these phrases were among the catchwords of the Lucianic School to which Asterius and so many of the Arianizing party belonged, and as such were adopted by Eusebius in his letter.

The Creed, too, which is quoted with approval, is not the Creed of Marcellus approved by Eusebius, but the Creed of Asterius, approved—so far as it goes—by Marcellus. (So it is probably the Creed of Lucian, and the passage furnishes incidental confirmation of the traditional view, based on Sozomen *H. E.* iii 5, that the Creed of the Dedication was actually Lucian's Creed. Other phrases, some of them going back to Origen, which were attacked by Marcellus and are defended in the *contra Marcellum*, are characteristic phrases of this Creed. Probably all the Lucianic writers who are attacked derived them from it.)

To sum up : the whole passage belongs to Marcellus ; the letter is the letter of Asterius ; the creed is the creed of Asterius (*rep. si vis* Lucian) ; the phrases criticized are those of the writers maligned by Marcellus, and approved by the author.

I do not think there is much left—if I may say so with all respect—of Mr Conybeare's argument. Among the rest the contrast τὸν ἱερεὸν Εὐσεβιον . . . ἐν δὲ . . . disappears. The passage in Athanasius *Apol. c. Ar.* 87, referred to by Dr Chase, may indicate that ὁ ἱερεὸς Εὐσεβιος was a common way of designating Eusebius of Caesarea. He and Eusebius of Nicomedia were, of course, two of the leading figures in the Arian controversy ; but though to us the heir of the library of Pamphilus is so immeasurably the more important of the two, he was not so in the eyes of his contemporaries. The designation ὁ μέγας Εὐσεβιος in the *contra Marcellum* is, I believe, the phrase of Marcellus himself, but anyhow it reflects contemporary opinion. In the writings of Athanasius ὁ Εὐσεβιος is always the Bishop of Nicomedia, the recognized head of the party with which the real battle for the Nicene faith was fought (οἱ περὶ Εὐσεβιον is Athanasius's regular phrase) : whereas the Bishop of Caesarea is always distinguished as such, or in the one passage cited as ἱερεὸς Εὐσεβιος. This latter Eusebius, writing against Marcellus in the third person, might well adopt both the current designations ; more particularly as his tract was intended to express the collective sentiments of the synod of Constantinople, and so he would naturally assume as impersonal a tone as he could—even to the extent of appealing, in his

own defence, to the evidence of his other writings, and describing them as 'circulated κατὰ πάντα τόπον' (p. 29 d), and so implying that there was no excuse for ignorance of his real opinions. (In the *Apol. c. Ar.* Athanasius, though usually writing in the first person, twice at least alludes to himself as 'Athanasius', §§ 36, 87, where he is referring no doubt to what was said about himself, but is not giving an actual quotation.)

I would only add:—(1) This tract was originally written anonymously, as we have seen; apparently as an amplification of the letter (ἡ κατ' αὐτοῦ γραφή p. 55 d) which was sent at once by the synod to the districts in which the writing of Marcellus might be expected to be best known, with the description of which letter given by Sozomen it closely corresponds (see Sozomen *H. E.* ii 33). It would thus be associated rather with the synod than with Eusebius himself, and may have had only a limited circulation for a long time as an anonymous tract. And so the silence of Socrates about it, while he quotes from our *de Eccles. Theol.* as a work of Eusebius in three books 'against Marcellus' (*Socr. H. E.* i 36; ii 20, 21), would be explained. The *contra Marcellum* was a fugitive tract, written *currente calamo*, to serve the purpose of the moment. The *de Ecclesiastica Theologia* is a more solid work, composed at leisure, to supplement an earlier one in which the author thought, he says, he had already done enough for the refutation of Marcellus by simply quoting his own expressions (*de Eccles. Theol.* preface). The later and calmer statement of the case superseded the earlier and more personal diatribe and defence. (No one, I suppose, who has read them, doubts that the five books are by the same hand, and that the *contra Marcellum* is the work alluded to in the dedication and the preface to the *de Eccles. Theol.* For the reference to ἡ πρὸ τούτου γραφή, imbedded in the text of the *de Eccles. Theol.* p. 176 a, see the *contra Marcellum* pp. 6 b, c; 7 c, d; 24-25; 32 c; 35 d; 36 ff; 43 ff.) (2) There is no doubt, as Mr Conybeare says, that the author of the *contra Marcellum* declares that Marcellus had written only one writing. But there is also no doubt that this writing had been composed, in opposition to a writing of Asterius, before the synod of Jerusalem, and that it was made the reason for his deposition at Constantinople. It was after this that Marcellus went to Rome. Clearly, therefore, this writing of Marcellus was not the letter to Julius. The fact is that Eusebius in this treatise calls the book of Marcellus a γραφή, a σδγγραμμα, and an ἐπιστολή. Just as the writing of Asterius (and probably others of the writings which were criticized by Marcellus) was in the form of a letter, so the writing of Marcellus himself may well have been in the form of a letter, perhaps a pastoral addressed to his own diocese, where the synod that condemned him ordered search to be made for

copies of it, that they might be destroyed (Soz. *loc. cit.*). And if it was a letter, Eusebius's rather peevish complaint of its length would be explained. Marcellus's writing would thus be an Epistle to the Galatians, and the references in it to St Paul's Epistle have special point. Eusebius's reply, like the synod's letter, was intended to serve as yet another Epistle to the Galatians, to convince the men who thought that their distinguished bishop had been wronged. Jerome (*de Vir. Ill.* 86) says Marcellus wrote 'many volumes', chiefly against the Arians. He was not the man to keep silence when attacked, and we may be sure that he would lose no time in replying to the synod's letter. Eusebius's amplification of it must, therefore, have been written before he had had time to compose a reply. (3) The curious and very unusual order of the words in the first article of the Creed *πιστεύειν εἰς πατέρα Θεόν*, of which I know no other instance, was probably Lucian's own order. It certainly could be used to support a strongly subordinationist doctrine, and one that made the three distinct Persons its starting-point; and it may well have been altered in the Creed accepted at Antioch in 341 as being strange and perhaps suspicious. (At the same time the more usual order *κύριον Ἰησοῦν . . . υἱόν* was adopted in the second article.) (4) On the passage before us Gaisford prints the note of Montacutius, who took it correctly as a quotation from Marcellus. I am sure, from my cursory reading, that a close examination of Gaisford's edition would expose other passages in which the type ought to be rearranged. (I have noted pp. 21 *d*-22 *d*, p. 25 *d*, p. 29 *b*—Gaisford pp. 44-46, 53, 60-61; and the type used for quotations from Scripture is in the earlier part of tract the same as that used for quotations from Marcellus, whereas in the latter part it is the type of the rest of the text, inverted commas being used to mark the quotation.) (5) Reference to Professor Gwatkin's *Studies in Arianism* (see 2nd edition pp. 42 n. 4, 44 n. 2, 120 n. 6, 173 n. 3) will shew that, before the question of the authorship of the *contra Marcellum* was raised, he took substantially the view of the passage under discussion which I have expressed, as regards its relation to the Creeds and the Lucianic school. Mr Gwatkin had read Marcellus in Rettberg's edition.—J. F. B-B.]

APHRAATES AND MONASTICISM.

It seems to be pretty generally agreed that Aphraates¹ was acquainted with monasticism, in fact that there were monks of some sort in that part of the Syriac-speaking Church with which he had to deal. As far as I know also this opinion is usually based on the language used by Aphraates of a class of persons whom he styles *B'nai Q'yâmâ*, which term has been translated 'Sons of the Covenant'.

A few years ago a new theory was started by Mr F. C. Burkitt², and the same has recently been maintained by him in his charming volume of lectures on *Early Eastern Christianity*³.

Mr Burkitt seems still to assume the existence of monks in the Church of Aphraates, in fact he refers to the Persian Sage himself as 'a monk and a bishop'. What is new in his theory is that the *B'nai Q'yâmâ* were not the monks, but 'simply the baptized laity of the early Syriac-speaking Church, and that in the earlier stages of that Church's developement no layman was accepted for baptism unless he was prepared to lead a life of strict continence and freedom from worldly cares'⁴. This theory forms an integral part of Mr Burkitt's view as to the constitution of the early Syriac Church. He writes⁵: 'He [Aphraates] only

¹ Aphraates flourished within the Persian Empire in the first half of the fourth century, and was probably a bishop. He wrote in Syriac twenty-two Discourses, or 'Demonstrations', in the form of letters to a friend, each beginning with the corresponding letter of the Semitic alphabet. The first ten were written in the year 337, the rest in 344 A.D. In 345 he added another *On the Cluster*. His writings were first edited in 1869 by Wright. In 1894 another edition, by Dom Parisot, appeared in Graffin's *Patrologia Syriaca*, accompanied by a rather unreliable Latin translation. Dr Gwynn, in vol. xiii of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, has translated eight of the Discourses into English, viz. i, v, vi, viii, x, xvii, xxi and xxii.

² *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*. Two Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1899.

³ *Early Eastern Christianity*. St. Margaret's Lectures, 1904, by F. Crawford Burkitt, Lecturer in Palaeography in the University of Cambridge. London: John Murray.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 137.

recognizes two grades in the Christian ranks, the baptized celibate (from whose ranks also the clergy are drawn) and the unbaptized penitent.' Again¹: 'The Christian Community is divided by Aphraates for practical purposes into two parts, the *B'nai Q'yāmā* and the Penitents.'

Mr Burkitt is here referring to the sixth and seventh Discourses of Aphraates, which treat respectively of the *B'nai Q'yāmā* and the *Tayyāḥē* or Penitents. His view then is that these two Discourses deal, the one with the baptized laity, the other with the Catechumens, and that the conditions for admission to baptism were continence and renunciation of all worldly encumbrances (in accordance with Aphr. vi).

I venture to think, however, that this explanation of the constitution of Aphraates' Church, attractive as it is at first sight, will not bear examination; for the *Tayyāḥē* of Discourse vii cannot possibly, I think, have been Catechumens; while there are strong reasons to think that there was a class of baptized lay Christians distinct from the *B'nai Q'yāmā*.

It is the case of the latter that I wish especially to reconsider in the following pages, but it will be more satisfactory to examine first the significance of the term *Tayyāḥē*.

I must premise that Aphraates' seventh Discourse deals, to all appearance, with two different classes of people: at least the distinction must be observed if the penitents spoken of in §§ 1-16 are Catechumens, for from the beginning of § 18 and onward he is certainly speaking of the *B'nai Q'yāmā*. I am inclined to think that the transition begins with § 17.

In order to find out who and what the *Tayyāḥē* were who form the subject of §§ 1-16 it is necessary first to discover the meaning of the corresponding term *t'yāḥūthā*, which we may represent for the present by the colourless word 'repentance'.

Now if we assume that *Tayyāḥē*, 'Penitents', bears a technical meaning, as denoting the members of a recognized grade in the Christian Society, viz. the Catechumens, we shall naturally expect that 'repentance' will signify the corresponding Catechumen *state*. But it is abundantly evident that the word in this Discourse denotes not merely a state in which the members of a whole grade find themselves by virtue of their standing in the Society, but some

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 133.

definite act, or course of action, in which individuals who have been guilty of actual sin are exhorted to participate for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness of their sins. I believe this will be sufficiently proved by the passages which shall presently be cited.

What then could this act be by which the Penitents (in the sense of Catechumens) were to obtain forgiveness of their sins? It could only be one thing—baptism; for this was the only (sacramental) means available for Catechumens.

It remains to examine whether the meaning 'baptism' for *ἔγδαβήθη* will satisfy the requirements of Aphraates' language. This can only be done by quoting at length from Discourse vii¹.

§ 1. Aphraates begins by saying that 'of all those who have been born and clothed in a body one alone is innocent, even our Lord Jesus Christ'. Then, after quoting Scripture to prove this, he continues:

Again, there is none other of the sons of Adam that goeth down to the contest and is not wounded and buffeted; for since Adam transgressed the commandment sin hath reigned. And by many it hath been buffeted, and many it hath wounded and killed; but it no man of the many ever killed until our Saviour came and took it and nailed it to His cross. And though it be nailed to the cross, yet its sting remaineth and pricketh many, until an end be made and its sting be broken.

§ 2. There is a drug for every disease, and when a skilful physician hath found it it (the disease) is cured. And for those that are wounded in our contest there is the drug of repentance, which they may put upon their sores and be healed. O ye physicians, disciples of our wise Physician, take you this drug, and with it ye shall heal the plagues of them that are sick. They that do battle and are stricken by the hand of him that fighteth against them, when they have found them a wise physician he hath a care for their curing, that he may heal them that are wounded. And when the physician hath healed him that was stricken in the battle, he receiveth gifts and honour of the king. Even so, beloved, he that toileth in our contest, and his enemy cometh upon him and woundeth him,—it behoveth to give him repentance as a drug when the wounded man's soul is exceeding penitent. For God rejecteth not penitents, for Ezechiel the prophet saith, 'I will not the death of the dead sinner, but that he turn from his evil way and live'.

§ 3. He that is smitten in battle is not ashamed to place himself in

¹ The sections are numbered as in Parisot's edition.

the hands of a wise physician because the battle hath gone against him and he is stricken ; and when he is cured the king rejecteth him not, but counteth him with his army. So should not a man whom Satan hath wounded blush to confess his sin and turn away from it and ask for the physic of repentance. For whosoever is ashamed to shew his sore is taken with the gangrene, and the infection reacheth to the whole body ; but he that is not ashamed, his sore is healed, and he returneth and again goeth down to the contest. But he that hath developed the gangrene can no more be cured, nor put on again the armour which he hath laid aside. So also whosoever is overcome in our contest, this way is open to him to be cured, that he say ' I have sinned ', and seek repentance. But he that is ashamed cannot be healed, because he will not make known his sore to the physician who received two dinars for which he will cure all them that are wounded¹.

§ 4. It is your duty, O ye physicians, disciples of our glorious Physician, not to withhold healing from him that hath need to be healed. Whosoever sheweth you his wound, give him the physic of repentance. And if any one is ashamed to shew his disease, counsel him that he hide it not from you. And when he hath revealed it to you, publish it not, lest on his account even the innocent be deemed guilty by (our) enemies, &c.

§ 5. But if those that have been smitten will not make known their sores, then do the physicians incur no blame that they have not healed them that are sick of their wounds. And if they that are wounded will hide their diseases they cannot again put on armour, because they have fostered the gangrene in their bodies, &c.

§ 6. But he also that hath shewn his sore and hath been cured, let him have a care of that place that was healed, that he be not smitten thereon a second time ; for when one is smitten a second time his cure is hard, even to a skilful physician ; for a wound received upon an (old) scar is not to be healed ; and even though it should be healed he cannot again put on armour ; or, should he even dare to put on armour, he will usually suffer defeat.

§ 8. You again that are wounded I counsel that ye be not ashamed to say, ' We have been worsted in the contest '. Receive for nought the drug, and be converted and live or ever ye be killed outright. You again I would put in mind, ye physicians, that it is written in the books of our wise Physician that He did not withhold repentance, &c.

§ 11. Hear, ye also who hold the keys of the gates of heaven, and open ye the gates to penitents, &c. [The sinner is not to be despised, but to be admonished as a brother.]

§ 12. To you penitents I say that ye reject not this way that is given

¹ Is this a reference to Luke x 35 ?

you to be healed ; for He saith in the Scriptures, 'He that confesseth his sin and leaveth it, God hath mercy on him', &c.

§ 13. . . . The shepherd is concerned for the one sheep that is lost out of the whole flock more than for those that went not astray, &c.

§ 15. O ye that ask for repentance, ye are like to Aaron, the chief of priests . . . David also, the chief of the kings of Israel, confessed his iniquity and was forgiven. Simon too, the chief of the disciples, when he denied that he had ever seen Christ, and cursed and swore, 'I know not the man',—yet when he repented in his heart, and multiplied the tears of his weeping, our Lord received him, and made him the foundation, and called him Cephas, the Building of the Church¹.

These lengthy extracts contain practically all Aphraates has to tell us about penitents and 'repentance' in §§ 1-16. I do not think there is anything in what I have left out that would tend to modify the meaning of the passages quoted.

I hope that what I said above—that *t'yāḡāthā*, or 'repentance,' cannot denote the Catechumen state—may now appear sufficiently proved, without the need of further discussion.

To my mind it lies equally on the surface of Aphraates' language that the word cannot stand for the reception of baptism:

1. In the passages quoted Aphraates describes 'repentance' as a 'physic' or 'drug' by which sinners are restored in some measure to their former state of spiritual health, and are enabled to carry on the same spiritual contest in which they were before engaged. There is not the smallest indication that 'repentance' is regarded as the door to a higher grade of Christian life than that which was before.

2. Aphraates contemplates the possibility of a repetition of 'repentance', though he implies that this is unusual.

3. So far I have been arguing only from the language of §§ 1-16, because, as I have already hinted, there is reason to think that in the remaining sections of this Discourse Aphraates has in mind a different class of persons from those treated of in the first part. Whether this be so or not, the language used in § 17 of 'repentance' is quite incompatible with the explanation of that term as meaning either the Catechumen state or the remission of sins through baptism. The section takes the form of a direct and

¹ According to Aphraates' view Simon was already baptized, for he held that Christ baptized the Apostles when He washed their feet before the Eucharist.

personal appeal on the part of Aphraates to his friend ; and we cannot help being struck by the complete change of tone which marks it off from those preceding it. Having hitherto used all his powers of persuasion in exhorting certain persons to make use of 'repentance', he now takes up an entirely new attitude, and treats the possibility of his friend ever coming to need 'repentance' as a serious calamity. Having emphasized the fact of God's mercy, and the efficacy, nay necessity, of 'repentance' with confession of sin, he now goes to the opposite extreme in warning his friend :

I beseech thee, beloved, he writes, by the mercies of God, slacken nothing of thy diligence on account of what I have written to thee, that God rejects not penitents.

He seems to say that 'repentance' is to some extent incongruous with the state of life of such a one as his friend :

Do not thou come to need repentance . . . This hand is reached out to sinners, but the righteous require it not.

Could such language possibly be used of baptism? He goes on to say that 'repentance' is an extreme remedy ; the patient will never be quite the same man after it :

Lose not that which thou hast, lest thou weary thyself to seek it, (and know not then) whether thou hast found it or no. And even if thou find it, it is not like (that which was) thine ; for he that hath sinned and repented resembles not him that was far from sin. Love the more excellent (*or* higher) part, and separate thyself from all that falleth short (thereof). Strive manfully in thine armour, that thou be not stricken in the battle. Have no need to ask for physic, or to weary thyself to go to a physician. Even when thou art healed thy scars will not remain unknown. Be not confident that, lo ! there is repentance, and so bring down thy good name ; but be superior to repentance. He whose garment is torn must needs have it patched, yet even when it is sewn there is none that doth not detect it, &c.

Here 'repentance' is spoken of as a particular course of action to be adopted by those who have committed actual sin : it is possible, and far preferable, never to require it : it puts a slur upon a man's character which can never be quite removed. It is out of the question to apply such language to baptism. What then does *tydpatthā* mean? As used in this Discourse the word clearly refers to that discipline which we know to have existed

in other parts of the Christian Church much earlier than the time of Aphraates, and which we have no *a priori* grounds for banishing from the early Syriac Church: I mean the discipline of Penance, by which those guilty of scandalous sins obtained ease in their consciences before God, and outwardly were restored to fellowship in the Christian community.

A comparison of Aphraates' penitential system with that of other churches is no part of my present subject; but one or two points may be noted:

1. Publicity is to some extent avoided (§ 4); and in accordance with this we have the emphasis laid quite as strongly on the idea of forgiveness of sins as on the readmission to Church rights.

2. A prominent part is assigned to the ministers of penance: they are the physicians: they hold the keys of the gates of heaven: they have power to refuse (rightly or wrongly) to admit a sinner to penance.

Now if *t'yâḡāthā* means penance, there is no further justification for making the *Tayyāḡē* Catechumens, especially when a little further on we find Aphraates exhorting persons who are 'solitaries and *B'nai Q'yāmā* and holy' to submit to penance (§ 25).

It appears then that the Seventh Discourse has for its subject Penitents and Penance, and not Catechumens and Baptism. The penitents are not a *grade*, but only an 'accidentally' constituted class, who may belong to any grade within the baptized community.

We now come to the *B'nai Q'yāmā*; and the question as to their identity is more difficult to answer. Mr Burkitt's view—that they were simply the baptized laity of the early Syriac Church, and that continence and renunciation of worldly possessions were required of all baptized Christians—is based mainly upon the language used by Aphraates in § 20 of this Discourse.

I give the passage in his translation.

§ 20. Wherefore thus should the trumpeters, the heralds of the Church, cry and warn all the Society of God before the Baptism—they, I say, that have offered themselves for virginity and for holiness, youths and maidens holy—they shall the heralds warn. And they shall say: 'He whose heart is set to the state of matrimony, let him marry before baptism, lest he fall in the spiritual contest and be killed. And he that feareth this part of the struggle, let him turn back, lest he break his

brother's heart like his own. He also that loveth his possessions, let him turn back from the army, lest when the battle shall wax too fierce for him he remember his property and turn back, and he that turneth back then [*lit.*, from the contest] is covered with disgrace. He that hath not offered himself and hath not yet put on his armour, if he turn back he is not blamed; but every one that offereth himself and putteth on his armour, if he turn back from the contest becometh a laughing-stock¹.

The section concludes: 'He that strippeth himself is meet for the fight, for he remembereth not aught that is behind him to turn back to it.'

The passage, as it stands, does favour the view Mr Burkitt has adopted, in so far that the conditions laid down seem to be those for baptism. But Mr Burkitt himself says this view is 'amazing'; and indeed it seems almost incredible that such an idea of baptism could have been held by a writer or in a church that accepted the Acts and the Pauline Epistles as canonical Scripture. It will be worth while, therefore, to examine carefully the above passage in its context, and see whether some other more likely interpretation cannot be put upon it. I cannot help feeling that the piece is shewn in a different light when restored to its context, and that the warnings, which at first sight seem to apply directly to candidates for baptism, are in reality meant for persons aspiring to enter a grade which lies beyond that of the ordinary baptized Christian.

Let us set forth the context at length.

§ 18. O ye that have been summoned to the contest, hear the sound of the trumpet and take courage. To you also I speak who hold the trumpets, priests and scribes and sages: call, and say to all the people: 'He that is afraid, let him turn back from the contest, lest he break his brother's heart as his own heart. And he that planteth a vineyard, let him return and tend it, lest he think of it and be defeated in the battle. And he that hath betrothed a wife and wisheth to take her, let him return and rejoice with his wife. And he that buildeth a house, let him return to it, lest he remember his house and fight not with all his might². For solitaires³ is the contest fitting, because their faces are set toward that which is before them, and they remember not aught that is behind

¹ *Early Eastern Christianity* p. 125 f.

² From Deut. xx 5 ff.

³ *Ihōdāyē*.

them; for their treasure is before them, and what spoil they take cometh all to themselves, and they receive an overflowing abundance.' To you (again) I speak who blow upon the trumpets. When ye have completed your exhortation mark them that go back, and them that are left review, and bring them to the waters of probation, even them that have offered themselves for the battle: the waters will prove every one that is strenuous, and from there will they that are slothful be separated.

§ 19. Hear now, beloved, this mystery, the likeness of which Gideon foreshewed. When he had gathered the people for war the scribes warned (them with) the words of the Law and the passages which I have quoted for thee above. Then much people went back from the army. And when there were left those that were chosen for the battle, the Lord said to Gideon: 'Bring them down to the water and prove them there. He that lappeth the water with his tongue is impatient and eager to go to the battle; but he that lieth on his belly to drink the water is too slack and feeble for the battle.' Great is this mystery, beloved, which Gideon wrought long ago, shewing a type of Baptism, and a mystery of the Contest, and an example of the Solitaries; for he first of all warned the people by the trial of the water; again, when he had proved them by the water, from ten thousand there were chosen but three hundred men to undertake the contest. Now this agrees with the word which our Lord spoke, that the called are many and the chosen few.

§ 20. [See above.]

§ 21. And when they have preached to and instructed and warned all the Society of God, let them bring to the waters of baptism them that have been chosen for the contest, and prove them. And after the baptism let them observe those that are strenuous and those that are feeble: the strenuous they must encourage, and those that are slack and feeble let them send back again from the contest openly, lest when war is come upon them they steal away their armour and flee and be defeated. For He said to Gideon: 'Bring down to the water them that have offered themselves.' And when the people was come down to the water, the Lord said to Gideon: 'All they that lap the water as a dog lappeth with his tongue, these shall go with thee to the battle, and all they that lie down to drink the water, they shall not go with thee to the battle,' &c. [Aphraates proceeds to shew that those ultimately chosen were fittingly compared to dogs: for the dog is the most faithful of all animals, keeping watch for its master day and night. 'So are those strenuous ones who are separated at the water': they are ready to die for their Master: keep watch for Him day and night, and bark when they meditate in His law.]

§ 22. Again the Lord said to Gideon: 'They that lie down to drink

the water shall not go with thee to the battle, lest they be defeated and fall in the battle'; for they had already by a mystery foreshewed (their) fall, in that they drank the water slothfully. Wherefore, beloved, they that go down to the contest ought not to be like those slothful ones, lest they turn back from the fight and become a disgrace to their companions.

§ 25. All these things I have written to thee, beloved, because there are in our generation some who offer themselves to be solitaires and *B'nai Q'yâmâ* and holy; and we are carrying on a contest against our enemy, and our enemy is fighting against us to turn us back to the state from which we have freely separated ourselves. And some of us are defeated and stricken, and whereas they are guilty they justify themselves; and although we know their sin they persevere in this mind and will not draw near to repentance, &c.

On reading these passages the impression we get at the outset is that Aphraates is wishing to enforce strict discipline on a point in which practice has grown lax. This impression is certainly correct: in the ranks of a certain grade of the Society scandals had occurred (see § 25) which plainly shewed the necessity for greater care in the selection of its members. And so in § 18 the priests and others responsible are told to warn 'all the people', with words taken from Deut. xx 5 ff, to the effect that any one who is afraid, or has his heart set upon worldly possessions, or has betrothed a wife must turn back, for 'for solitaires (only) is the contest fitting'. We notice here that the state of life undertaken by the grade in question is referred to as the 'contest', and the persons who undertake the 'contest' are called 'solitaires' (*ḥāḏayē*). To this terminology Aphraates carefully adheres in what follows. It remains to be seen whether he will afford any information which may help us to discover what grade in the community it was to which these 'solitaires' belonged.

Aphraates closes § 18 by saying that they (the priests, &c.) are to observe those that depart after the warning, and to review those that remain, and 'bring them down to the waters of probation', for 'the waters will prove every one that is strenuous, and those that are slothful will from there be separated'.

What he means by this appears immediately.

He opens § 19 by saying that Gideon of old enacted a scene which was symbolical of the present situation. He then recites from Judges vii 5 ff the story of how Gideon selected an army

for a particular battle. In quoting the instructions given by God to Gideon he sharply distinguishes three classes of persons: (1) those who depart after the warning¹; (2) and (3) those who are rejected and those who are chosen *after* the trial by water².

Then he tells us what all this signifies: 'Great is this mystery, beloved, which Gideon did long ago, shewing a type of Baptism, and a mystery of the Contest, and a likeness of the Solitaries.' Evidently baptism is the water test, the 'contest' is the battle, and the 'solitaries' are the men chosen for the battle. Then Gideon carries out his instructions: 'for he first of all warned the people by the trial of the water³'; again, when he had proved them by the water, from ten thousand there were chosen but three hundred men to undertake the contest.' Here it can scarcely be questioned that Aphraates regards the distinction into two classes *after* the trial by water as a vital point in his illustration.

Having thoroughly propounded his parable he proceeds, in §§ 20-22, to apply it in detail to the case in hand. What should be carefully noted is that in § 20 (which contains the reference to marriage 'before baptism') he gets no farther in the explanation of his parable than the warning before the trial by water (corresponding to the admonition before baptism). Now if baptism were the ultimate goal to be reached by Aphraates' people, it is evident that when the warning had been delivered and a number had departed no further division of the people would remain to be made; for baptism would merely put the seal upon that already effected, and the people would remain distinguished into only two classes. Aphraates would consequently be obliged to cut short at this point the application of his story, and the remaining points which he had been at such pains to emphasize—that the water itself was merely a test, albeit the chief test, and that the final selection for the battle came after the trial of the water—these prominent points would be simply wasted, the story itself would be rendered absolutely pointless, and we should be left to wonder at the extraordinary

¹ He makes Gideon warn the people in the language of Deut. xx 5 ff.

² Aphraates has already told us by anticipation (§ 18) that there are three classes in the Christian Society corresponding to these.

³ This seems to be a condensed way of saying 'he first warned the people and then tried them by the water'.

irrelevancy of the supposed parable. But no such bewildering situation confronts us; for Aphraates goes straight on in §§ 21-22 to work out the full application of his parable, just as we should have expected of him. He says that, after the exhortation, those who have been (so far) approved 'for the contest' are to be brought 'to the waters of baptism'—which can only mean that they are to be baptized; and 'after the baptism' they (i.e. the priests, &c., see § 18) are to observe those that are strenuous and those that are feeble: the strenuous they must encourage, and those that are slack and feeble they are to 'send back from the contest openly'.

Here we find definitely stated, what we have already been given to understand plainly enough in §§ 18 and 19, that the final selection for the 'contest' is made *after* baptism. This selection of members for a particular grade in the Community is the leading idea of the context as a whole (§§ 18-22), and the conditions laid down in §§ 18 and 20 are primarily conditions for membership of this grade. It is the one sentence in § 20, to the effect that those bent on matrimony should (or, might) marry before baptism, that has lent colour to the view that the call spoken of is a call to baptism; but this view stultifies the plain language of the surrounding context. Read in its context the sentence about marriage *need* mean no more than that those who have already set their heart on matrimony are, by that very fact, disqualified for membership of the higher grade of baptized Christians, and are free to marry at once without the necessity of proceeding to the real test (baptism)¹. It is as though Gideon had been instructed to say: 'Let him that hath betrothed a wife

¹ It is a misconception to suppose such language implies any disparagement of marriage, or that there is anything new (or rather, characteristically old) in such recognition of the marriage of Catechumens as an honourable and binding contract, in fact as real marriage (see St Augustine's *Confessions*, bk. ii ch. 3, where he blames his mother for not wishing to have him honestly married long before his conversion). In xviii § 8 Aphraates speaks of matrimony as a thing in itself good: 'Upon matrimony, which was given to the world by God, we cast no slur, God forbid!' In xviii § 12 he says of virginity: 'A great reward is in store for this state, because we observe it of our free will, and not through subjection to the restraint of a commandment, and we are bound therein under no law.' In xiv § 43 he enumerates the evil effects of jealousy: amongst other things 'jealousy has separated wives from their husbands, and by it children rise up against their parents.'

return and rejoice with his wife before the trial of the water.' This of course would only mean that it was needless for such a one to take any further step with a view to being included in the army: it would have no bearing one way or the other on the question as to whether he might or might not go down to drink the water for other reasons.

It is probable, however, that we have here an incidental reference to a particular discipline connected with baptism, and that persons who had already decided upon matrimony may have been required to marry before baptism¹. Considering the corrupt influence of Persian morals to which the Christians of that region must have been exposed, the existence of such a practice would cause us no surprise. But in any case the reference to it is merely incidental; and moreover the language does not seem to imply that people living the married life were disqualified for baptism, rather the contrary: 'let them marry *before* baptism'.

The rest of § 21 is taken up with shewing how appositely the Solitaries are compared to dogs. Having enumerated some of the good qualities of the dog, Aphraates notes that those who are 'separated at the water' resemble the dog in this, amongst other things, that they keep watch for their Master day and night, and 'bark when they meditate in His Law'.

In § 22 he has just a word on those who were rejected from the 'contest' after baptism. He speaks of them in terms of the story, for the application is so obvious that there is no need to point it: 'they [i.e. the majority of Gideon's ten thousand] had', he says, 'already by a mystery foreshewed their fall [i.e. that they would have fallen had they gone on to the battle] in that they drank the water slothfully.'

I think the evidence so far fairly warrants the following summary of Aphraates' argument.

1. Persons wishing to undertake that state of life which he calls figuratively 'the contest', wishing, that is, to become 'solitaries', were to be carefully warned of their obligations beforehand. This applied especially to those who were young and not yet baptized, 'youths and maidens holy'.

¹ An analogy may be found in the present practice of some portions of the Eastern Church, which, though it forbids priests to marry, does not deny them the use of marriage contracted before ordination.

2. These last, if they persevered after the warning, were then to be baptized.

3. After baptism they were to be kept under observation for a time, in other words to be subjected to a sort of novitiate. Finally, some would be dismissed openly, and apparently without censure, and would remain simply baptized lay Christians¹; others would be chosen to become 'solitaries'. Now these 'solitaries' are none other than the *B'nai Q'yāmā*. This is quite certain: in the Discourse on the *B'nai Q'yāmā* (vi) the two terms are synonymous (see vi § 8; cf. § 4); in viii § 23 Aphraates actually refers to the Discourse on the *B'nai Q'yāmā* as that on the 'solitaries'. That the identification holds good in the Discourse under consideration (vii) we see from § 25, where Aphraates tells us that his reason for writing as he has done is that some who have undertaken the 'contest', offering themselves to be 'solitaries and *B'nai Q'yāmā* and holy', have fallen from their high ideal.

All then that has been said about the Solitaries applies to the *B'nai Q'yāmā*, and they formed therefore in the Church of Aphraates a class apart from the ordinary baptized laity. I admit that when all has been said some things remain obscure. Although it is clear that the ultimate choice of members for the ascetical state is made *after* baptism, still words in §§ 18, 19 and 21 do seem to imply that all who approach baptism are in reality aspirants to that state. But on the other hand the alternative contemplated in § 20 appears to be either a provisional promise of celibacy or marriage *before* baptism, and not the denial of baptism to married people. My own solution of the difficulty lies in the twofold consideration that, (1) Aphraates, in Discourse vii, is directly dealing not with baptism but penance, and, in the latter part, with the recruiting of members for the *B'nai Q'yāmā* or higher grade of the baptized, and (2) his exposition is cloaked in an allegorical exegesis of Scripture, and so it is unsafe to draw strict conclusions in matters of practice from what may be mere rhetorical allusion.

¹ Aphraates' title for the baptized laity seems to have been simply 'the Faithful'; cf. *Disc. x* (fin.), 'read and learn, thou and the brethren, the *B'nai Q'yāmā*, and the *B'nai Haimānūthan*' (i. e. 'Sons of our Faith').

If my contention holds good I can see no further objection to calling the *B'nai Q'yâmâ* 'monks', for:

1. Their manner of life was characteristically monastic, requiring celibacy, poverty, constant vigils and fasting, and the dwelling apart of the sexes.

2. These are the only sort of monks with whom Aphraates shews any acquaintance. Dom Parisot, in the Introduction to his edition of Aphraates' *Homilies*, considers that the term *B'nai Q'yâmâ* is used by him to denote monks in general, especially coenobites; so too M. Labourt¹. Wright² thought that Aphraates was himself 'probably a bishop of the convent of Mâr Matthew near Mosul'.

But was the monastery at Mosul in existence at this time? Or is there any evidence that coenobite monasticism had yet travelled so far East? The first monastery in Mesopotamia is said to have been founded at Nisibis by an Egyptian, Mâr Awgin by name, *circa* 325 A.D.³; but according to the same authority there was no widespread propagation of coenobite monasticism within the Persian Empire until after 363 A.D., when Nisibis was occupied by Sapor II. That monarch is said to have then permitted the monks to build churches and monasteries within his dominions. Again, the words 'coenobite' and 'monastery' do not occur in Aphraates' writings; but, considering his insistence on the characteristically monastic virtues, it would be a marvel indeed that he, a monk and bishop, and writing to one who was evidently of the same class as himself, should speak of those virtues as the distinguishing mark of a different class of people, whilst passing over his own monks without a single word.

3. The title *B'nai Q'yâmâ* itself was in use not so very long after Aphraates' time as a well-established technical term to denote a class of persons who lived under rule and were distinct from the ordinary laity. Moreover other words which are found

¹ J. Labourt *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris, 1904, p. 29.

² *Syriac Literature* p. 33.

³ See Dr Budge's Introduction to *The Book of Governors* p. cxxv ff, where he gives an abstract of the Life of Mâr Awgin; for the Life see Bedjan *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* vol. iii p. 376 ff. Labourt, *op. cit.* pp. 302 ff, shews that little reliance can be placed on the Life of Awgin as representing a genuine tradition; any kernel of fact which it contains belongs to a much later date.

in use later as technical terms in connexion with monasticism are freely applied to the *B'nai Q'yāmā*. Such are 'solitary', 'the solitary state' (ܩܕܝܫܐ), and 'holy' or 'chaste' (ܩܕܝܫܐ). One or two more also are, I have no doubt, used by Aphraates with reference to the *B'nai Q'yāmā*, since these are the only persons mentioned by him to whom they could well be applied, and the words themselves have not a more distinctively monastic application than those certainly used of this class. Such words are ܩܕܝܫܐ 'sadness' or 'asceticism'¹; the verb ܩܕܝܫܐ 'to practise asceticism'²; and the verb ܩܕܝܫܐ 'to be as a Nazirite', 'to vow abstinence (from)'³. Evidently the word *thōdāyā*, 'solitary', had not in Aphraates' time acquired the special sense of 'hermit', but simply described the *B'nai Q'yāmā* as men living a life of celibacy and renunciation of worldly possessions. The other words just mentioned seem never to have been used of one class of monks more than another, and they cannot be taken, in the absence of positive evidence, as indications that Aphraates had dealings with any monks other than the *B'nai Q'yāmā*. The nucleus of the technical monastic vocabulary in Syriac seems to have been formed in connexion with them. They were, I believe, the first ascetics of the Syriac-speaking Church. 'The earliest practice of asceticism in the Christian Church', says Dom Butler, speaking of early Christian asceticism generally, 'did not lead its votaries to withdraw from the world; they carried on the ascetical life in the midst of their families, keeping fasts, abstaining from marriage, and devoting themselves to prayer and good works.'⁴

The *B'nai Q'yāmā* answer almost exactly to this description; consequently they should not be treated as though they were practically identical with the coenobites, or monks proper. Rabbūla⁵, writing a couple of generations after Aphraates, clearly distinguishes the two classes. Coenobitism almost certainly came to Mesopotamia from Egypt or Syria, though it is more than doubtful whether there were any monasteries within the

¹ Aphraates i 4.

² *Ibid.* iii 1.

³ *Ibid.* iii 1.

⁴ *The Lausiac History* vol. I p. 230.

⁵ Bishop of Edessa from 411 till 435 A. D. See Overbeck *S. Ephraemi Syri Aliorumque Opera Selecta* pp. 210-220. Rabbūla as clearly distinguishes the *B. Q.* from the laity.

Persian Empire in the fourth century; the *B'nai Q'yâmâ* on the other hand probably represent a native growth of asceticism.

If they cannot quite strictly be styled 'monks' it will be a difficult task to prove that there were yet any monks at all in that part of the Syriac-speaking Church for which Aphraates wrote.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Since the above has been in type I have noticed the following interesting parallel to Aphraates' treatment of the passage in Judges. Origen's *Hom. ix in Jud.* (extant only in Rufinus's translation) deals with the same story of Gideon. Origen also understood the trial by water of baptism: he interprets the twenty-two thousand who depart after Gideon's admonition as those catechumens who refused to approach baptism through pusillanimity; the remaining ten thousand 'ad aquam veniunt ut ibi probentur'. The 'proof' consists in this: 'quia ii qui descendunt ad aquam, id est, qui ad baptismi gratiam veniunt, non debent procidere in terram, nec flectere genua sua, et cedere tentationibus venturis, sed stare firmiter et constanter, sicut et Propheta dicebat: *Demissas manus, et dissoluta genua erigite*¹, et, *gremium rectum facile semitis vestris*². Venisti ad aquam baptismi, istud est certaminis et pugnae spiritalis initium, hinc tibi adversum Zabulum nascitur pugnae principium. Si remissior fueris, si flecti facile potueris, quomodo pugnabis? Quomodo stabis adversus astutias Zabuli? Propterea et Apostolus clamat: *State ergo: et nolite iterum iugo servitutis haerere*³. Et iterum dicit: *State in Domino*⁴. Et tertio dicit: *Quoniam tunc vivimus, si vos statis in Domino*⁵. Ille igitur probabilis, ille electus est, qui posteaquam ad aquas baptismi ventum est, flecti ad necessitates terrenas et corporeas nescit, qui vitiis non indulget, neque ob peccati sitim sternitur pronus. Sed et quod dicit eos manu, vel lingua aquam lambere, non absque sacramenti quadam significantia hoc mihi videtur scriptum, scilicet quod et manu et lingua operari debent milites Christi, hoc est, opere et verbo: quia *qui docet et facit, hic magnus vocabitur in regno caelorum*⁶. Quod autem etiam similitudinem canis lambentis scriptura posuit, videtur mihi istud animal hoc in loco propterea nominatum, quod super omnia caetera animalia amorem dicitur proprii domini servare, nec tempore nec iniuriis obliterari in eo fertur affectus. Trecenti ergo soli, qui sacramenti huius imaginem praeformabant, isti electi, isti probati, isti ad victoriam consecrati, qui ex ipso numeri sacramento obtinere adversarios possunt. Trecenti

¹ Isa. xxxv 3.

⁴ Phil. iv 1.

² Heb. xii 13.

³ 1 Thess. iii 8.

⁵ Gal. v 1.

⁶ Matth. v 19.

etenim sunt, qui tertio centena multiplicant, et perfectae trinitatis numerum ferunt, sub quo numero omnis Christi censetur exercitus. In quo optamus ut etiam nos mereamur adscribi.'

Thus Origen's exegesis is as follows :

1. The twenty-two thousand are those who remain catechumens.
2. The ten thousand are the baptized.
3. Of these only three hundred are *electi, probati, ad victoriam consecrati*—'among whom may we (who are of the baptized) be worthy to be numbered'.

It seems that Origen's exegesis runs parallel with that of Aphraates, except that the latter interprets the three hundred of the *B'nai Q'yâmâ*, Origen of zealous whole-hearted Christians.

The language in which Aphraates introduces his remarks on the dog almost suggests dependence on Origen. He writes: 'Great is this mystery, beloved, the sign of which (God) shewed beforetime to Gideon . . . for of all the animals which were created with man there is none that loveth its master like the dog, and keepeth his watch day and night; and even when his master beateth him he leaveth him not.'

If a dependence could be established it would throw an interesting light on the question as to the extent of Aphraates' isolation from the influences of Greek thought. Mr Burkitt has already thrown out a hint that the Sage may have been acquainted with the Epistle of Clement of Rome (see his review of Dr Barnes's *Syriac Psalter* in this JOURNAL, Jan. 1905).

R. H. C.

ADAM STOREY FARRAR.

THE death on Whit-Sunday of Dr A. S. Farrar is an event of marked concern for theological studies in England. For fully forty years of active life and work he had held the post of Professor of Divinity and Church History in the University of Durham; and although the numbers of the University have not been large, its contribution to the ranks of the clergy has been more than in proportion to them. The bent of Durham, as distinct from the College of Science at Newcastle, has been distinctly theological; and on personal grounds as well as on those of position the theological teaching naturally centred in the Professor. Other teachers came and went, but he remained. Other teachers gave of their best—and the University has had some excellent teachers on the theological side; but there can hardly have been one in the whole period who filled an equal place in the eyes of the students, or one who did more to make Durham as a school of theological training what it was.

It is true that a teacher who does not write is apt to drop out of the public view. Much to the regret of his friends and colleagues, Dr Farrar ceased to write from the time that he entered upon his office; but in the University at least his light could not be hid, and wherever the *alumni* of the University went his influence could not but be felt.

Adam Storey Farrar was a born professor; and he was a professor by experience and training as well as by natural gift. His career was of the simplest, and it was entirely academical. Born in London on April 20, 1826, and educated at the Liverpool Institute and at St Mary Hall, Oxford, he graduated in 1850 with first-class honours in classics and second-class in mathematics. Soon afterwards he was elected to a Michel Fellowship at Queen's College; and after serving for nine years as Tutor at Wadham, he left for Durham in 1864.

The time when Farrar took his degree—in the same year, as it happened, with his future Dean, Dr Kitchin, who like him took double honours, and was a class higher in mathematics—was no bad period in the history of the University. Freeman the historian, whose date was five years earlier, used stoutly to maintain that the all-round training then given was as good as it well could be, and better than the greater specialization of the latter part of the century. When we remember that between his date and Farrar's there fell Bright the late Professor of Ecclesiastical History (1846) and Stubbs the late Bishop of Oxford (1848), it is evident that at least the first part of his opinion had much to be said for it. Not content with the beaten track of work for the degree, Farrar was an eager student of Natural Science, and took every opportunity of attending the lectures of the professors in that faculty, especially those of Dr R. Walker, Professor of Experimental Philosophy, and John Phillips, Professor of Geology. He often used to speak of the benefit that he gained from these.

Before he went to Durham, Farrar had already published the two books that bear his name, a volume of sermons entitled *Science in Theology* in 1859, and the Bampton Lectures, *A Critical History of Free Thought in reference to the Christian Religion*, in 1862. After that date he published nothing beyond (it is believed) one or two occasional sermons. The two volumes do not seem to have attracted the attention or obtained the praise which they really deserved. It would seem as though the writer, just as his energies were beginning to expand, felt the chill of discouragement and drew back into his shell. He was cast in a sensitive mould; and, although always eager, was apt to be apprehensive, and did not care to incur the ordeal of hostile criticism¹. Such at least was the impression conveyed to those who would fain have seen more permanent fruit of his really exceptional powers and attain-

¹ One who knew him very intimately writes: 'He resisted the appeals of his friends to publish some of the fruits of his studies, and has left instructions that nothing of the sort should be published. Like other teachers, he had an exaggerated view of the responsibility incurred in publication, and a very high standard of what publication involved to the author' (*Guardian*, June 21, 1905, p. 1030). This is doubtless very true; and yet when once obstacles of this kind had been overcome so brilliantly as they were in the *Bampton Lectures*, it is natural to ask why the impulse did not carry him further. I suspect that the reason lay in the constitutional diffidence which asserted itself after these early publications, and was never again sufficiently mastered.

ments. It is a warning as to the responsibility which an elder generation has towards its juniors. To Farrar's generous nature no such stimulus was needed; he used to expend upon the efforts of his younger friends the enthusiasm which they would have gladly seen devoted to published work of his own.

I will come back to the books: but, before doing so, it is right that I should say more of that which proved to be the main activity of his life, his work as professor. I have said that Farrar was a born professor; and I am not sure that this was not true of him in an even more eminent degree than of any of the other distinguished theologians of the last century. As I look back, I cannot think of one who had at once the same commanding survey of his subject and an equal power of impressing the spoken word upon his hearers.

Lightfoot had no physical gifts at all, except a voice of sufficient strength to make itself heard. He had the sound basis of scholarship common to all the Cambridge school, great capacity for learning, a clear style and lucid arrangement of the scholarly kind, along with admirable common sense in judgement; but he had no taste for philosophy, or for philosophical construction. Hort was born for research rather than for lecturing. His keen analysis and minute exactness of statement went beyond what could be appreciated in a lecture; while his scrupulous attention to qualifying and restricting facts stood in the way of broad and luminous generalization. Westcott had fervour and vision, a wide range of elevated thought, but he was too subtle for the ordinary man; and the subtlety was something rather different from the fine edge of scientific discrimination; it was apt to leave an impression that was vague and elusive.

Bright also had fervour, and the hearer felt that the awe of the other world was upon him. He had a real gift of spontaneous eloquence and imagination, that rose with his subject; but just at the moments when he was most inspired his utterance too often became hurried and inaudible. He could paint a picture with the best, but he was somewhat deficient in the power of shaping and arranging.

This Farrar possessed to an extraordinary degree. His knowledge was encyclopaedic; and his method was also that of the encyclopaedia. He was never more at home than in classifying,

dividing and sub-dividing. Dates and periods were at his fingers' ends. His experience in the study of Natural Science dominated his treatment of literature and the history of thought; methods learnt in the one field, it was natural to him to apply in the other. He used to place in the hands of his pupils a pamphlet, covering seventy-seven pages for the most part of small print, with the prefatory note which follows:

'When I used to attend in Oxford the lectures of the Rev R. Walker, Professor of Experimental Philosophy, I found so much help from the brief analysis of each course of lectures, which he was wont to distribute to his hearers, that, when I came to Durham in 1864, I determined to follow a similar plan in reference to my Theological Lectures. Accordingly I drew up from time to time Synopses of my various courses of Lectures, which when completed and combined, formed this pamphlet. It will be obvious to any one who glances through this Synopsis that much more is here comprised than can be compressed into the short space of a student's life in Durham. I prefer, however, to present an outline of all the various branches of Theological knowledge (though my Lectures are generally restricted to a selected portion of them), in order that those pupils, who may wish hereafter to continue their studies, may have the outline for their guidance.

The parts of the Synopsis which I deem to be the most novel are Part 4 (pp. 17-20), on Biblical Interpretation, and Part 8 (pp. 41-48), on the History of the English Church. The former of these gives a more systematic analysis of the subject than is to be found elsewhere. The latter is the Table of Contents of a work on English Church History on which I have at different times bestowed much labour, but the execution of which will probably have to be left to younger writers.'

The Synopsis is of course only a skeleton; but I am sorry to gather from the *Guardian* article referred to above that there is no chance of its being published. Something of the same kind has been done, or attempted, by others; but I have come across nothing so complete and comprehensive, or so well articulated, as Dr Farrar's. The first impression was given out in 1869; there was a revised issue in 1880, and possibly others later. It is interesting to see in what directions the author believed his own work to be most original.

What has been said may give some idea of the underlying method of the lectures. From this point of view they would have been excellent for any students, and they were peculiarly

excellent for the students at Durham, who have to cover a large extent of ground in a limited time. For them it is difficult to think of a professor who would come nearer to the ideal. And everything else—style, manner and delivery—corresponded. I shall have to speak presently of another gift which the professor possessed, the gift of pictorial presentation and vivid phrase. This too was without the redundancy which is in danger of becoming a drawback to those similarly endowed. Farrar was saved from this by his natural sense of proportion and rapidity of movement. He was rapid, but he understood lecturing too well to be too rapid. And his physical presence heightened the effect of what he said.

His figure was tall and erect; his hair touched with grey and rather long, but not unbecomingly long; his voice had just enough nasality about it to make it tellingly clear and incisive. The wearing of the black gown seemed to come natural to him, for his ancestry was Puritan.

The writer of this well remembers a description once given by one of his pupils. 'As he stands there, with the pointer in his hand [it may be guessed that a lecturer of this type would be fond of using maps and diagrams], I could believe that I had before me one of the old Hebrew prophets.' I have spoken of our own Christ Church professor as having had visibly 'the awe of the other world upon him'. Farrar's piety was very genuine, but (as might be supposed) it was of a different and more Puritanic type. It came out in expression, though it had not so subduing a power over the expression. On the other hand, the effort to give concrete reality to what he was saying was very strong. Farrar was always in touch with his audience, especially an undergraduate audience. Among boys, he was a boy. A figure like his could not lose its dignity; but still he did join in the laugh with his audience, and applause at Divinity Lectures was not unknown, or perhaps—from sheer zest and naturalness—altogether unwelcome.

If I have at all succeeded in conveying the impression that I wish to convey, I may well pause at this point and invite the reader to compare notes with me from his own experience, and ask whether he has ever known a theological tutor or professor who was likely to be more striking or more effective. Our

thoughts turn to a certain Canon of St Paul's; but he has not filled exactly the same offices, and, if he had done, it would have been in a somewhat different spirit, corresponding to a different school.

The Professor of Divinity at Durham has duties of various kinds. He holds a canonry in the Cathedral attached to the chair. Farrar did not enter upon his until fourteen years after he first came to Durham as Professor, to take the place of the aged Canon Jenkyns, also a man of real mark in his day. The sermons that he preached as Canon were real University Sermons, of ample length and full of instruction. He knew every stone of the Cathedral, and—it need not be said—was an admirable exponent of its history. Anywhere else than in Durham such knowledge and such a gift would have been exceptional; but at Durham they were shared with not a few who have the privilege of living beneath the shadow of that glorious pile.

On another side of his functions it was perhaps the case that what was part of his special excellence as Professor had its drawbacks. He knew the students individually, and took a deep interest in them, especially in the poorer men, whom he helped generously. But his readiness of sympathy made him easily worked upon; and he was inclined to be indulgent, and perhaps partial, as an examiner. The same quickness of sympathy and readiness to receive impressions and influences made him a rather incalculable quantity in the deliberations of the Senate and Chapter. Generosity was one of his leading traits; but generosity may at times be too impulsive. These were failings which 'leaned to virtue's side'. Farrar was not always judicious; and in public matters errors of judgement make themselves felt; but the warmth of heart which led to them won from friend and pupil alike affection and gratitude.

In the interesting notice to which reference has been made, stress was very rightly laid on the extent to which Farrar utilized foreign travel. Vacation after vacation he went abroad with a select party of friends, who had quaint stories to tell of his little idiosyncrasies, while they all profited by his keenness of interest and knowledge. In this way he had visited most of the historic sites of European and Christian history. His lectures and his books derived vividness and reality from this source:

and one of the great misfortunes of his ceasing to publish was that the results of so much first-hand investigation and study should have had none but a fugitive record. Like not a few other English scholars, Farrar had taken exceptional pains to train himself to make history live. It did live in his active and teeming brain; and now that is still.

English Theology is poorer—irreparably and sadly poorer—for the fact that Farrar's books are only two. If he had written as much as his peers—and they are the great names of the last century—he would have taken his place with them. He had an individual contribution to make to the literature of his time, which none but he could have made so well. None could have ranged over the centuries with a touch at once so firm and so incisive, grouping, classifying, correlating, distinguishing; equally at home in the history of action and of thought, tracing up effects to their causes, bringing light into obscurity and order out of confusion, stimulated by every great idea, and passing on the stimulus to others.

His books shew what he was and what he could have done. A characteristic example of the method of treatment natural to him is a sermon on the Atonement in the volume *Science in Theology*. The text is a verse introducing the narrative of the Transfiguration; and the sermon begins with a really fine description of Mount Tabor, as it is seen by the pilgrim traveller, followed by the comment that 'the rigour of geographical criticism compels us to doubt whether that spot can be the real scene of the event'. The circumstances of the narrative are explained, leading up to the prediction of approaching suffering and death. So the sermon passes to the subject of the Atonement, the doctrine of which is sketched in the different periods of its history. The various theories put forward are weighed and criticized; and at the end the doctrine is restated, with a re-affirmation of the view that it implies in some mysterious way a reconciling of God to man as well as of man to God. The sermon ends as it began with a picture—this time not taken from nature but from art, the famous representation of the Transfiguration by Raphael.

The *Critical History of Free Thought*, Bampton Lectures preached in 1862, is a really astonishing work. It is by it

that the name of Adam Storey Farrar will live in the future, and that his place in the roll of English theologians will be vindicated. *The Guardian* speaks of it as 'still probably the most learned of a series which now includes more than a hundred sets of lectures'; and this opinion may well be endorsed. Few indeed are the volumes of English literature which contain accurate digests of the contents of so many books, or accurate surveys of the processes of thought in so many centuries. It is a special danger and a special failing of the Bampton Lectures to cover too much ground, and to cover it with vague imperfectly formulated generalizations, that are at best but half or a quarter of the truth, and do not bear to be too rigorously confronted with the facts. Farrar's lectures are free from this fault. They are worthy to stand by the side of the best literature of the kind in other languages than our own. The multitude of books referred to had been really read, and their contents and character are at once concisely and carefully described. Farrar was a philosopher as well as a historian; and he handles the great German philosophies with as much ease and decision as the products of English common sense. His accuracy is indeed not quite of the kind which will not displace an accent, but it is remarkable considering the nature of the subject-matter and the number of particulars involved. The utmost that I think could be said in the way of criticism is that the work is evidently throughout rapid work; it is a succession of *coups d'œil* by a mind of ready grasp and keen intelligence; but it might perhaps have gained in real profundity if the mind could have dwelt longer on the objects passed in review before it, and steeped itself more entirely in the spirit as well as in the bare analysis of the different systems. In other words it might be said, that the penetration—clear-cut and scientific as it is—is yet after all somewhat external; it reminds us more of the methods of natural science than of those of the deeper philosophy.

Such a criticism might perhaps be made, but it would be unfair. At least, if we allow ourselves to make it, we should do so with the distinct understanding that, in making it, we are applying the highest standard within our reach. It is always possible to criticize a type of mind by saying that it has something of the defects of its qualities; that, if it had the excellences

of another type besides its own, it would be still more perfect than it is. But the world we live in is not Utopia; and, in the case of the subject of this notice as well as in others, we shall do well to accept with thankfulness the remarkable combination of excellences that we find, instead of complaining that even these come short of an absolute ideal.

Farrar's Bampton Lectures are to this day full of information and instruction. At the time when they were written they were abreast of the best knowledge of the time. The unresting intellectual enthusiasm of the author put him upon the track of a host of questions (especially historical questions) which he did his best to solve. His book is therefore a labour-saving machine, to which any of us may be glad to refer, in place of working out the same results for himself. Other literatures usually have their own books of this kind; but even the foreign student may have commended to him this book of Dr Farrar's, if he desires to trace the history of English thought, and still more if he desires to form an estimate of one of the leading English teachers of the last century. It may help him by the way to appreciate the fact, which is probably more true of England than of any other European nation, that the actual sum of attainment, and in particular of teaching power and equipment, in a nation, is not always in proportion to the amount of its published writings.

This is what we may say to the stranger; but there are many among us who will wish besides to pay such tribute as they can to an invariably kind and invariably generous friend.

W. SANDAY

DOCUMENTS

THE ACTS OF TITUS AND THE ACTS OF PAUL.

IN my first series of *Apocrypha Anecdota* (1893, p. 55) I drew attention to a possible source of information with regard to the *Acta Pauli*, namely the Acts of Titus ascribed to Zenas 'the lawyer'. What I wrote then may as well be quoted by way of preface to the present article.

'The fullest form of this book known to me is an epitome contained in *Cod. Par. Gr.* 548, f. 192-196, which I read, but did not copy, in 1890. The Menaea give a much shorter analysis, and this latter was the only material accessible to Lipsius (iii 401). Among the facts not given in the Menaea are these: that Paul when preaching at Damascus cast a devil out of Aphphia, the wife of the governor¹ (another noble matron, be it noted); that Titus accompanied Paul on the first missionary journey, and that at Ephesus Paul fought (*ἰθνηριομάχησεν*) with a lion. In this last clause undoubted use of the Acts of Paul is made; and it is surely a most probable conjecture—if not something more—that the cure of Aphphia (who has no connexion with Titus) was described in the lost book as well. After this incident at Ephesus, the story takes us to Crete, and from that point is either pure fiction or (founded on) local legend.'

Within the last few weeks I have had an opportunity (kindly procured for me by M. Omont) of examining the Paris MS above mentioned, and of copying out the portion of the text which precedes the Cretan matter. This text I now present for the edification of students of the *Acta Pauli*. There can be no doubt that it is in part drawn from that work and that it throws some fragmentary light upon the earlier episodes. It has also, as I think, the most destructive effect upon the conjectures which I advanced in a late number of the JOURNAL².

The manuscript, I will just note, is of the eleventh century and is written in a fine sloping minuscule with semi-uncial headings.

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Τίτου ἐπισκόπου γενομένου Κρήτης πόλεως Γορτύνης μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου.

¹ As will be seen, those words 'the governor' are not warranted by the Greek text.

² *J. T. S.* January 1905, p. 244.

Ζηνῆς ὁ νομικὸς οὐτινος μέμνηται ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος οὗτος συνέγραψεν τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντος οὕτως. Τίτος ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἐκ Μινῶος¹ τοῦ βασιλέως Κρήτης κατήγεν τὸ γένος² ποθῶν δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν³ λοιπῶν φι/193/λοσόφων ποιήματά τε καὶ δράματα⁴ εἰκοσαετῆς γεγονὸς ἀκούει φωνῆς λεγούσης οὕτως· Τίτε, ἐντεῦθεν (σε δεῖ) ἐκδημῆσαι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου σῶσαι, οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσῃ⁵ σε ἡ παιδεία αὐτῇ. Ἐτι τε βουλόμενος τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκούσαι φωνῆς, ἦδει γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἐξ ἀγαλμάτων διὰ φωνῆς διδομένας πλάνας, ἐπισχὼν ἔτι⁶ ἑνναετῇ χρόνον, δι' ὁράματος προσετάρχθη τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων βίβλον ἀναγνῶναι· ὅς καὶ λαβὼν τὴν Ἡσαίου βίβλον εἶπεν οὕτως περιέχουσιν· Ἐγκαινίξεσθε πρὸς με νῆσοι πολλαί· Ἰσραὴλ σώζεται ὑπὸ κυρίου σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Ὁ οὖν ἀνθύπατος Κρήτης ὁ καὶ θεῖος τοῦ ἀγίου Τίτου ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ δεσπότην Χριστοῦ σωτήριον γέννησίν τε καὶ βάπτισιν καὶ τὰς θαυματουργίας αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἑτέροις τόποις ἐτέλει, συμβούλιον ποιήσας μετὰ τῶν πρώτων Κρήτης, ἀπέστειλεν Τίτον μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὡς λόγος ἔχοντα ἀκούσαί τε καὶ λαλῆσαι καὶ διδάξαι τὰ ἄπρ μέλλει θεάσασθαι. Ὅστις παραγενόμενος καὶ θεασάμενος καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν πάντα τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἐθεάσατο· εἶδεν τε καὶ τὰ σωτήρια τοῦ δεσπότην πάθη, τὴν ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν θείαν ἀνάληψιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς θεῖους ἀποστόλους ἐπιδημίαν· καὶ ἐπίστευσεν καὶ συνηριθμήθη τοῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ τοῖς τρισχιλίους τοῖς πιστεύ/193 δ/σασιν τῷ κυρίῳ διὰ τῆς τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου διδασκαλίας, καθὼς καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι· Ἐκρήτες καὶ Ἀραβες⁷, πρόθυμός τε ὑπῆρχεν καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι αἰεὶ. μετὰ δὲ ἔτη τρία προσετέθησαν τῇ πίστει ἄνδρες πεντακισχίλιοι⁸· καὶ μετὰ ἔτη δύο τοῦ χωλοῦ⁹ θεραπευθέντος ὑπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου διώκονται οἱ ἀποστολοὶ καὶ παραγγέλλονται τὸ μὴ λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ καὶ βουλομένων τῶν ἱερέων ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτοὺς Γαμαλιὴλ ὁ νομοδιδάσκαλος διεκώλυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν βουλήν. Ἑπταετοὺς δὲ γεγονότος χρόνου Στέφανος ἐλιθάσθη¹⁰ ὅθεν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον τελοῦνται εἰς Δαμασκόν, ἦγον ἡ τύφλωσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάβλεψις· καὶ κηρύττει πρῶτον τὸν λόγον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Δαμασκῷ, καὶ Ἀφφίαν γυναῖκα Χρυσίππου δαιμονῶσαν ὁ Παῦλος ἰάσατο· καὶ ἔχων ἡσθεῖαν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὸ εἶδωλον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κατέβαλεν¹¹. εἶτα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγίνεται καὶ αὐθις εἰς Καισάρειαν· καὶ χειροτονεῖται Τίτος ὁ ἅγιος παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ἀποστέλλεται μετὰ Παύλου διδάσκειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν οὓς ἐὰν Παῦλος δοκιμάσῃ· καταλαβόντες δὲ Ἀντιόχειαν εὖρον Βαρνάβαν τὸν υἱὸν Παγχαρέως δι' ἣγειρεν ὁ Παῦλος. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης ἀνείλεν Ἰακωβὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα. μετὰ τοῦτο ἔρχονται εἰς Σελεύκειαν καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Σαλαμίνην καὶ Πάφον· κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἀν/194/τιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας¹², καὶ εἰς Ἰκόνιον εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ὀνησιφόρου ᾧ τινι προεῖπεν ὁ Τίτος τὰ κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον,

¹ μηνῶς.² τον.³ δραμματα.⁴ οφελήσει.⁵ ἐτη.⁶ χολοῦ.⁷ κατέβαλλεν.⁸ Πισιδίας.

ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ προπορευόμενος Παύλου κατὰ πόλιν· κάκειθεν ἦλθεν εἰς Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην. Οὗτός τε ὁ θεσπέσιος Τίτος ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει¹ σὺν τῷ ἀγίῳ Παύλῳ ἐκήρυττεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπέμενεν τε διωγμοὺς καὶ μαστίγας· ἀλλ' ἐφώτιζον² ἄμφω τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀπίστων ποιῶντες σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα καθὼς ἐμφέρεται ἅπαντα ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων. Ἐν Φιλιπποῖς ὄντος τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου καὶ φρουρουμένου, σεισμοῦ γενομένου ἐν τοῖς ἐγγάστοις³ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου ὑπάρχοντος ἀπελύθη.

Ὅτι τινὲς μὲν γράφουσιν Τίτου Ἰούστου ἄλλοι δὲ Τίτου πιστοῦ.

Ῥουστύλλου τοῖνον τοῦ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γαμβροῦ ὑπάρχοντος Τίτου δευτέρον διανύσαντος χρόνον εἰς τὴν τῆς Κρήτης ἐπαρχίαν παρεγένετο ἐν αὐτῇ Παῦλος καὶ Τίτος, ὄντινα θεσπέσιον Τίτον ἰδὼν⁴ ὁ ἀρχὼν τεταπεινωμένον δακρύων ἠνάγκαζεν μένειν σὺν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ ὁσιος Τίτος οὐκ ἐπέισθη αὐτῷ. συνεβούλευεν δὲ αὐτῷ Ῥούστιλλος μὴ λαλεῖν κατὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ᾧτινι ὁ ἅγιος Τίτος ἐξέθετο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰπὼν ὅτι Εἰ πεισθῆς μοι⁵ δοξασθήσῃ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥώμῃ. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τοῦ νιού αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν νυκτὸς πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον καὶ εὐξάμενος ἤγειρεν αὐτόν. Τριμηναῖον οὖν χρόνον ἐκεῖ δι/194 ὁ/ατρίψαντες (sic), πολλὰ τιμήσας αὐτοὺς ὁ Ῥούστιλλος ἀπέστειλεν⁶ καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπατος ἀνηγορεύθη· ὅθεν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς λογομαχίαις καὶ μόνον ἐχρῶντο⁷ μὴ τολμῶντες ἕτερον τι δράσαι πρὸς τοὺς καταγγέλλοντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ συγγενὴ εἶναι Τίτον τοῦ Ῥουστύλλου.

Ἐξεληθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀγίου Παύλου ἐπίστευσαν χιλιάδες δώδεκα· ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐθριομάχησεν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέοντι βληθεὶς.

Τὴν οὖν δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν Κορινθίων Τίτος καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Ἐραστός ἀπεκόμισαν.

Τίτος⁸ καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Λουκᾶς συμπαραμείναντες Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος τελειώσεως αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὑπέστρεψαν ἐν Ἑλλάδι· καὶ συνεστήσαντο ἐκεῖ τὸν Λουκᾶν· Τίτος δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος ἀπῆλθον ἐν Κολασσαῖς, καὶ αὐτοὶς Τιμόθεος ἀπῆει εἰς Ἐφεσον καὶ Τίτος τὴν Κρήτην κατέλαβεν.

We need not dwell much upon the course of events recorded in these Acts before the moment of Paul's conversion. Titus, like Eutropius of Sintes, Martial of Limoges, Ursinus of Bourges, and others, is represented as having witnessed the events of our Lord's ministry and passion: probably he was thought of as one of the Greeks who desired to see Jesus (John xii). The events of the early chapters of the canonical Acts are briefly narrated, with a chronology whose source I do not know. Between Pentecost and the conversion of the 5,000, three years are said to have elapsed, and then (as it seems) two more before the healing of the lame man and the persecution of the Apostles, which is entirely out of harmony with the canonical narrative. After seven years (more?)

¹ ἑκαστὴ πόλιν.

² ἐφώτιζον.

³ ἐγ/ἀσ/οισ.

⁴ εἰδὼν.

⁵ μου.

⁶ ἀπέστειλεν.

⁷ ἐχθρῶντο

⁸ Τίτος (passim).

comes the stoning of Stephen, and then the conversion of Paul. We now approach the more interesting part of our text: a new source begins to be used. Paul 'preached the word of Christ first in Damascus and healed Aphphias the wife of Chrysippus, who was possessed of a devil: and, fasting for seven days, he cast down the idol of Apollo'. Then he went to Jerusalem, and thence to Caesarea (Acts ix 26, 30). Titus was ordained by the Apostles and commissioned to teach and ordain with Paul. 'They went to Antioch and there found Barnabas the son of Panchares, whom Paul raised.' Herod killed James the brother of John with the sword. Then follows the first Missionary Journey. They went to Seleucia, Cyprus, Perga, Antioch of Pisidia, 'and to Iconium to the house of Onesiphorus whom Titus informed beforehand concerning Paul, since he (Titus) was Paul's precursor in every city'. Thence to Lystra and Derbe. Here a sentence of general import to the effect that Titus was Paul's partner in preaching and suffering, and that both enlightened the unbelievers by signs and wonders as is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. At this point we see evident signs that our text is an epitome of a larger one. Two detached sentences occur, one—somewhat corrupt—mentions Paul's deliverance at Philippi by the earthquakes. The other refers to the reading *τίτιον* or *τίτον* 'Ιούστου in Acts xviii 7. 'Some write *τίτον* 'Ιούστου, others *τίτον* πιστοῦ.' This latter reading (*πιστοῦ*) does not seem to be found in any other authority.

The collocation of the two sentences seems to shew that the original text contained some survey of the events of Acts xvi-xviii.

We now revert to the Cretan legend. Paul and Titus come to Crete and are well received by the governor Rustillus (Rutilius?) 'who is the uncle of Titus'. Paul raises his son. After three months he sends them away and himself goes to Rome, where, in accordance with a prediction of Titus, he attains honour, and is made consul. The Jews, it is obscurely said, are unable to do more than dispute verbally with the Apostles. They are afraid of attempting violent measures because of Titus's connexion with Rustillus. On their departure from Crete the two Apostles went to Asia, and to Ephesus. The visit to Crete must therefore be placed either at Acts xviii 22, 23, or at xix 1. At Ephesus twelve thousand people were converted by Paul's teaching; and he was exposed to a lion in the amphitheatre.

After this the epitomizer's hand reappears. In two short paragraphs we are told that the second Epistle to the Corinthians (of the Corinthians, says the text, but the meaning seems to me evident) was brought by Titus, Timothy, and Erastus; then that Titus, Timothy, and Luke remained with Paul until his martyrdom under Nero: that they then returned to Greece where Luke was established, and that Timothy

departed to Ephesus, and Titus to Crete. The portion of the Acts which I have not transcribed tells of the welcome accorded to him there, of the destruction of idols and erection of Christian churches, and of the long episcopate and peaceful death of the hero at an advanced age. Some details in it may very probably be of interest to investigators of the Christian antiquities of Crete, but I satisfied myself that for the elucidation of the Acts of Paul nothing further could be gained from it.

It is undeniable, however, that the text here printed has several points of contact with these Acts. Let us take in their order the statements concerning Paul which may, broadly speaking, be termed apocryphal.

1. 'Paul preached the word of Christ first in Damascus, and healed Aphphia, the wife of Chrysippus, who was vexed with a demon, and, keeping a fast for seven days, he cast down the idol of Apollo.'

In the Acts of Paul (Schmidt, p. 62) there is a fragmentary episode, headed 'When he was gone out of Sidon and would go to Tyrus': which relates a cure of a demoniac. The names of the people concerned are Chrysippus and *Αμφιον*. This is evidently the original of our sentence. The Coptic translator has corrupted the name of *Αφφία*.

Similarly in the pages immediately preceding (Schmidt, 58-62) there is the story of an occurrence at Sidon where Paul and others are shut up in the temple of Apollo. Paul fasts for *three* days and eventually the image of the god and part of the temple fall.

2. 'Then he goes to Jerusalem and then to Caesarea and the holy Titus is ordained by the Apostles and sent forth with Paul to teach and ordain whomsoever Paul should approve, and arriving at Antioch they found Barnabas the son of Panchares whom Paul raised.'

The first extant episode in the Acts of Paul (p. 24 &c.) tells of the raising of the (nameless) son of Anchares and Phila at Antioch. The Coptic translator has, I suppose, mistaken the initial Π of *Παγκάρης* for the Coptic article. In the name Barnabas, given to the son, I scent a confusion. In Acts xi 25 Barnabas the Levite went out to Tarsus to seek Saul *καὶ εὐρὼν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν*. Does it not seem probable that the epitomizer of the Acts of Titus had before him a mention of the arrival of Barnabas to join the party and that the son of Panchares was nameless, as he is in the Acts of Paul?

3. '(They came) to Iconium to the house of Onesiphorus whom Titus informed beforehand of what concerned Paul since he (Titus) was the one who preceded Paul in every city.'

This is clearly dependent on the Acts of Paul and Thecla (Schmidt, p. 28: Lipsius § 2, p. 237) *διηγήσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ Τίτος ποταπός ἐστιν τῇ εἰδέῃ ὁ Παῦλος*. The other clause saying that Titus was Paul's har-

binger is either from another part of the Acts of Paul or is the author's own invention.

4. 'And having gone forth from Crete they came into Asia, and in Ephesus at the teaching of the holy Paul twelve thousand believed: here also the Apostle fought with beasts, being cast to a lion.'

There is a reference to the episode preserved by Nicephorus Callisti and alluded to by Hippolytus (see Schmidt, p. 111). The statement that twelve thousand believed is new. It may have been suggested by the words of Acts xix 7 ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ δώδεκα.

5. 'Titus and Timothy and Luke remained with Paul the Apostle until his consummation under Nero.'

In the *Martyrium Pauli* (the last section of the Acts) Titus and Luke are mentioned as awaiting Paul in Rome, and as praying at his tomb after his martyrdom (Lipsius, pp. 104, 117: Schmidt, p. 88).

These are the passages in which it is possible to trace a direct connexion between the Acts of Titus and those of Paul. They at least centre on the proper form of two names Ἀφφία and Παγγάρης. Do they give us any further help?

In the first place it is very plain that the order of events in the two texts is discrepant. The succession of episodes in the Coptic Acts of Paul is as follows:

- 1 Antioch. Son of Anchares.
- 2 Iconium. Thecla.
- 3 Myra. Hermocrates.
- 4 Sidon. Temple of Apollo.
- 5 Tyre. Chrysippus.

In the Acts of Titus:

- 1 Damascus (?). Chrysippus and Aphphia.
- 2 (?). Idol of Apollo.
- 3 Antioch. Son of Panchares.
- 4 Iconium (Crete).
- 5 Ephesus. Fight with lion.

The main difference is that the events which the old Acts place at Sidon and Tyre after the visits to Iconium and Myra are placed by the Acts of Titus before the present opening of the old Acts, and are located apparently at Damascus.

With regard to the diversity of *place*, we must remember that we are dealing with the work of an epitomizer and that he may very easily have omitted the names Sidon and Tyre: with regard to the difference of order in time, there seems to be no ground whatever for preferring the order of the later document, and we must allow, I think, that Pseudo-Zenas has in these respects disfigured and corrupted his original source.

I am inclined, however, to believe that he must have found pretty frequent mention of Titus in the Acts of Paul: otherwise I see no good reason why he should have consulted that work at all in writing the life of Titus. It may very well even have been the case that there was some mention in the Acts of Paul, of the visit to Crete, and of the governor Rustillus, and of the raising of his son. I would note that there is something of a coincidence between the two writers in this portion. Rustillus counselled Titus not to speak against the gods of the Greeks. At Ephesus, the governor Hieronymus said that Paul's words were good but that the present was not the right time for them (Schmidt, p. 111).

Whatever else the Acts of Titus may be made to contribute to the elucidation of the Acts of Paul, one thing is quite clear—that they exclude the possibility of such a theory as that which I put forward (with all reservation) in a recent number of the JOURNAL. The Acts of Paul were *not* a sequel to the canonical Acts, but a supplementary narrative running parallel thereto. From this conclusion I do not see any way of escape. It is not to me conceivable that the author of the Acts of Titus, using, as we see he does, the Acts of Paul, should have taken passages from them and intercalated them into the narrative of the canonical Acts. That he or his epitomizer might disturb their order I can understand: that he should transplant *all* his known episodes to such an extent as my former hypothesis required is more than I can believe.

Nevertheless I am not sorry that I went so far as I did in formulating the theory. Possibilities of this kind are worth considering, if only because they lead to closer study of the documents concerned, and to the searching out of fresh evidence.

It is at least interesting to find a fairly late Catholic writer (for I suppose we must think of Pseudo-Zenas as belonging to the age of Pseudo-Paulines and the author of the Acts of Barnabas) using the text of the Acts of Paul. The discovery tends to confirm me in my belief that the Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena contain some touches drawn from those Acts—and not only from the Thecla-episode.

Cannot some one find for us a complete text of the Acts of Titus? At present the Paris copy is the only one that I have encountered. In most of the collections of Lives of Saints for August the encomium of Andrew of Crete (who uses Pseudo-Zenas to a slight extent) has replaced the older text. This encomium immediately follows the Acts in the Paris MS.

In his interesting supplement to the first edition of the Acts (pp. xxi–xxv) Dr Schmidt reprints an English version by E. J. Goodspeed of the Ethiopic *Epistle of Pelagia* à propos of the 'fabula baptizati

leonis'. It might, I think, be worth the while of readers who are looking into this problem to consult the Life of Paul in *The Contendings of the Apostles* translated from the Ethiopic by Dr E. A. Wallis Budge. They will find matter of the same kind in great plenty; and the document—which I reviewed in this JOURNAL on its publication¹—deserves attention from its possible connexion in parts with the older Acts. The two volumes—text and translation—were published in 1899 and 1901 respectively by Henry Frowde. I repeat these particulars here, because so far I have not noticed that foreign scholars have made use of the book.

M. R. JAMES.

¹ *J. T. S.* vol. iii p. 286.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TEN WORDS OF EXODUS XXXIV.

THE title 'The Ten Commandments' is at least as old in the West as the time of St Augustine, who speaks of the *decem praecepta legis* in *Quaest. de Exodo* lxxi. In the East it goes back to Aphraates (ed. Wright, page 14)¹. But this title (*pace* the Authorized Version) is not Biblical. In the three places in which it stands in the English Bible, i. e. in Exod. xxxiv 28; Deut. iv 13; x 4, the Revised Version gives in the margin the more correct translation, 'The Ten Words'. The LXX gives τὰ δέκα ῥήματα or τοὺς δέκα λόγους, the Old Latin (ed. U. Robert) *decem uerba*, the Peshitta, *esrā pethgūmin*, in each case 'Words' not 'Commandments'. The Hebrew word used is the common expression for 'word'. The Biblical title is therefore 'The Ten Words'.

This title, *The Ten Commandments* (or *Words*), is usually assigned to the Divine utterances recorded in Exod. xx 2-17. It is, however, noteworthy that in the Bible itself this name is given not to Exod. xx 2-17, but only to the parallel passage, Deut. v 6-21. On the other hand, in Exod. xxxiv 27, 28 this very name, *The Ten Words*, is given to the Divine utterances recorded in verses 6-26 of the same chapter, utterances which differ in so many respects from the Ten Commandments of Exod. xx that they cannot be reckoned (like those of Deut. v) a *variant text* of the Ten Commandments, but must be pronounced to rest upon a different tradition regarding the substance of the Decalogue.

These facts have been known to scholars since 1773, when Goethe called attention to them in his tractate entitled *Zwei wichtige bisher unerörterte biblische Fragen zum erstenmal gründlich beantwortet* (Werke, Bd. 37, Weimar, 1896). Scholars have not, however, agreed as to the identification of the Ten Words of Exod. xxxiv. The schemes of Goethe himself (*loc. cit.*), of Wellhausen (*Composition des Hexateuchs* pp. 333, 334) and of G. Harford (Carpenter and Harford, *Composition*

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex. (page 809), ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῆς δεκαλόγου ἐντολὴ παρίστηται . . . δ. δεύτερος δὲ ἐμήνυνεν λόγος κτλ. But Clement seeks only to avoid the cacophony of δεκαλόγου λόγος. Irenaeus (*Contra Haereses* ii xxxvi 2, Harvey; page 167, Grabe) has *praecepta* in the Latin text, but the Greek is missing. The Laws of the Second Table are called ἐντολαί in St Mark x 19.

of the *Hexateuch*, 1902, p. 471) although in general agreement, differ from one another in some particulars. Wellhausen indeed writes (p. 333), 'Es lösen sich aus Exod. xxxiv 14-26 zunächst sehr einfach . . . zwölf Worte aus', but he reduces the number to *ten* by the suggestion that two are due to textual corruption.

The scholars who have hitherto discussed this subject have (unconsciously, perhaps) accepted three principles, which seem to me to have hampered them in their investigations. They have assumed (1) that the Words must be Commands, (2) that they must be just ten in number, (3) that they must be concise enough to be expressed in a brief sentence each. Thus, according to Goethe (*loc. cit.*), the ten Words of Exod. xxxiv run as follows :

- I. Thou shalt worship no other god.
- II. The feast of Unleavened Bread thou shalt keep.
- III. All that openeth the womb is mine, even whatsoever shall be male among thy cattle, be it ox or sheep.
- IV. Six days shalt thou labour, on the seventh day thou shalt keep holiday both in ploughing-time and harvest.
- V. The feast of Weeks shalt thou keep with the firstfruits of the wheat harvest, and the feast of Ingathering, when the Year is over.
- VI. Three times in the year shall all males appear before the Lord.
- VII. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.
- VIII. The sacrifice of the Passover shall not remain over night.
- IX. The firstfruits of thy field shalt thou bring into the house of the Lord.
- X. Thou shalt not seethe the kid, if it be still at its mother's milk.

There is much to be said for this enumeration of the Ten Words and for the recent modifications of it offered by Dr Wellhausen and Mr Harford. Still it is open to question whether the title *The Ten Words* really demands such a reconstruction and no other. In the first place it may be doubted whether the 'Words' are to be reckoned in every case as *commands*. The Hebrew *dāvār* 'word', which sometimes connotes 'commandment', connotes at other times 'announcement' or 'promise' or 'answer'. The context alone can decide which of these is to be understood.

Now according to the 'traditional' Hebrew division of the Ten Words of Exod. xx (*Pesiqta R.* p. 106 b; also $\text{G}^{\text{B}}_{\text{marg}}$) the First Word consists of ver. 2 only, 'I am JEHOVAH thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of servants'. This First Word thus reckoned is not a commandment, but a declaration;

moreover this reckoning is ancient, almost certainly pre-Christian. Further, even if other divisions of the 'Words' be followed, ver. 2 does not cease to belong to the 'Words'; it only becomes the first part of the First Word, so that the First Word is not in any case to be reckoned a mere commandment¹.

Since therefore the Hebrew *dāvār* does not necessarily mean a commandment, and since the First Word of Exod. xx 2-17 appears to be (at least in part) a declaration, it seems not unreasonable, in attempting a reconstruction of the Ten Words of Exod. xxxiv, to refuse to limit our choice to Words which have the nature of Commandments.

A second principle on which critics seem to have worked hitherto is that the Ten Words must be brief Words, not longer indeed than a single sentence. But to this it may be objected that the Ten Words of Deut. v 6-21 (=Exod. xx 2-17) are not, as they stand, of such brevity. In dealing with Exod. xxxiv it seems most reasonable to follow the analogy thus suggested, and not to introduce the question of length into a first discussion of the passage. Whether a shorter form of the Ten Words underlies the longer form presented below is a question which need not be discussed in the present paper.

There remains for discussion the third principle, that in the name, *The Ten Words*, the number *ten* must be taken in its rigid sense, *ten*, neither less nor more. *Ten* is however certainly used in Hebrew to denote a round number, as in Gen. xxiv 55, *Let the damsel abide with us ten days*; xxxi. 7, *Your father hath changed my wages ten times*; 2 Kings xiii 7, *He left not to Jehoahaz . . . save . . . ten chariots and ten thousand horsemen*. The title under consideration may therefore mean *The few chief Words*; and if, as Dr Wellhausen says, the Words of Exod. xxxiv divide themselves most simply into *twelve*, that fact does not forbid us to give the name, *The Ten Words*, to the passage. I have myself preferred a division into *ten*, but in this scheme (see below) the Fifth Word might be divided into two, one consisting of ver. 18, the other of verses 19, 20; and similarly the Seventh Word might be resolved into two by separating ver. 22 from verses 23, 24. We should thus have a division into *twelve* Words, but since the nearest round number in Hebrew is *ten*, the title *The Ten Words* is still appropriate².

The existence of these two forms of the Ten Words points back, as we said above, to an early variation of tradition.

The historical setting of the two confirms this hypothesis. The

¹ An exception to this statement is found in the enumeration of the Syro-Hexaplar, and also in that of the Church Catechism.

² Similarly the *nēvel 'āsōr*, 'psaltery of *ten* strings' must not be strictly limited in the number of its strings; from *three* to *twelve* strings were in use; the '*āsōr*' was therefore an instrument of the larger kind. Cf. also Lev. xxvi 16; 1 Sam. i 8.

account of the delivery of the Ten Words and of the making of the Covenant in Exod. xxxiv is parallel with the account given in chapters xix and xxiv. Apart from the editorial additions to verses 1 and 4 (enclosed in square brackets below) there are no allusions to an earlier delivery of Ten Words or to an earlier granting of a Covenant. But the addition to ver. 1 ('I will write') does not agree with ver. 27 ('Write thou') and is to be reckoned a gloss, while the addition to ver. 4 proves itself to be such by the fact that it does not fit in with the rest of the verse ('And he' should follow, not precede 'And Moses'). If Exod. xxxiv did indeed narrate a renewal of a broken covenant, ver. 27 would almost certainly run, 'I have renewed my covenant' or 'I make a new covenant', not 'I have made a covenant'. It seems clear that we possess in Exod. xix-xxiv on the one hand, and in Exod. xxxiv on the other, two distinct traditions as to the making of the Covenant and as to the substance of the Ten Words according to the terms of which the Covenant was made.

In the following attempted arrangement of the Ten Words of Exod. xxxiv I have added references intended to point out the chief parallels between these Words and their historical setting on the one side and Exod. xix-xxiv on the other.

1 *And the LORD said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone [like unto the first: and I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest].* 2 *And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the mount.* 3 *And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither let the flocks nor herds feed before that mount.* Cf. Exod. xix 12, 13. 4 *[And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first;]* and *Moses rose up early in the morning, and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand two tables of stone.* 5 *And the LORD descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of JEHOVAH.* Cf. *ibid.* 18.

6 *And the LORD passed by before him, and proclaimed,*

FIRST WORD.

JEHOVAH, JEHOVAH, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; 7 keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear [the guilty]; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. Cf. xx 2, 5, 6.

8 *And Moses made haste, and bowed his head toward the earth, and worshipped.* 9 *And he said, If now I have found grace in thy sight, O Lord, let the Lord, I pray thee, go in the midst of us ; for it is a stiff-necked people ; and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thine inheritance.* Cf. xix 19.

10 *And he said,*

SECOND WORD.

Behold, I make a covenant : before all thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been wrought in all the earth, nor in any nation : and all the people among which thou art shall see the work of the LORD, for it is a terrible thing that I do with thee. Cf. xxiii 27.

THIRD WORD.

11 Observe thou that which I command thee this day : behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite, and the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. 12 Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee : 13 but ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and ye shall cut down their Asherim : 14 for thou shalt worship no other god : for JEHOVAH, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God : 15 lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee and thou eat of his sacrifice ; 16 and thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods. Cf. xxiii 23, 24 and xx 3, 5.

FOURTH WORD.

17 Thou shalt make thee no molten gods. Cf. xx 4.

FIFTH WORD.

18 The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib : for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. 19 All that openeth the womb is mine ; and all thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. 20 And the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb : and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty. Cf. xxiii 15.

SIXTH WORD.

21 Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest : in plowing time and in harvest thou shalt rest. Cf. xx 9, 10.

SEVENTH WORD.

22 And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, even of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end. 23 Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord JEHOVAH, the God of Israel. 24 For I will cast out nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou goest up to appear before JEHOVAH thy God three times in the year. Cf. xxiii 16, 17.

EIGHTH WORD.

25 Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning. Cf. xxiii 18.

NINTH WORD.

26 The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of JEHOVAH thy God. Cf. xxiii 19 a.

TENTH WORD.

Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk¹. Cf. xxiii 19 b.

27 And the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. 28 And he was there with the LORD forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten words. Cf. xxiv 3-8.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the inclusion of verses 6, 7, and 10 in the Ten Words gives an aspect of completeness, which is lacking in reconstructions of the Words which exclude these verses. The First Word (verses 6, 7) reveals the Name and the character of Him who is about to grant Israel a covenant; it corresponds very closely with Exod. xx 2-6, which according to the Massoretes form a paragraph (*Sēthūmāh*) by itself, and is therefore to be reckoned the First Word of Exod. xx. The Second Word (ver. 10) promises the covenant; it states explicitly that which is implied in Exod. xx 2 in the expression 'thy God'.

The Third Word (verses 11-16) forbids Israel to enter into any rival covenant; it corresponds to Exod. xx 3. The Fourth Word (ver. 17) forbids a practice which might be expected to lead quickly, in a nation surrounded by heathen, to polytheism; it is parallel with Exod. xx 4. Thus the first four Words of Exod. xxxiv correspond to the contents of Exod. xx 2-6, but present what is on the whole a more orderly sequence of thought.

¹ οὐ προσοίσεις ἄρνα ἐν γάλακτι μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, LXX B.

The last six Words, the Fifth to the Tenth, prescribe definitely the manner in which the covenant-God of Israel is to be worshipped.

The question of the relative date of the two Decalogues is too large a subject to be discussed in this place. Suffice it to say that the general analogy of the history of religion in Israel favours the view held by many scholars that the earlier of the two Decalogues is that given in Exod. xxxiv. The teaching that JEHOVAH is Israel's God preceded the teaching that the Israelite must do no ill to his neighbour. Theology was the foundation, Morality the superstructure.

W. EMERY BARNES.

ST IRENAEUS ON THE DATES OF THE GOSPELS.

It is commonly supposed that in a well-known passage of the third book against heresies we have received valuable information from St Irenaeus as to the dates at which the Synoptic Gospels were composed. He is understood to say that St Matthew wrote among the Hebrews at the time when Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and that St Mark wrote after the death of those Apostles. The following note is intended to shew that the Bishop of Lyons did not purpose to supply his readers with either of these pieces of information.

There are *a priori* reasons in favour of this thesis. In the first place these supposed statements of St Irenaeus have not been echoed by any ancient writer whatever.

In the second place, the synchronism of Matthew's writing with Peter and Paul's preaching is apparently without motive, for there is no connexion between the two facts. Further, the simultaneous preaching of Peter and Paul in Rome is not a very probable supposition, and might well throw doubt on the value of St Irenaeus's sources.

In the third place, the statement about Mark would be in flat contradiction with Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius and Jerome, who all assure us that Mark wrote in the lifetime of Peter. The words of Papias about Mark are most naturally interpreted in the same sense¹, and St Irenaeus certainly will have attributed great importance to them.

These considerations have induced a good many modern writers to attempt rather violent explanations of St Irenaeus's words, in order

¹ The words Πέτρου ἑρμηνευτῆς γενόμενος may mean either 'having become the Hermeneutes of Peter' or 'who was the Hermeneutes of Peter'. In the latter case the possibility is not excluded that Peter was dead when Mark wrote. Harnack (*Chronol.* i p. 652) has strangely followed Link in rendering γενόμενος as if it were γεγενημένος. I am dealing with this more fully in *Revue Bénédict.* July.

to obviate this difficulty. For example, Patrizi many years ago proposed a new and impossible punctuation, which only deserves mention as an indication of the straits to which conservative scholars were driven. Others (amongst them Grabe, Harvey, and, more lately, Cornely) have insisted that *ἐξόδος* must mean either the departure of the Apostles from Jerusalem, or, more probably, from Rome, and not their death. But to what well-known departure could *ἐξόδος* with the definite article, and with no further explanation, be understood to refer? And is not *ἐξόδος* precisely the word used in 2 Peter i 15 to signify the death of that Apostle? Dr Blass¹ has in consequence explained the statement as an error, resting on a mistaken interpretation of that very text—a somewhat unlikely hypothesis, since St Irenaeus was apparently altogether unacquainted with the second epistle of Peter.

Other writers have been content with the authority of the Bishop of Lyons against the rest of antiquity. Quite recently Dr Stanton writes in Hastings's *Dictionary* ii p. 248: 'It would seem, according to the oldest form of the tradition, to have been after St Peter's death that Mark wrote'; and Dr Zahn, though constitutionally inclined to push back dates as far as he can, has felt himself bound to place not only Mark, but Luke and Acts, after the death of Paul and Peter, in deference to the tradition attested by St Irenaeus.

If, however, we look at the context of this short passage, we shall see that the idea of dating the Gospels is quite foreign to St Irenaeus's argument. We shall see besides that the statement that St Mark wrote only after St Peter's death would be a weakening of that argument, and that St Irenaeus would naturally have avoided drawing attention to the fact, even if he knew it, in such a connexion. We shall see that the context makes the real grammatical meaning of the passage as clear as day, and that in this light all dating of the Synoptic Gospels disappears.

The context shews that St Irenaeus is not giving a history of the origin of the four Gospels, as is commonly thought by those who read only the short Greek extract preserved by Eusebius. He is simply explaining that *the teaching of four of the principal Apostles has not been lost, but has been handed down to us in writing*. He is not in the least concerned to defend the authenticity of the Gospels, still less to give their dates. The Valentinians accepted them all, and St Irenaeus is merely urging upon them the fact that each Gospel is the written record of the matter preached by an Apostle.

It is necessary to read the passage in full. The Greek of the preceding paragraph has not been preserved. I subjoin the Latin:

iii 1. 1 'Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostrae cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos; quod quidem tunc

¹ *Acta Apostolorum, Ed. philologica* 1895 p. 5.

praeconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostrae futurum.'

Those who preached the Gospel in the beginning, says St Irenaeus, afterwards committed it to writing, and thus it has come down to us, *pervenit ad nos*. This is the thesis which he proceeds to develop:

'Nec enim fas est dicere quoniam ante praedicaverunt quam perfectam haberent agnitionem; sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes emendatores se esse Apostolorum. Postea enim quam surrexit Dominus noster a mortuis, et induti sunt supervenientis Spiritus sancti virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti sunt, et habuerunt perfectam agnitionem; exierunt in fines terrae, ea quae a Deo nobis bona sunt evangelizantes, et caelestem pacem hominibus annuntiantes, qui quidem et omnes pariter et singuli eorum habentes Evangelium Dei.'

This is the developement of the first part of the thesis: the apostles after the resurrection were filled with knowledge of the Gospel, and they went forth and preached the same Gospel in all lands¹.

The explanation of the second part of the thesis has fortunately been preserved in Greek for us by Eusebius. It answers the question 'How has this preaching come down to us in writing?' The reply is that two of the apostles wrote down their own teaching, while two others were reported by a follower:

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδίδωκε. Καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Ἐπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἑφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

The emphasis throughout is upon the writing down of what was preached: καὶ γραφὴν, ἐγγράφως, ἐν βιβλίῳ, ἐξέδωκεν. The meaning is surely not obscure. I translate literally, word by word:

'Matthew among the Hebrews in their own language published a writing also of the Gospel [*besides preaching it*],

'Peter and Paul preaching the Gospel [*not to Jews but*] at Rome [*without writing it down*], and founding the Church there [*whose testimony I shall give presently*, viz. iii 3].

'But [*although they died without having written a Gospel*] after their death [*their preaching has not been lost to us, for*] Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, has handed down to us, he also in writing [*like Matthew*], the things which were preached by Peter,

¹ The impossible construction '*qui quidem . . . habentes*' in the last clause will represent in Greek of δὴ . . . ἔχοντες, which the translator has rendered as if it had been of . . . ἔχοντες.

'And Luke besides, the companion of [*the other*,] Paul, set down in a book the Gospel preached by that apostle.

'Finally, John, the disciple of the Lord, he also published a Gospel, while he was living in Ephesus of Asia.'¹

The point which St Irenaeus has made against the Valentinians is this: 'We know what the Apostles preached in various lands, for we possess written records of what was preached in Palestine, in Rome, and in Asia by four Apostles. Two of these wrote down their own preaching. That of the other two has been preserved in writing by their disciples.'

(1) A careful study of the passage will certainly convince the reader that the genitive absolute *εὐαγγελιζομένων* cannot possibly be pressed to mean 'during the time that Peter and Paul were preaching'. The notion of contemporaneousness is almost as faint in the phrase as in the English 'While Peter and Paul preached at Rome'. The chief point in the clause is the contraposition of 'at Rome' to 'among the Hebrews'. The only simultaneity implied is that both events occurred during the same period—the apostolic age—and presumably the earlier part of it. But Irenaeus has no intention of asserting that the three events—the writing of the Gospel, the preaching of Peter at Rome, and of Paul in the same city—occurred in some given year. This would merely have confused the one point he wished to emphasize. The general period when all three events occurred was *the time subsequent to the going forth of the Apostles to preach*, of which mention was made in the preceding sentence: 'They went forth to the ends of the earth . . . preaching the Gospel. . . . Matthew preached it (and also wrote it) among the Hebrews, Peter and Paul doing the same at Rome, but not writing.'

If this be so—and I do not see how it can reasonably be supposed that Irenaeus meant anything more definite than this—it is interesting to find that nothing whatever is added to the famous words of Papias: *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο*. The *ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις* is merely an inference made by Irenaeus, for he wanted a parallel to *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* and to *Ἀσίᾳ*. That he is actually using Papias is shewn by the close parallel of *ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν*

¹ It should be noticed that Tertullian has understood Irenaeus rightly, *c. Marc.* iv 5: 'Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum caeteris quoque patrocinabitur evangelis, quae proinde per illas et secundum illas habemus, Ioannis dico et Matthaei, licet et Marcus quod edidit, Petri affirmetur, cuius interpres Marcus; nam et Lucae digestum Paulo adscribere solent. Caput magistrorum videri, quae discipuli promulgarint.' Here Tertullian has caught the idea of Irenaeus that the four Gospels represent four Apostles and various churches—Rome, Palestine, Ephesus, and St Paul's foundations. But the rest of the argument makes it clear that Tertullian did not understand any dates to be given, for he goes on to say that Luke was not probably the oldest, as Marcion thought, but rather likely to be later than the others, as not written by an Apostle.

with Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῃ. The necessity of emphasizing the writing down caused the change from συνετάξατο (so Schwartz for the common reading συνεγράψατο in Euseb. *H.E.* iii 39) to γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν. The latter word insinuates that the publication was authoritative, by the Apostle himself.

(2) With regard to St Mark the case is clearer still. The two Apostles preached at Rome and did not write. How then do we know what they preached? A little further on St Irenaeus will assure us that the tradition of the Roman Church witnesses to their teaching. But here he gives a different answer. *After their death* their actual words would have been lost, had not Mark and Luke (already) written them down. This is the force of the perfect παραδίδωκε, 'Mark has handed down to us after their death what Peter used to preach, for he wrote it down'. It is obvious that 'after their death' has no connexion with 'in writing', but that it goes with 'has handed down'. It is evidently implied that the preaching of Peter has been preserved to us *after* his death by being written down *before* his death. 'And Luke also, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the Gospel which that Apostle used to preach.' Here again St Irenaeus seems to have presumed that it was while Paul was still preaching that Luke wrote. When once we follow the argument of Irenaeus, his meaning is perfectly unmistakeable; nor in reality will the Greek bear any other meaning¹.

It follows that these two clauses about Matthew and Mark should not have been quoted by Harnack (*Chronol.* i 165) as examples of dating events by contemporary Apostles and bishops, for there is no attempt to give any dates at all. The utmost that we can gather is that all three Synoptists were thought by Irenaeus to have written before the death of St Peter and St Paul.

We have seen that the words about Matthew are simply Papias re-written. The same is quite evident with regard to the words about Mark. The expression ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου is borrowed directly from Papias. The addition μαθητῆς represents the statement of Papias that Mark followed not Christ, but Peter. Again Papias tells us that Peter had no intention of composing a regular Gospel in order (οὐκ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν Κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων). Accordingly Irenaeus talks of the *Gospel* of Matthew, of Luke-Paul, and of John; but with regard to Peter he only has τὰ κηρυσσόμενα, for Papias tells us that Peter merely πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας.

¹ If Irenaeus had wished to lay stress on the fact that the two Apostles were already dead when Mark wrote, he would not only have been giving away his case to the Valentinians, but he would have been obliged to use the aorist instead of the perfect, and some other word for παραδίδωμι, for instance τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἔγραψεν, and the meaning would have been clear; and if he had said κειληρυγμένα it would have been clearer still.

It follows that the information given to us by Irenaeus about Matthew and Mark has no independent value of its own; it is simply Papias written out, with a purpose.

What he says about Luke is also of no importance. In chapter xiv of this book he remarks that the Acts of the Apostles shew Luke to have been inseparable from Paul. Luke therefore was to Paul what Mark was to Peter,—so he argues,—consequently, as Mark wrote down what Paul preached, so Luke may be considered to have recorded the preaching of Paul. I do not believe St Irenaeus had any authority for this statement beyond this misleading parallel.

The sentence about St John may be from Papias, as it tallies perfectly with the fragment in the Latin prologue: 'Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine, Hierapolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus in exotericis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit.'¹ St Irenaeus says 'published while living in Ephesus of Asia'; Papias is represented as saying 'published and gave to the churches [of Asia] while yet in the body'.

The remark of Papias is so very obvious that there is nothing to surprise us in the fact that Eusebius did not think it worth quoting, if it is genuine.

On the other hand it is clear why in early writers no echo is found of the supposed dates given by St Irenaeus for Matthew and Mark. They had the continuous Greek before them, and they understood him rightly.

He does, however, date John after the rest, for *ἔπειτα* is clearly to be taken of time. I shewed in the *Revue Bénédictine* for October 1904 that this is what Clement of Alexandria meant when he said that the Gospels containing the genealogies were the first to be written (Euseb. *H. E.* vi 14): the carnal genealogies of Matthew and Luke were written before the spiritual genealogy given by St John in his prologue; the mention of Mark is an importation by Eusebius from the *Adumbratio* on 1 Peter. I am sorry I published the proof of this so hastily, for I have since found further evidence that it is correct.

The result is that no date is given by the ancients for the Gospel of St Mark, except that it was written while Peter was at Rome. For St Luke there is no date given at all. For St Matthew we have Eusebius's statement (*H. E.* iii 24) that it was written when he was about to leave the Hebrews in order to go elsewhere. This would perhaps imply the 'dispersion of the Apostles' as the date in the mind

¹ So the Cod. Reg. published by the Blessed Thomasius. The Cod. Tolet. may be right in adding *in Asia* after *ecclesiis*. (Text in Wordsworth's Vulgate Gospels pp. 490-1.)

of Eusebius; but it may be only an amplification by the historian of what he read in Irenaeus¹. There is also Origen's statement (Euseb. *H.E.* vi 25) that Matthew was the first to write; he has been copied by Epiphanius and Jerome. But it is doubtful if much credit is due to this statement. I believe Papias mentioned Matthew before Mark; so did Irenaeus, and Origen found this order in his Bible. But the fact that Matthew was an Apostle accounts for this.

For St John there is universal consent that he wrote last.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

THE EPISTLE OF ST JUDE AND THE MARCOSIAN HERESY.

HAVING been for some years engaged on an edition of the Epistle of St Jude and the Second Epistle of St Peter, I was interested to see that an attempt had been made, in the April number of this JOURNAL, to bring forward some new evidence bearing on the date and authenticity of the former Epistle. I am not, however, convinced by Mr Barns's paper, and am grateful to the Editors for allowing me to state here the reasons which lead me to an opposite conclusion. I agree with Mr Barns in holding, in opposition to Spitta, Zahn, and Dr Bigg, that Jude's is the earlier of the two Epistles, but I cannot see any plausibility in the suggestion that 2 Peter was written by a Montanist bishop between the years 185 and 195 (p. 392), and cannot therefore attach any weight to the inference that Jude must have been written between 122 and 185. I proceed to examine the more substantial arguments put forward by Mr Barns and others against the traditional view that Jude was written by the Brother of the Lord.

'There are', says Mr Barns, 'two passages in the Epistle which point to its post-apostolic origin. The writer is moved to action by the danger which threatens *the faith once for all delivered to the saints* (v. 3). It is clear that the faith was already recognized as a fixed tradition, treasured by the Church as the safeguard of the *common salvation*. The writer also bids them remember *the words which had been spoken before by the Apostles* (v. 17), which implies that the apostolic writings already enjoyed some kind of canonical authority in the Church.' Again 'the salutation (*ἔλεος ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πλεθυνθείη*) is unique

¹ St Irenaeus says the Apostles went to the ends of the earth. He then adds that Matthew wrote 'among the Hebrews'. Eusebius may well have supposed that Matthew wrote at Jerusalem before starting for the ends of the earth, and at the request of those whom he was leaving.

among the canonical books of the New Testament. The Epistle of Polycarp . . . cannot be placed later than 125' . . . Its 'salutation is *ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη*. Bishop Lightfoot in his comment on the form *χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονή διὰ παντός* of Ign. *Smyrn.* xii says: *The additional words ἔλεος, ὑπομονή, point to a time of growing trial and persecution.* Ignatius still opens his salutation with the word *χάρις*, which may be regarded as the apostolic formula. Polycarp, writing at the very close of the apostolic age, leaves out the *χάρις* and uses only *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη*. The letter of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, written . . . in 155 or 156, marks a further step in advance. It opens with a somewhat fuller form: *ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη*. It is a fuller form than that of Jude, but the same words *ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ἀγάπη*, are used, and used in the same order.' Hence he infers that 'Jude' was written 'within the range of the traditional use of Smyrna, and about the same period as the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna'.

We will take these arguments backwards. Those who hold that the Epistle was written by its professed author may, I think, justly take exception to the last inference, that because the salutation in the Smyranean letter resembles that in Jude, therefore it is antecedent to it. Precisely on the same grounds it has been argued by some that Hermas wrote before St James. While far from agreeing with the late Canon Cook in his article on Peter in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* or Bishop Christopher Wordsworth in his commentary on the New Testament in their vehement protests against any questioning of canonical tradition, I think it is only a matter of common sense to regard such tradition as having a *prima facie* presumption in its favour, though a presumption which is of course liable to be set aside if opposed by real evidence. What then is the real evidence against the salutation in Jude having been written, say, before 80 A.D.? The form, we are told, is unique in the New Testament. But there is great variety in these salutations. On the one hand we have the simple *χαίρειν* of James and *εἰρήνη* of 3 John 15; on the other hand, every part of the salutation of Jude is found elsewhere in the canonical writings. Thus *ἔλεος* and *εἰρήνη* occur in Gal. vi 16 *εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ*, and with *χάρις* prefixed in the two Epistles to Timothy and 2 John 3: *εἰρήνη* is joined with *ἀγάπη* in Eph. vi 23 *εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀγάπη μετὰ πίστεως ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and 2 Cor. xiii 11 *ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν*; while *ἀγάπη* is found joined with *χάρις* and *κοινωνία* in another salutation (2 Cor. xiii 13). Lastly *πληθυνθείη* occurs in the two Epistles of Peter and in Dan. vi 25 (*εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πληθυνθείη*). I see therefore nothing to wonder at in Jude's form of salutation or in its being imitated first by Polycarp and afterwards by the Church of Smyrna. But is not *χάρις*

an essential part of the apostolic formula? We have seen that it is wanting in James and 3 John, and there does not seem to be anything remarkable in its being replaced by its equivalent *ἐλεος* in our Epistle. After all, is there any reason why people should be bound down to a single form of salutation any more than they are to a single form of doxology? Whoever the writer of this Epistle may have been, he was certainly no mere machine for the repetition of ecclesiastical formulas, but a very vigorous personality, quite as capable of devising new ways of expressing himself as the gentle and lovable Polycarp. Mr Barns makes one other point with regard to the salutation. He quotes Bishop Lightfoot's comment on Ign. *Smyrn.* xii to the effect that 'the words *ἐλεος, ὑπομονή*, point to a time of growing trial and persecution'. This is true, no doubt, as regards *ὑπομονή*; but the force of *ἐλεος* by itself needs no outward persecution to justify it, and the internal dangers against which Jude's warning is directed are quite sufficient to account for it.

I turn now to the argument based on *v. 17* *μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, to which I take leave to add the following words *ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν*. These last explain that 'the words spoken by the apostles' were not written epistles, but words uttered on more than one occasion to those who are here addressed. I do not think this language justifies the inference that 'the apostolic *writings* already enjoyed some kind of canonical authority in the Church'. But, as regards the date implied by the recognition of an established tradition and of apostolic authority, I will quote a writer who certainly cannot be charged with an over-regard for tradition. Prof. Paul Wernle in his treatise on *The Beginnings of Christianity* (Eng. tr. p. 120) says: 'From the very first the Apostles were to be the incarnation of the idea of tradition. However much they might differ externally from the rabbis, they were to agree with them in the value they attached to the careful handing down of the sacred tradition, in the one case the oral law, in the other the words of Jesus.' Though, however, I see no reference to apostolic writings in Jude 17, I fully agree that it implies a very real authority attaching to the living Apostles. As Professor Wernle says (p. 119), 'The Apostles were animated by a lofty self-consciousness. They felt themselves to be the representatives of Jesus . . . The self-consciousness of the Apostles and the veneration of the disciples helped to complete each other almost from the first.' How could it possibly be otherwise? Bearing, as they did, the commission of the Lord; chosen witnesses of His three years' ministry, of His death and Resurrection; organs of the Holy Spirit; founders and rulers of the Church, the promised kingdom for which the Old Dispensation was merely the preparatory discipline—how could they but feel that they

had a higher inspiration than that which spoke to Israel of old through the Law and the Prophets, and how could those who had received from them the gift of the Holy Spirit fail to acknowledge the work and the teaching of Christ in the work and teaching of His Apostles? We may go beyond this. The written words of the Apostles, like the spoken words of their Master, carried a higher authority than any written words of the Old Testament. As Christ had set aside the teaching of Moses, as He had said of John the Baptist that, though there was no greater prophet than he, still he was less than the least in the kingdom of heaven, so St Paul and St John feel themselves to be uttering truths of a value incomparably greater than those which were known before the coming of Christ. Hence they had no hesitation in ordering that their Epistles should be read in the Churches. As an evidence of this lofty tone, it is sufficient to quote one sentence from Eph. iii 3-5 *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνωρίσθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον, καθὼς προέγραψα ἐν ὁλίγῳ, πρὸς ὃ δύνασθε ἀναγινώσκοντες νοῆσαι τὴν σύνεσίν μου ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ἐτέραις γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη . . . ὥς νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις ἐν πνεύματι*: or, if earlier evidence is required, take the summary decision in 1 Cor. xi 16, 'we have no such custom, nor the churches of God.'

Lastly, I take the argument founded on the words *ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἀπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει*. Others besides Mr Barns have taken objection to the phrase *πίστις*, used for the object of faith, as alien to the apostolic period. It is, however, found in Gal. i 23 ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτὲ νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτὲ ἐπόρευθαι, *ib.* iii 23 πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα, Phil. i 27 *συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* (where see Lightfoot) and Acts vi 7 πολλὸς ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει. Nor is there any reason why we should object to such a use of *πίστις*, any more than to the corresponding use of *ἐλπίς*, which we find in Col. i 5 διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην ὑμῖν, and 1 Tim. i 1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. Of course, if people choose to translate *τὴν πίστιν* by 'the Creed' they are guilty of an anachronism. The more correct equivalent would be 'the truth' or 'the Gospel'. 'Contending for the faith' here is pretty much the same as 'holding the traditions' in 2 Thess. ii 15 and 1 Cor. xi 2; the weightiest of all traditions being that singled out as the essence of the Christian religion both by St John (1 John iv 2) and by St Paul (Rom. x 8, 1 Cor. xii 3), viz. *κύριος Ἰησοῦς*.

Having satisfied himself that the Epistle is post-apostolic, Mr Barns naturally finds that the words *ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου* must be an interpolation intended to give apostolic authority to the letter. He meets the objection that 'a forger would hardly have attributed his composition to a man otherwise so entirely unknown as Jude' by suggesting that

the character assumed by the writer is not the obscure brother of James, but Judas the prophet, who was commissioned together with Barnabas and Paul to carry the decisions of the Council at Jerusalem to the Churches of Antioch, Syria and Cilicia. This protest of his against fornication and the eating of *εἰδωλόθυστα* was remembered in after times, and he is thus mentioned, with Agabus and Silas and the daughters of Philip, by an anti-Montanist writer in 192 as one of the prophets of the Christian Church. Mr Barns takes some pains to prove that our Epistle has a prophetic character, which I have no wish to deny, holding, as I do, that both Jude and his brother James are rightly regarded as prophets. He considers that the Muratorian Canon agrees in his conclusion that the Epistle was written about 160 A.D., because 'it recognizes Jude as the first among the Epistles which are accepted *in Catholica*'. I am entirely at a loss to understand this argument.

I now go on to the second, and more original part of Mr Barns's article, in which he endeavours to prove that the heretics referred to in Jude are the Marcosians. He seems to have been first attracted to this view by finding (1) that the latter heresy arose about the year 160, corresponding to the date 'assigned on independent grounds to the composition of the Epistle of Jude', and (2) that the scene of the activity of the heresiarch Marcus is said to have been Asia, which agrees with the inference previously drawn from the resemblance between the forms of salutation used in Jude and in the Epistle and Martyrdom of Polycarp. I have endeavoured to shew that probability is against both of these assumptions; but one can imagine such a close resemblance in the characteristics of the two heresies as to upset any *a priori* improbability on the other side. On the contrary, I believe that it can be shown (a) that the resemblances are to be found in other parts of the New Testament as much as, or more than in Jude; (b) that they are to be found in other Gnostic heresies as much as, or more than in the Marcosians; (c) that the most striking features of the Marcosian heresy are absent from Jude.

I will take the last point first, though it will be hardly possible to keep it quite distinct from the others. Marcus was famed as a magician, as is shewn in the iambic verses quoted on p. 400¹. Irenaeus, who gives the quotation in I xv 6, dwells much on the juggling performances of Marcus in I xiii 1, saying that he borrowed them from Anaxilaus, 'Anaxilai enim ludicra cum nequitia eorum qui dicuntur magi com-

¹ I do not understand why Mr. Barns prints the corrupt *ἀ σὺ χορηγεῖς ὡς πατήρ Σατανᾶ*, *εἰ δὲ ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἁζαζήλ ποιεῖν*, instead of the generally accepted amendment of Scaliger *ἀ σοι χορηγεῖ σὸς πατήρ Σατὰν δὲ κ.τ.λ.* i. e. 'the works which your father Satan always enables you to perform through the angelic power, Azazel.'

miscens, per haec virtutes perficere putatur apud eos qui sensum non habent et a mente sua excesserunt.' The original Greek has been preserved by Epiphanius (xxxiv 1) with occasional variations and additions. In this passage it seems to be faithful enough: τὰ γὰρ Ἀναξιλίου παίγνια τῇ τῶν λεγομένων μάγων πανουργία συμμίκτας, δι' αὐτῶν φαντάζων τε καὶ μαγεύων εἰς ἐκπληξιν τοὺς ὁρῶντάς τε καὶ πειθομένους αὐτῶ περιέβαλεν . . . οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ὁρῶντες δοκοῦσι δυνάμεις τινὰς ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι . . . μὴ γινώσκοντες δοκιμάσαι ὅτι ἀπὸ μαγείας ἢ σύστασις τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ παιγνίου ἐπιτελεῖται. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐμβρόντητοι παντάπασιν γεγόνασιν. Some particulars of the methods of Anaxilaus are mentioned by Pliny (*H.N.* xxxv 15 175), 'lusit et Anaxilaus eo (sulphure), candens in calice novo (*al.* addens in calicem vini) prunaeque subdita circumferens, exardescens percussu pallorem dirum, velut defunctorum, offundente conviviis'. From these different authorities Mr Barns extracts the following result, 'By means of these fumes he not only frightened his followers by the death-like pallor, but induced a state of drowsiness which became the occasion for dreams and obscene practices'. He then adds that 'Epiphanius alludes to these dreams in his chapter on the Gnostic heresies (xxvi 13), and quotes Jude 8: *These in their dreamings defile the flesh*'. I shall presently say something as to this last sentence, but will meanwhile point out that neither Irenaeus nor Pliny is responsible for the statement that Marcus or Anaxilaus by the use of sulphur 'induced a state of drowsiness which became the occasion for dreams and obscene practices'. Pliny says nothing beyond what has been quoted, and Irenaeus suggests no connexion between these juggling tricks and the immoralities of which Marcus and his followers were guilty. Mr Barns may have been misled by the word *nequitia*, which occurs in the old Latin version, but the Greek is πανουργία, more correctly rendered by *versutia* in the later version. All that is implied is that Marcus joined to his dealings with evil spirits the ordinary tricks of the conjuror, and thus caused a belief in his miraculous powers (δυνάμεις, *virtutes*) on the part of his infatuated followers, who could no longer trust their senses (εἰς ἐκπληξιν περιέβαλεν, μὴ γινώσκοντες δοκιμάσαι, ἐμβρόντητοι). Irenaeus goes on to mention some of these magic tricks, such as causing white wine to assume the colour of blood, over-filling a large chalice with the contents of a smaller one.

I turn now to the book of Epiphanius in which, treating of the twenty-sixth heresy, he quotes Jude 8. But this book is headed κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων Γνωστικῶν, and I do not think it contains a single mention of the Marcosians, who rank as the thirty-fourth heresy. It is of course possible that the evil practices ascribed to one heresy may have prevailed also in another, but when an attempt is made to shew that the Marcosian heresy is particularly referred to in St Jude, it is

surely incumbent on a writer, who is looking for resemblances, to use the utmost care to confine himself to what is undoubtedly Marcosian. The charges made by Epiphanius against the Gnostics, whether true or false, are such as St Paul would have considered it a shame to speak of. It seems that they actually defended themselves by appealing to Jude 8. Epiphanius replies that they misinterpret the verse, οὐ περὶ τῆς ἐνυπνιάσεως λέγει τοῦ ὕπνου, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς μυθώδους αὐτῶν τραγωδίας καὶ ληρολογίας, ὡς διὰ ὕπνου λεγομένης καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ ἐρρωμένης διανοίας. As bearing on Mr Barns's contention, the fact that they tried to claim the authority of Jude on their side, is not without importance.

But though St Jude says nothing about the practice of magic by false teachers, Epiphanius, in the same passage in which he speaks of Anaxilaus, seems to refer to another writing of the New Testament as giving a warning against its use by Marcus. His words are: γύναια γὰρ καὶ ἄνδρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπλανημένα τε καὶ πεπλανημένους ἐπηγάγετο . . . μαγικῆς ὑπάρχειν κυβείας ἐμπειρότατος, ἀπατήσας τε τοὺς προειρημένους πάντας προσέχων αὐτῷ ὡς γνωστικωτάτῳ καὶ δυνάμιν μεγίστην ἀπὸ τῶν δοράτων . . . τόπων ἔχοντι. Again (in xxxiv 22) he says οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείη κυβευτική τις ἐπίνοια ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀκτίνα τῆς ἀληθείας. Both these passages are quoted by Dr Armitage Robinson in illustration of Eph. iv 14 ἵνα μηκέτι ὤμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν τῇ κυβίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδίαν τῆς πλάνης. Perhaps we might also compare Eph. v 6 foll. μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις . . . ἦτε γὰρ ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ . . . καὶ μὴ συγκοινωνεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀκάροις τοῦ σκότους . . . τὰ γὰρ κρυφῇ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰσχροὶ ἐστὶν καὶ λέγειν κ.τ.λ.

A second note of the Marcosians is their influence with women, of which Mr Barns speaks in pp. 401, 402. We do not find this referred to in Jude, but we do find it elsewhere in the New Testament as in 2 Tim. iii 6 ἐκ τούτων γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναῖκάς τε σεσωρευμένα ἁμαρτίαις, ἀγόμενα ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις, πάντοτε μανθάνοντα, καὶ μηδέποτε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν δυνάμενα, where Alford refers to the account given by Irenaeus of Marcus. A special point mentioned by Irenaeus I xiii 3 is that Marcus encouraged and even commanded women to prophesy, in reference to which Mr Barns quotes 1 Cor. xiv 34, 1 Tim. ii 12 διδάσκειν γυναῖκα οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. Nothing of the sort occurs in Jude; but Mr Barns's paraphrase of Irenaeus suggests that he has still in his mind the ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι of Jude 8. Irenaeus says that if a woman, being called on to prophesy by Marcus, replied οὐκ οἶδα προφητεύειν, 'Marcus made certain invocations' (I suppose, of his familiar spirit), where Mr Barns seems to translate ἐπικλήσεις τινὰς ποιούμενος 'mes-

merized them', and continues 'having put them into a trance' (ἐἰς κατάπληξιν) 'he said *Open your mouth and say what you like, and you will prophesy.*' But κατάπληξις does not mean a trance, but rather awe or terror at being brought into the presence of a supernatural power; cf. its use in the passage quoted below as to apocryphal books. A third mark of the Marcosian heresy is the stress laid upon genealogies made up of mystical words and numbers, which occupy some sixty pages in Stieren's edition. The only allusion to this which Mr Barns can find in Jude is in the μόνον δεσπότην of v. 4, but such γενεαλογίαι are condemned by name in 1 Tim. i 4 μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, and Tit. iii 9 μωρὰς δὲ ζητήσεις καὶ γενεαλογίας . . . περίστασις: cf. 1 Tim. iv 7 τοὺς βεβήλους καὶ γραῶδεις μύθους παραιτοῦ.

Irenaeus, in his Preface, cites 1 Tim. i 4 as referring generally to the Gnostic heresies which had arisen since the time of Paul; but Mr Barns, if he is to be consistent, must regard the Pastoral Epistles as direct answers to the Marcosians, written therefore not earlier than 160 A. D.

Another 'link' between the Marcosians and Jude is found in their common use of apocryphal literature, on which reference is made to Iren. I xx 1 ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἐπλασαν, παρεισφέρουσιν εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀνοήτων. But no one has accused Jude of forging apocryphal books or of using books forged by the Marcosians. Nor do we know for certain that Marcus used the old apocryphal books with which Jude was acquainted. All that is known is that he is stated by an opponent¹ to have received the aid of Azazel in his sorcery, and that the name Azazel occurs in the book of Enoch.

I come at last to what I allow to be real agreements between the Marcosians and the heretics of Jude. These are (1) the abuse of the Agapae, (2) antinomianism, (3) flattery of the rich. But there is nothing distinctive in these general characteristics. They are applicable to various forms of Gnostic heresy; and St Jude does not enter into particulars which would suit one more than another. One minute point is made by Mr Barns. He says that 'it was to check such perversions of forms of prayer (seemingly such as are involved in the use of σὺ δέ) that the writer of the Epistle bids the faithful to *pray in the Holy Ghost* (Jude 20)'. I can hardly think that this is seriously urged. At this point in his Epistle Jude has left the heretics behind and turns to his own people to encourage them in the use of that highest form

¹ I do not quite understand the remarks made in p. 411, that the iambic verses referred to 'help to shew the identity of thought and responsibility between the elder of Asia (i. e. the iambist) and the writer of the Epistle'. What 'thought', what 'responsibility' is common to the two?

of prayer which St Paul had urged on the Ephesians (vi 18) and the Romans (viii 26, 27).

I have no remarks to make upon the fifth part of the Article, dealing with the Liturgical formularies of the Marcosian Heresy, except that I notice a difference between the way in which Mr Barns speaks of the resemblance between certain formulas of Marcus and passages of 1 Cor. and of 2 Pet. Of the former he says 'The words of St Paul Rom. i 11 *I long to see you, that I may impart (μεταδῶ) to you some spiritual gift (χάρισμα)*, taken in connexion with 1 Cor. xiv 1 *Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy*, seem to suggest that there is possibly in the words of Marcus (Iren. I xiii 3: μεταδοῦναι σοι θέλω τῆς ἐμῆς χάριτος . . . λάμβανε πρῶτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ τὴν χάριν) *some echo of the formula of the Church*'. In this I am disposed to agree; but it is strange to find Mr Barns so much the slave of his theory as to the date of 2 Peter, that he speaks of the beautiful words in 2 Pet. iii 18 *Grow in grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* as being merely *an echo of the eucharistic formula of Marcus*, ἡ ἀνεκνόητος καὶ ἀρρητος χάρις πληρῶσαι σοῦ τὸν ἴσω ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πληθύναι ἐν σοὶ τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῆς, ἐγκατασπείρουσα τὸν κόκκον τοῦ σπέρματος εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν.

J. B. MAYOR.

SOME NEW COPTIC APOCRYPHA.

A RECENT publication of M. Pierre Lacau (*Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes: Mémoires . . . de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 1904) has given us a welcome supplement to the texts edited in former years by MM. Révillout and Guidi, and augmented and translated by Forbes Robinson in *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* (Cambridge, 1896).

M. Lacau has edited from the MSS in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* such fragments as relate to the life of our Lord. His intention was to continue with those that concern the Virgin, Joseph, and the Apostles: but this intention, we regret to learn, he has relinquished in view of the fact that M. Révillout has undertaken a complete edition of the Coptic Apocrypha for a forthcoming series of *Scriptores Christiani Orientales*. The latter scholar has given a French version of nearly all that is new in M. Lacau's publication, in a pamphlet entitled *L'Évangile des Douze Apôtres récemment découvert*, of which account must be taken in conjunction with M. Lacau's work.

A brief analysis must first be given of M. Lacau's texts.

VOL. VI.

P P

I. The first item is a fragment of the *Acta Pilati* (chapters ix-xi) in a version differing from those previously known.

II. Two leaves, paged 53, 54 and 59, 60, of an interesting narrative about the Resurrection. Pilate examines the soldiers who guarded the tomb, separately, asking each of them how many men, or who, removed the body of Jesus. They give contradictory answers, that the eleven apostles and their disciples came,—that Joseph and Nicodemus and their family came,—that they, the soldiers, were asleep. Pilate orders them to be imprisoned, and goes with the centurion and the Jewish priests and elders to the tomb. Here they find the grave-clothes, and Pilate asks why, if the body were stolen, these were not taken with it. The Jews answer that these are not the grave-clothes of Jesus. Pilate remembers the words of Jesus—‘great wonders must happen in my tomb’,—and he embraces the grave-clothes and weeps over them. Then he turns to the centurion, who has but one eye, the other having been destroyed in battle.

Here is a lacuna in which the centurion’s eye is healed by the touch of the grave-clothes (as M. Lacau rightly suggests), and he is converted. Then Joseph and Nicodemus are summoned, and it is pointed out by the Jews that in a well in the garden there is the body of a crucified man.

We resume with a broken dialogue between Pilate and the centurion, and then the party go to the well, ‘and I Gamaliel followed’: an interesting clause, shewing the attribution of the narrative. The corpse is seen in the well, and the Jews cry out that it is that of Jesus. Joseph and Nicodemus, questioned, say that the grave-clothes, which Pilate is carrying, are those of Jesus, and the body is that of the thief who was crucified with Him.

Pilate remembers the words of Jesus, ‘The dead shall be raised to life in my tomb’, and he suggests to the Jews that if this body be that of Jesus, it ought to be replaced in the tomb.

Here the fragment ends: but it is easy to see, as M. Lacau points out, that the body when laid in the tomb revives, and bears witness to its own identity, and to the resurrection of Christ. I have seen a detached sheet of an Ethiopic MS (of which an account and a rough and incorrect version by myself was printed in the *Newbery House Magazine*, 1892, pp. 641-6, by the Rev. A. Baker, together with a facsimile of two pages) which plainly relates to the same story. I will reproduce the version here ‘with all faults’.

p. 1, col. 1. . . . the linen cloths, for he said ‘O my brother, dost thou not behold how it smells and is beautiful, the fragrance of that linen cloth, and it is not like the smell of the dead, but like the fine linen (purple) of kings’ wrappings’. And the Jews said to Pilate, ‘Thou

thyself knowest how Joseph put upon Him much spice and incense and (rubbed) Him with myrrh and aloes, and this is the cause why they smell (col. 2) fragrant'. And Pilate said to them, 'Although there was put ointment upon the linen cloth, wherefore is that sepulchre as a chamber which has in it musk and sweet spices, and is warm and smells fragrant?' And they said, 'This odour which is sweet, Pilate, that is the smell of the garden which is what the winds blow into it'. And Pilate heard them and (p. 2, col. 1) . . . Pilate and he said unto them, 'Ye have prepared for yourselves a way of perdition and gone astray, and fallen into a place which shall not be visited for ever'. And they hearkened to him and said to him, 'It is not proper or desirable for thee to come to this sepulchre, for thou (art) governor and the city desires thee: and lo! the elders of the priests and the chiefs (col. 2) of the Jews will learn this speech and deed of thine. And it is not a proper thing for thee to cause war among the Jews on account of a man (who is) dead.' And he¹ said to him, 'Alas, O my brother, look at this great hatred wherewith the Jews hate Jesus. We have done their will and crucified Him: and all the world has come to view through their wickedness and injustice. And He will visit (?)

[Here at least two leaves are gone. We resume with the end of a prayer of Pilate, as it seems.]

(p. 3, col. 1) and giver of life to all, give life (resurrection) to all the dead.

[The rest of the column is occupied by a picture: above, men laying a shrouded corpse in a tomb; below, Pilate praying with extended hands.]

(Col. 2) I believe that Thou hast risen and hast appeared to me and Thou wilt not judge me, O my Lord, because I acted for Thee (did this to Thee) fearing this from the Jews. And it is not that I deny Thy resurrection, O my Lord, I believe in Thy word and in the mighty works which Thou didst work amongst them when Thou wast alive; Thou didst raise many dead. Therefore, O my God, be not angry with me because of what I did (p. 4, col. 1) (putting) another body in the place where they put therein Thy body, for I did that, that there might be shame and disgrace upon those who believe not in Thy resurrection, false ones, for upon them is shame for ever. Praise and honour and power becometh Thee from the mouth of Thy creatures for ever and ever. Amen.' (Col. 2) And when Pilate had finished this prayer, while he stretched forth his hands over the sepulchre, there came a voice from the mouth of the dead and said, 'O my Lord (?) I behold Thy sepulchre how Thou hast opened it. I behold the garden before (?). Roll away the stone O my

¹ Perhaps 'she said': it is not unlikely that Pilate's wife was introduced into the story.

Lord Pilate, that I may go and come out in the power of my Lord Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead'. And Pilate cried out with great joy.

That this is nearly related to the Coptic story does not need to be explained. Whether it is actually part of the same document is not clear: there are differences. In the Coptic, for instance, the Jews deny that the grave-clothes belonged to Jesus; in the Ethiopic they allow it. But the central point, of the placing of a body in the tomb of Christ which revives and bears testimony to the resurrection, is common to both: and this is an episode which we do not find anywhere else. M. Lacau refers to an Arabic *Martyrium Pilati* in MS Arab. 152 at the Bibl. Nat. as containing or likely to contain similar matter. This clearly deserves investigation: it would be most interesting to have the story in a completer form.

III. Three fragments, the last preserved partly in two recensions, of a narrative connected with the Passion.

Christ and the Apostles are at table: the table, it is said, used to turn of its own accord after Christ had partaken of a dish, in order to present the dish to each of the Apostles.

Matthias (not yet, of course, one of the twelve, but represented, one supposes, as an attendant¹: just as St Martialis and St Ursinus were represented in Western legends) places a cock on the table in a dish, and tells how, when he was killing it, the Jews taunted him by saying that his Master's blood would soon be shed like that of the cock. Jesus, smiling, assents to this, comparing the cock to John Baptist, as the herald of light. Then touching the cock, He revives it and bids it fly away and announce the story of His betrayal (one would have expected 'of His resurrection', but the word is *παράδιδόναι*).

The second fragment, which has many gaps, tells shortly how Judas received the pieces of silver. Then, that Judas's wife was nursing the child, only seven months old, of Joseph of Arimathaea. On the day of Judas's bargain the child fell ill (apparently), and Joseph was summoned to see it. On his arrival it cried out, begging to be taken away 'from the hands of this *θηρίον*, because yesterday at the ninth hour they received the price (of blood)'. Joseph took the child away accordingly.

Then follows a very short narrative, only a few lines, of the Passion and Crucifixion.

The third fragment tells the story of a man of Bethlehem, by name Ananias, who, after the death of Jesus, ran forward and embraced the body and the cross. A voice came from the body, blessing him and

¹ Or as the master of the house in which the meal takes place. In the apocalypse of Bartholomew (Lacau p. 77) Matthias is said to have been rich in worldly goods, this is no doubt the result of confusion with Matthew. Matthew is mentioned in this same paragraph, without any allusion to his riches.

promising him immortality. The Jews in wrath stoned him without effect, then placed him in a burning furnace for three days and three nights, and finally the high priest pierced him with a lance. The voice of God was heard blessing him, and promising that his body should never decay.

The episode of the resuscitation of the cock in the first of these fragments is one which took hold on popular imagination, both in East and West. It is told in Danish and other northern ballads, and represented in early northern art, in connexion with Christ's birth, the actors being St Stephen and Herod; and again in connexion with the Passion in late Greek forms of the *Acta Pilati*, and in a good many Latin MSS, as a detached story, the actors being Judas and his wife or mother. An Ethiopic writing called the Book of the Cock¹, described in D'Abbadie's catalogue, contains the tale in a form probably much like the Coptic. It deserves publication.

To the other two fragments I can at present adduce no parallel.

IV. A large portion of the Apocalypse of Bartholomew, in two recensions. Both of these are from the convent of Amba Schenoudah (whence, indeed, most of the other fragments also come), where Bartholomew's body was thought to be preserved.

One portion of this Apocalypse had been long known by a publication of E. Dulaurier in 1835. We now have an important accession. The extracts of the whole are as follows:

Christ has descended into Hell. He tramples on Beliar and Melchir (cf. Belkiras in the *Ascension of Isaiah*). Meanwhile Death is conversing with the grave-clothes of Christ in the sepulchre. The grave-clothes, it is evident, are caused to personate Christ and to hold Death in parley while Christ descends to harry Hell.

Christ addresses the soul of Judas in terms resembling those of the lamentation over Elihu in the *Testament of Job* (ch. xliii). Only the beginning of this remains. Two pages (one leaf) are lost².

After this speech Death (Abaddon), who must have found out the trick

¹ D'Abbadie's account (*Catal. Raisonné de MSS Éth.* 1859, p. 10) is: 'Aussitôt après la Sainte Cène, Akrosina, femme de Simon le Pharisien, apporta un coq rôti dans un pot, le mit sur un joli plat et le posa devant notre Sauveur . . . et Jésus lui rendit la vie en le touchant et l'envoya épier Judas dans Jérusalem; il lui donna aussi la voix humaine. Et Rigrimt, femme de Judas, l'envoya aux Juifs. Le coq assista au marché conclu par Judas et s'en alla l'annoncer à Jésus, qui, après l'avoir écouté, l'envoya monter en volant jusqu'au ciel pendant 10,000 ans . . . Ensuite vient l'histoire de la Passion . . . Saül, Yodnan et Alexandre sont parmi les persécuteurs de Notre Seigneur.'

² It will be remembered by some that in the fragmentary Coptic Acts of Andrew and Paul, there is a long conversation between Paul and the soul of Judas, which is found alone in Hell by the former.

practised upon him, descends into Hell with his Power, the Pestilence (λοιμός), and his six Decani. They find the place laid desolate, and only three souls left, namely, those of Cain, Herod, and Judas. We are reminded of Dante's *Inferno* here: a mutilated sentence reads, 'Ils se trouvaient dans ce lieu comme un κελος (?) à trois têtes (τρικέφαλος) de l'absence de pardon qui était sur eux, etc.'

Meanwhile Christ with the delivered souls emerges to find the angels singing the hymn of dawn.

The holy women had come to the tomb. They were Mary Magdalene, Mary mother of James, whom Christ had delivered from Satan, Salome who tempted Him, Mary and Martha, Johanna wife of Chuza, Berenice whom He healed of an issue at Capernaum, Lia the widow, whose son He raised at Nain, and the woman that was a sinner, to whom He said, 'Thy sins which are many are forgiven thee'. They were in the garden of Philoges the gardener, whose son Simeon Christ healed when He came down from the Mount of Olives with His disciples (i.e. after the Transfiguration).

Then follows a conversation between Philoges and the Virgin, in which he tells her how the Jews had buried Jesus in his garden, and how in the night a vast multitude of angels and His Father had come and raised Him.

Now the Saviour appears in His chariot and calls to the Virgin in the language of His deity. She answers 'Rabboni' (with other words), and He addresses her in a long benediction. After this, in one recension, she says, 'If thou permittest me not to touch thee, bless me'. In both texts she asks for a blessing, which is given. Then she goes to summon the apostles. Two leaves (four pages) are gone. After the gap follows the passage published by Dulaurier treating of the forgiveness of Adam, the blessings pronounced on the several apostles, and the appearance in Galilee. Bartholomew appears throughout as the narrator.

The device of the talking grave-clothes in this fragment is new and curious. It has a flavour of the familiar popular tale in which drops of blood are made to call in answer to the ogre or wizard and make him believe that his prisoner is still in the house, and so delay his pursuit. A more interesting point is the mention of Salome as having tempted Christ. We can hardly be wrong in seeing here a reference to the dialogue between Salome and our Lord which was contained in the Gospel according to the Egyptians¹. Any indication of the continued

¹ In the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1903 pp. 246-299. in an account of a paper read by M. Révillout on these same apocrypha. The only document of which no notice is given in the other publications before me is one relating to Salome. I will quote what M. Révillout says of it:

'À un Évangile de l'enfance encore inconnu appartient sans doute le récit des aventures de Salomé. Ces aventures sont peu édifiantes . . . Selon notre

influence of this book in Egypt is welcome and valuable. Perhaps the strangest thing in the whole is the apparent confusion between the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. The Virgin is not mentioned in the list of holy women; and the incident of the *Noli me tangere* is pretty clearly transferred from the Magdalene to her. So grave a mistake is hardly conceivable, as a mistake. It must be rather an intentional and conscious perversion. It recurs in another document, of which a notice will be found later on in this paper.

The general tone of the book is late. There is, indeed, one mention of Aeons ('Hail to thee [the Virgin] who hast united the seven Aeons in a single creature'), but it is very vague. The primacy of Peter, 'the great archbishop', is strongly emphasized.

It will be asked what connexion there is between the Coptic Apocalypse and the *Questions of Bartholomew* (Greek and Slavonic), edited by Vassiliev and by Bonwetsch. Both, it may be answered, have this in common—that the scene is laid after the Resurrection, and that the Virgin is prominent in both. But there is no actual coincidence of matter, though I feel the probability that a complete text of the Coptic Apocalypse would furnish some point of connexion. I am inclined to suspect that the Coptic text was an elaboration, made at Amba Schenoudah, in honour of the local saint, of some earlier text, whereof relics are also embedded in the *Questions of Bartholomew*.

V. Eleven leaves containing matter relating to the ministry of our Lord. Most of this has already been published by Révillout and Guidi, and translated by Forbes Robinson. M. Lacau gives a translation of the inedited portions. These are two in number.

The first continues the text at the point where Robinson's fragment III (p. 176) ends. It tells of the intrigues for and against the making Jesus king of the Jews. John the Apostle, it is said, was taken by Carius (an

apocryphe, Salomé était une demi-mondaine très connue, qui avait autrefois acquis une grande fortune. Le saint vieillard Siméon, qui bénit le Christ à sa naissance, était allé alors la trouver, comme si la réputation de sa beauté l'avait attiré. Salomé très émue croit le reconnaître sans en être certaine. Sur sa demande, elle l'emmène dans des chambres de plus en plus secrètes, pour éviter de le compromettre. Enfin il s'ouvre à elle de ses intentions et finit par la convertir. Elle abandonna alors sa maison et ses richesses. Il la baptise au nom de la Sainte-Trinité, qui lui a été révélée sur le Jourdain, que le Christ devait plus tard visiter, il le sait. Salomé se retire à Bethléem, où elle construit des lieux de refuge pour y servir les voyageurs. C'est là que viennent plus tard Joseph et Marie. Sur la demande de Joseph, Salomé va chercher une sage-femme (comme dans le proto-évangile de Saint-Jacques). La sage-femme et elle devaient, d'après le dernier texte, assister au miracle qui lui montra, ainsi qu'à Salomé, en Jésus le Fils de Dieu.'

Provisionally this must be regarded as not at all an early story, and as very probably influenced by such legends as that of Mary of Egypt.

imperial officer) to Tiberius, and gave him an account of Jesus. Jesus, 'as it is written in the Gospels', retires to a mountain with the Apostles. And here follows a solemn blessing of Peter, not unlike that in the Apocalypse of Bartholomew. Similar blessings of other apostles appear to be contained in a fragmentary leaf (pp. 97, 98) not translated by the editor. Then, after no long gap, in all probability, we resume with Robinson's fragment IV (pp. 177-9). This, it may be remembered, ends with an appearance of the devil as a fisherman, who catches men by different parts of their bodies. A leaf in Lacau (pp. 99, 100: translation p. 108) gives us the continuation of this scene. The devil is put to flight by John: Bartholomew then asks to see 'him whom Thou didst create to laugh at him (i. e. Leviathan: see Ps. civ 26), whom Thou didst cast down from the height of the heaven'. Jesus replies that no man can bear the sight, but that He Himself, who puts all fear to flight, is with them. A cloud then appears in the sky, which is that same cloud on which Moses and Elias went up to heaven, and from which the voice of the Father was heard: 'This is my (Son)'. Here the fragment ends.

It seems not doubtful that a vision of Satan is to be vouchsafed to the Apostles in answer to Bartholomew's request. In this I see a near resemblance to the *Questions of Bartholomew*, where (ed. Bonwetsch pp. 18 sqq.) Bartholomew makes the same demand and receives a very similar answer: Beliar is then brought, chained, by angels, and reveals many mysteries to the inquisitive Apostle. This affinity between the Coptic fragment and the Greek book is to my mind in favour of the notion that the Coptic Apocalypse of Bartholomew will be found to be ultimately identical with the *Questions*: at the least it points to an acquaintance with the *Questions* in Egypt.

Another Greek document which should be mentioned in connexion with this incident is the *Dispute of Christ with Satan*, edited in two late texts by Vassiliev. In this there is no mention of Bartholomew, but there is a rather similar setting; and there is the common feature of a cloud appearing (which suspends Satan in the air). I rather imagine that this would be the ultimate function of the cloud in the Coptic fragment.

The general complexion of the piece is, of course, already known. It is professedly not in the nature of a supplement to the Gospels (Robinson p. 165), but one cannot easily find another description for it. It constantly refers to the Gospels, and gives information which they do not contain. Possibly we ought to regard these narratives as illustrative extracts from older books introduced by the preacher to add interest to his sermon (for these documents are nearly all in the form of sermons): at least in the case before us we have seen what looks like a borrowing from an *apocryphon* of Bartholomew. Other amplifications,

e.g. the long address of Christ to Thomas (p. 170), may be put down confidently to the writer's imagination. In the case before us it does not appear (as it does in some others) that the author is supposed to be an eye-witness, or a companion of the Apostles. But until some more complete text containing the beginning or end of these homilies is discovered, we cannot pronounce with certainty on the claims which their writers made for them.

It is now time to take account of the fragments which M. Révillout has translated in his pamphlet *L'Évangile des Douze Apôtres récemment découvert* (pp. 56). His main thesis in this work is one for which he will not find many supporters. It is that the fragments described above under Nos. II, III, and V, together with many others, belong to a single work which he identifies with the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles mentioned by Origen (*in Lucam*): that this was an orthodox compilation attributed to Gamaliel, and dating from the beginning of the second century. However, as far as our present knowledge goes, we are not justified in regarding the 'homiletic' fragments (No. V) as belonging to the same work as Nos. II or III: and I shall be surprised if many or any students incline to assign to any of the documents a date anterior to the fourth century at earliest in their present form. Still, we must be grateful to M. Révillout for what he has given us in the way of new matter, and we shall look eagerly for his promised full publication of the texts in M. Graffin's series.

His pamphlet is arranged in a rather confusing order. He follows the Gospel story and intercalates his texts in the midst of his comments, and extracts from the canonical Gospels. It may be useful to give a list of the passages.

p. 7. = Robinson p. 168.

p. 10. R. p. 169.

p. 11. New. Accusation of Philip the Tetrarch by Herod to Tiberius, and deposition of Philip.

p. 12. Robinson p. 169. Miracle of the loaves.

p. 14. Robinson p. 169. Lazarus. p. 16. R. p. 172. pp. 17-19. R. pp. 173-5.

p. 19. Lacau p. 105.

p. 22. Lacau p. 106.

On p. 24 is a paragraph from the Apocalypse of Bartholomew. Lacau p. 75.

p. 25. Robinson pp. 176-8. p. 28. R. p. 178.

The fragments on pp. 7-25 are (except that on p. 24) from the 'homiletic' narrative.

p. 30. New. A paragraph on Judas, who is instigated by his wife to take money from the purse, and also to betray Christ. This resembles

Lacau's No. III, in that mention is made of Judas's wife: but it does not fit into that text.

p. 32. Lacau p. 33, No. III.

On pp. 36, 37 is given the Strasburg fragment published by Jacoby. This also Révillout considers to form part of the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.

pp. 38, 39. New. A conversation between Jesus and Pilate. A longer one discovered subsequently by the editor is given in a note on p. 37.

p. 41. Lacau pp. 34-6. The episode of Ananias of Bethlehem. At the end of this, on p. 42, Révillout adds a new fragment which to my mind cannot but be an address of Christ to Thomas after the resurrection. It is an amplification of the words, 'Reach hither thy finger', &c.

p. 44. New. An account of the appearance of Christ to the Virgin in the garden, in which the words *Noli me tangere* are undoubtedly addressed to the latter, and not to Mary Magdalene: 'Ô mère, ne me touchez pas . . . Il n'est pas possible que rien de charnel me touche jusqu'à ce que j'aïlle au ciel.'

pp. 46-8. Lacau pp. 19 sqq., No. II.

On pp. 49 sqq. fragments of an account of the Assumption of the Virgin are given, which the editor conjecturally attributes to the same hand and source as the rest.

It will have been gathered from what I have said that I do not assign a very early date to any of the fragments I have described. In spite of this, I feel that considerable interest attaches to them in view of the fact that they probably embody (in the allusion to Salome they do plainly embody) matter taken from much earlier books. This element will have to be carefully strained out by protracted study; and before that study can be usefully prosecuted, we must have a *Corpus* of the texts such as we hope M. Révillout will shortly give us. Besides their borrowed ingredients, however, these writings have an interest of their own. The wealth of fancy, the boldness of invention which they display (side by side with a good deal of poor rhetoric, it is true), is really remarkable. I think even the 'general reader', if he be not too impatient of asterisks and broken sentences, would be interested and pleased by the perusal of them. But perhaps a long familiarity with this department of fiction has inclined me to an undue tolerance.

M. R. JAMES.

THE SO-CALLED *TRACTATUS ORIGENIS* AND OTHER WRITINGS ATTRIBUTED TO NOVATIAN.

THE twenty Latin homilies discovered by Batiffol under the title 'Tractatus Origenis de Libris SS. Scripturarum' were published in 1900, and in the October number of the *JOURNAL* of that same year and the January number of 1901 (ii 113 and 254) I contributed notes wherein I discussed the problems raised in the early stages of the literary controversy called forth by the appearance of these *Tractatus*.

Now, after the controversy has been running for five years, and a number of scholars have pronounced upon it, it may be of interest to report progress. I shall not go back upon the ground covered in the previous notes, but shall endeavour to define the present position of the discussion, and shall indulge in some practical reflections upon certain methods of literary criticism commonly in vogue.

The one point about which there appears to be common agreement is that Weyman has solidly established his thesis that the *Tractatus* are essentially a book of Latin origin; consequently Batiffol and Harnack have frankly abandoned their first theory of a translation from Origen (by Victorinus of Pettau)¹.

The controversy has practically narrowed itself to a choice between the two following views.

- (1) The *Tractatus* were written by Novatian;
- (2) They are the work of an unknown author (or compiler), certainly post-Nicene, and probably of the later part of the fourth century at earliest².

The first upholders of Novatian's authorship, Weyman, Zahn and Haussleiter, have all reasserted their view, and defend it in face of the criticisms levelled against it; and their ranks have been reinforced by Jordan, who has produced a substantial book entitled *Die Theologie der neuentdeckten Predigten Novatians* (1902); he practically assumes Novatian's authorship as proved, and proceeds without more ado to analyse and systematize the teaching of the *Tractatus*, and to present the result as 'Novatian's theology.'

¹ The proof offered in my first note, that fragments of true Origenistic matter are embedded in the *Tractatus*, is, however, accepted as valid by these scholars and others.

² Batiffol it is true has adopted a middle position: he is strongly opposed to Novatian's authorship, but believes that the author was an unknown Novatianist, ante-Nicene, perhaps of the first years of the fourth century (*Bulletin de litt. ecclésiastique* (Toulouse) 1900 p. 283; *Revue Biblique* 1903 p. 81). A similar view seems to have been put forward by a Danish scholar named Torm. But it has not made way or gained recognition.

Against the claim to the authorship thus set up for Novatian weighty voices have been raised. Funk was the first carefully to examine the new theory; we shall return to his argument; here it will suffice to say that he concludes that the *Tractatus* are certainly not by Novatian, and that they are certainly post-Nicene, and probably later than 350. Bardenhewer, in his great *History of Early Church Literature*, devotes six pages to the *Tractatus*; he weighs carefully the hypotheses hitherto broached, and concludes that the author lived *at the earliest* in the second half of the fourth century, but that there are no means for identifying him¹. Harnack in his 'Chronology' also discusses the problem, and in his article 'Novatian,' in Herzog-Hauck, he summarizes his conclusions: the evidence points to an unknown writer at least far on (*tief*) in the fourth century². In the second edition (just published) of Part III of the *History of Roman Literature* by M. Schanz, professor at Würzburg (to be distinguished from the late Professor Schanz of Tübingen), a wonderfully clear and comprehensive *résumé* of the whole controversy may be found: he sums up in favour of the position defined at the end of my second note in the JOURNAL, that the *Tractatus* as we have them are the work of an unknown writer in the fifth or sixth century³.

Now it will probably be agreed that on a point of early Christian historico-theological literary criticism, a stronger court than Funk, Bardenhewer and Harnack could hardly be formed; and these qualified judges are unanimous in the verdict that Novatian's claim must be rejected unconditionally, and that the *Tractatus* are definitely post-Nicene: Bardenhewer and Harnack add that they are not earlier than 350, and may be considerably later; in his article Funk abstained from any more precise pronouncement than 'Post-Nicene,' but he tells me his belief is that the date must be postponed till the fifth century⁴.

In these circumstances it was a surprise to read in a little textbook, prepared by Jordan for use in ecclesiastical colleges, the statement that the *Tractatus* 'are with good grounds attributed to Novatian by a series of students, and undoubtedly were not composed later than the beginning of the fourth century, and certainly belong to the Novatianic circle'⁵.

¹ *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* ii 568-74.

² *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* ii 407-10; *Real-Encyclopädie* xiv 227.

³ *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* iii 423-27.

⁴ He writes: 'Meine Gründe sind übrigens derart, dass ich jedenfalls ins 5. Jahrhundert herabgehen muss.'

⁵ Die erste von den 20 Predigten, welche Pierre Batiffol im Jahre 1900 zum ersten Male herausgegeben hat, und welche von einer Reihe von Forschern mit guten Gründen dem Novatian zugeschrieben werden, zweifellos aber nicht später entstanden sind als am Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts und sicher dem novatianischen Kreise angehören' (*Rhythmische Prosatexte* p. 3 (1905)).

This, it has to be said, is a method of assertion rather than of science ; but it is not uncharacteristic of the general method pursued in this discussion by the upholders of Novatian : they steadily advocate Novatian's authorship, but ignore what has been advanced on the other side. It seems that in these circumstances perhaps the most useful contribution that can at present be made to the controversy will be just to mark time, by stating succinctly the arguments that have been urged against Novatian or any ante-Nicene author of the *Tractatus* ; which are accepted as decisive by Bardenhewer, Harnack, Schanz and most others ; but to many of which Novatian's supporters, to the best of my knowledge, have hitherto attempted no answer.

These arguments are internal and external.

In regard to the internal arguments, practically nothing has been added to the reasons put forward by Funk against an ante-Nicene origin for the *Tractatus* in the article which he wrote at the beginning of the discussion¹—an article characterized by all the learning, solidity and acumen which is associated with Funk's name.

(1) The point on which he lays most stress is the terminology in which the Trinitarian teaching and the Christology of the *Tractatus* are couched throughout ; this Funk declares to be decisively post-Nicene. This argument is the one with which the defenders of the Novatian theory have tried to grapple—as indeed they were bound. Weyman had already suggested 'a slight retouching'—ein wenig retouchiert—in the sense of Nicene or post-Nicene Orthodoxy².

Jordan endorses Funk's judgement, but labours to shew that the pieces in question are interpolations³. Bihlmeyer (Repetent in the Catholic Faculty at Tübingen) contended that the pieces in question belong to the structure of the context, and cannot be regarded as interpolations⁴.

Funk, Batiffol, Bardenhewer, and Harnack agree in pronouncing the interpolation-theory to be quite inadmissible ; and what is more significant still, Weyman, who had been disposed to acquiesce in the theory, after Bihlmeyer's article reverted to his previous idea of a retouching, or even rewriting of the *Tractatus*⁵. It is hard to draw the line between interpolation and retouching ; for instance, in the chief passage in question (Tr. xiv p. 157, 11) : 'Nemo enim vincit nisi qui [Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum aequali potestate et indifferenti virtute] crediderit,' Jordan attributes the words in [] to interpolation ;

¹ *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1900 p. 534.

² *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 1900 p. 551.

³ *Die Theologie*, &c. pp. 50-65.

⁴ *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1904 p. 38.

⁵ 'Bearbeitung und Überarbeitung,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1904 p. 236.

can Weyman attribute much less to retouching? I believe Batiffol stands quite alone in thinking that all the expressions in question may be (not Novatian's, indeed, but) ante-Nicene. Even though Hippolytus used the term *φῶς ἐκ φωτός*, and Tertullian wrote 'ita de spiritu spiritus et de deo deus ut lumen de lumine accensum', still few will see in the language of the *Tractatus*: 'deus de deo et lumen ex lumine' (p. 67, 21) and 'deus verus de deo vero' (p. 33, 19) anything else than the Latin version of the Creed.

(2) In Tr. xii (p. 135) the Church is represented as consisting of three grades,—catechumeni, competentes, fideles. The middle grade (otherwise electi or *φωτιζόμενοι*) were the 'candidates for baptism', and there is no trace of their being recognized as a distinct grade before the middle of the fourth century.

(3) The application (in Tr. vii p. 80) to our Lord's bodily appearance of the text: 'Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum', with the comment that He was 'omni pulchritudine pulchrior, omni formositate formosior', is a post-Nicene conception, elsewhere appearing first towards the end of the fourth century, the ante-Nicene conception being that of Is. liii 2, 3. These two arguments, (2) and (3), have received the emphatic endorsement of Bardenhewer and Harnack; they have, to the best of my knowledge, been ignored by the supporters of Novatian.

(4) Funk points out also that the author of the *Tractatus* gives the Sacred Writers whom he quotes the epithet 'beatus' more than twenty times; but Novatian not once does so: this difference, says Funk, tells more strongly against Novatian than all the parallels adduced tell for him. I have not seen any notice taken of this point.

We now turn to the external arguments against Novatian.

(5) Batiffol pointed out the existence of parallels between Tr. ix and a passage in Gaudentius of Brescia as a proof that the *Tractatus* could not at any rate be placed in the fifth century, thus assuming that the plagiarism lay on the side of Gaudentius. Morin, on the other hand, maintains that Gaudentius was the original, and that for reasons that merit attention.

The following is the text from Gaudentius (Serm. III, de Exodi Lectione, Migne *P. L.* xx 865):

Agnus enim perfectus, masculus, inquit, anniculus erit vobis: ut nihil mediocre de perfecto sentias, nihil infirmum de masculo, nihil de anniculo semiplenum. Perfectus est quia in eo habitavit omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter. Masculus est quippe quia vir nasci dignatus est ex virgine, ut sexui utrique consuleret. Anniculus est, quia post illud baptismum quod pro nobis in Iordane susceperat, usque ad passionis suae diem unius anni tempus impletur; et ea tantum scripta sunt in Evangeliiis quae in illo anno vel docuit vel fecit, nec ipsa tamen omnia . . . [he illustrates this] . . . Hic est annus domini acceptus . . .

Hic est *annus* cuius *coronam* (victorialem quippe circulum operibus bonitatis Christi benedicendum) propheta laetus nuntiavit in psalmo: *Benedices*, inquit, *coronam anni benignitatis tuae, et campi tui replebuntur ubertate*: corda nempe credentium populorum, percepto semine verbi vitae, fructu etiam centesimo redundabunt.

It is plain, as Morin points out, that Gaudentius's text of Ex. xii 5 was: 'Agnus perfectus masculus anniculus erit vobis'—it so stands not only at the beginning of the comment, but also when he cites the whole context, Ex. xii 3-7, earlier in the Sermon (col. 862), and in the previous Sermon (col. 854); and these are the three adjectives on which the commentary is based. Thus the commentary belongs to the text; and moreover it has in itself a perfect unity of thought and structure.

Let us now turn to the parallel passage in Tr. ix (p. 99):—

(a) Sed illud mirari me fateor, dilectissimi fratres, ut cum ovem diceret, masculum nominaverit. Nemo enim ovem masculum appellat: hic vero sic ait: *Ovis autem maturus masculus anniculus erit vobis ab agnis et haedis*. Cum enim ovem nominat carnem Christi indicat, quam ecclesiam esse apostolus definivit dicens: Caro, inquit, Christi quod est ecclesia, ex qua omnes credentes in Christo generati sumus, cuius fetus sancti appellantur. Masculum autem ideo dicit, ut carnem ipsam non femineam sed virilem, id est perfecti viri, esse ostenderet, quia non est masculus et femina, sed omnes unum sumus in Christo Iesu.

(b) Et ideo hic talis agnus immaculatus eligitur, ut simplicitas et innocentia Christi sub agni istius figura monstretur: masculus quaeritur, ut invicta virtus ipsius comprobetur:

(c) *Anniculus* dicitur quia ex quo in Iordane baptizatus est a Ioanne, quando dixit: *Ecce agnus dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, expleto et exacto praedicationis tempore, passus est Christus, sicut David de hoc praedixit: *Benedices*, inquit, *coronam anni benignitatis tuae*. Perfectus est quoque quia, ut apostolus ait, *omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter in illo inhabitat*.

Here again I think that Morin's analysis must be accepted: he points out that the passage falls into three sections:

In (a) the biblical text in Ex. xii 5 cited and commented on is: *Ovis maturus masculus anniculus erit vobis*, and it is so cited also, with v. 6, earlier in the Tractate (p. 97). The comment turns on the word *Ovis*, and there can be no doubt that *Ovis maturus* is what the writer of the *Tractatus* had in his biblical text¹. But in (b) we find that the comment is on another reading of the verse—*Agnus immaculatus masculus*, and we

¹ I agree with Morin in rejecting the (as it seems to me) paradoxical view that there is no biblical text in the *Tractatus*; on the contrary, I hold that not only is there a biblical text, but a highly curious and interesting one. I have not the special knowledge necessary for investigating it fruitfully, but it is a piece of work that ought to be undertaken, and would probably repay the labour spent upon it (see note at end of my article in *Zeitschr. für die NTliche Wissenschaft* 1903 n. 27).

have an explanation of *masculus* different from that in (a): the source of this fragment has not yet been found. It is in (c) that the parallel to Gaudentius occurs, the comment on *anniculus* being surely a manifest depravation of that of Gaudentius; and then his comment on *perfectus* being added, as by an afterthought, though *perfectus* has not occurred in the verse as cited in the *Tractatus*: in other words, we have in (c) yet a third type of biblical text, that of Gaudentius—*Agnus perfectus* &c.

Can it be supposed that the apparently composite passage of the *Tractatus* is primary, and the passage of Gaudentius, with its transparent unity, is secondary? This is Morin's argument, slightly developed¹.

(6) At the end of my first article in the JOURNAL I called attention to a series of parallelisms between Tr. III and Rufinus's translation of Origen's *Hom. vii in Gen.*, and I said the presumption is strong that the writer of the *Tractatus* is the plagiarizer. Batiffol pronounced the argument 'fragile', but Morin² and Schanz³ accept it as decisive. That the readers of the JOURNAL may have an opportunity of judging I print out the chief of the parallels:

Origen-Rufinus *Hom. VII in Gen.* § 3
(P. G. xii 200).

Superius iam exponentes spiritualiter
loco virtutis posuimus Saram.

Si ergo caro cuius personam gerit
Ismael, qui secundum carnem nascitur,
*spiritui blandiatur, qui est Isaac,

et illecebrosis cum eo deceptionibus
agat, si delectationibus illiciat, volupta-
tibus molliat,

†huiuscemodi ludus carnis cum spiritu
Saram maxime, quae est virtus, offendit,
et huiuscemodi blandimenta accerbissi-
mam persecutionem iudicat Paulus. Et
tu ergo, o auditor horum, non illam
solam persecutionem putes quando
furore gentilium ad immolandum idolis
cogeris: sed si forte te voluptas carnis
illiciat, si tibi libidinis alludat illecebra,
haec si virtutis es filius tamquam persecu-
tionem maximam fuge. Idcirco enim et
apostolus dicit: Fugite fornicationem.

Tract. Orig. III, ed. Batiffol,
pp. 27, 17-28, 7.

Nunc vero fratres attendite quod dico,
quia et ludus iste aliud significare po-
test, quia in omnibus caro adversatur
spiritui.

Ismael etenim figuram carnis gerit, quia
secundum carnem nascitur,

Isaac autem spiritus, quia per repromis-
sionem generatur. et ideo caro

*blandiatur spiritui

ut illecebrosis cum eo deceptionibus
agat, delectationibus illiciat, voluptatibus
molliat,

et libidinis alludat illecebra.

Unde, dilectissimi fratres, videte quia

¹ *Revue Bénédictine* 1902 p. 228.

² *Ibid.* p. 226.

³ *Op. cit.* III² 424.

Sed si iniustitia blanditur, ut personam potentis accipias et gratia eius flexus non rectum iudicium feras, intelligere debes quia sub specie ludi blandam persecutionem ab iniustitia pateria. Verum et per singulas malitiae species, etiamsi molles et delicatae sint et ludo similes, has persecutionem spiritus dicito, quia in his omnibus virtus offenditur.

et iniustitia homini blanditur, ut personam potentis accipiat et gratia eius flexus non rectum iudicium ferat. Quapropter intelligere debet quis quia sub specie ludi blandam persecutionem ab iniustitia patitur.

Sed quia Sarra figuram virtutis gerit, proinde

† huiusmodi ludus Ismael cum Isaac, id est carnis cum spiritu, Sarram, quae est virtus, maxime offendit.

There is no need to repeat what I urged in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1903 p. 86) against the notion that Rufinus is here dependent on the *Tractatus*; after Novatian's advocates have dealt with the passage it will be time enough to reinforce what is there said; it is to be hoped that they will consider the effect on Origen's homily of the removal of the various passages which (they must hold) Rufinus interpolated from Novatian. Here I shall direct attention to yet another consideration. It will be noticed that a piece of Rufinus's text, suggested by the pagan persecutions and very natural in Origen, is not found in the *Tractatus*, except the three words 'libidinis alludat inlecebra'. That Rufinus, when translating Origen, should have substituted for his author a piece out of Novatian, and then have, so to say, plastered on to three words of Novatian this piece on persecution, whether out of Origen or out of his own head, would surely be an altogether fantastic hypothesis.

In short, are the defenders of the Novatianic (or ante-Nicene) authorship of the *Tractatus* prepared to assert, with Jordan, that the above parallels present 'by no means a case of direct literary dependence', but only 'a common inheritance of preaching-tradition'¹? Or will they try to make reasonable the view that Rufinus, in his work of translation, substituted pieces of Novatian for pieces of Origen, and thus produced a patchwork of Origen and Novatian? Or, lastly, will they have recourse to further applications of the interpolation theory?

Until the six difficulties just rehearsed have been in some reasonable

¹ 'Was die von Butler erwähnte Tatsache von Übereinstimmungen im 3. Traktate mit der Rufinusübersetzung der Homilia in Genesim VII anbetrifft, so wird darüber dasselbe zu sagen sein wie . . . oben gesagt ist.' This is the passage referred to: '... setzen die Übereinstimmungen keineswegs einen direkten literarischen Zusammenhang voraus, da die Übereinstimmungen, die sich finden, ein gemeinsames Erbteil der vorangegangenen Predigtpraxis sein können und wahrscheinlich auch sind' (*op. cit.* 205, 206).

measure removed, the case for Novatian, or any ante-Nicene author, cannot be seriously considered.

But lest I should expose myself to the same reproach as Novatian's advocates—viz. the failure to notice what is advanced on the opposite side—it is necessary to deal with an argument recently put forward by Weyman, not indeed as proof of Novatian's authorship, but as a sign that the *Tractatus* cannot be placed later than the middle of the fourth century¹. In Tr. XVIII (p. 198) we read, 'Novum etenim genus per Christum inventum est: interire ne pereas, mori ut vivas'. And in Lucifer of Cagliari's *Moriendum esse pro dei filio* we find, 'Siquidem novum salutis genus per dei filium fuerit tributum: interire ne peream' (*P. L.* xiii 1016). Weyman urges that it is unlikely that a trained rhetorician and stylist like the author of the *Tractatus* should have borrowed this elegant antithesis from a writer so rude as Lucifer, who nearly always uses a commonplace ('vulgär') style of writing, and who ('soweit meine Kenntnis reicht') has exercised no literary influence on posterity. Moreover, the presence of the explanatory genitive *salutis* is a sign of secondary character. And Lucifer in two other places makes use of pseudo-Cyprianic treatises attributed to Novatian. As this treatise of Lucifer's was written in 360 or 361, Weyman concludes that the *Tractatus* must be placed earlier. Now whatever weight may be attached to these arguments—and Krüger seems to have been impressed by them²—it will, I think, be conceded that the case in favour of Lucifer's dependence on Tr. XVIII fades away in presence of the vastly greater counter-difficulties involved in postulating Gaudentius's dependence on Tr. IX or Rufinus's dependence on Tr. III³.

Schanz agrees with Morin and myself that the plagiarisms from Gaudentius and Rufinus are proved, and places the *Tractatus* in the fifth century at the earliest; in his judgement, my verdict that they 'will find their level among the anonymous writings of the fifth or sixth century' (*JOURNAL* ii 262), is the position in which the investigation at the time stands: Bardenhewer goes even further, and says there is no sure landmark to fix the posterior limit until 690–750⁴.

¹ *Biblische Zeitschrift* 1904 p. 238.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1905 p. 51.

³ Weyman, in the same place, hesitatingly calls attention to the fact that the phrase 'ut potui et puto ut debui' occurs twice in the *Tractatus*, while in a writing of Victricius of Rouen (c. 400) we find 'si non ut debui, tamen ut potui'; and he suggests as a mere possibility that Victricius is indebted to the *Tractatus*. It is difficult here to see any relation on either side: 'si non ut debui tamen ut potui' seemed quite familiar to me, though I could not recover it; but I have since met the identical formula in the writings of St Gertrude (ed. 1875 vol. i p. 74): she certainly did not get it from Victricius or the *Tractatus*. It may have been a proverbial expression. [Cf. *Ap. constt.* viii 12 εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, . . . οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα.—F. E. B.]

⁴ In the article in the *Zeitschr. f. NTliche Wissenschaft* I shewed that even if

It is practically true to say that the only substantive ground on which Novatian's claim has rested is the linguistic argument, based on resemblances of vocabulary, expression, and style, elaborated with such care by Weyman. I must not go over the ground already traversed in my second article in the JOURNAL, wherein I offered some criticisms both on Weyman's application of the method in this particular case, and also on the conditions and limitations of the valid use of the method in general. But on this latter point I propose to offer some further considerations, suggested by the whole series of recent attempts to father anonymous writings on Novatian. The treatises *de Trinitate* and *de cibis Iudaicis*, and Letters 30 and 36 among the *Epp. Cypriani* have been for some time, and now are, recognized on all hands as being by Novatian; since 1892 there has been a growing tendency to attribute to him, in addition, various anonymous writings, viz.

from among the 'Spuria Cypriani':

De spectaculis.

De laude martyrii.

De bono pudicitiae.

Adversus Iudaeos.

De singularitate clericorum.

from among the 'Opera Cypriani':

Quod idola.

and finally:—

Tractatus Origenis.

As a basis of discussion, I have drawn up, mostly out of Ehrhard, Bardenhewer, Harnack, and Schanz, a Table of names, indicating the current state of opinion, *pro* and *con.*, in regard to Novatian's authorship of each of these works. A name in brackets signifies reserve or hesitation in the opinion expressed.

<i>Pro</i>	<i>Con.</i>
<i>De spectaculis</i> }	
<i>De bono pudicitiae</i> }	
Weyman	Monceaux
Landgraf	Geyer
Haussleiter	Watson (<i>J.T.S.</i> v 434).
Demmler	(Funk) ¹
Harnack	(Schanz) ¹
Bardenhewer	
Ehrhard	
Jordan	
(Wolfflin) ¹	
(Krüger) ²	

Morin's attribution of the Homily parallel to Tr. XI to Caesarius of Arles be accepted, it affords no clue to the date of the *Tractatus*, as that Homily is not derived from Tr. XI.

¹ On Wolfflin, Funk, and Schanz, see below.

² Krüger evidently has some lingering scepticism in spite of Novatian's 'strong' case. (*Kritische Bemerkungen zu A. Harnacks Chronologie*, Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen 1905 p. 48.)

<i>Pro</i>	<i>Con.</i>
<i>De laude martyrii</i>	
Harnack	Weyman
Loofs	Monceaux
Hilgenfeld	Bardenhewer
(Jordan)	Krüger
	Schanz
	(Ehrhard)
<i>Adversus Iudaeos</i>	
(Landgraf)	(Weyman)
Harnack	Bardenhewer
Jordan	Krüger
	Schanz
<i>De singularitate clericorum</i>	
Blacha	Harnack
	Hennecke
	Krüger
	Schanz
	Bardenhewer
	Weyman
<i>Quod idola</i>	
Haussleiter	Weyman
(Jordan)	Monceaux
	Bardenhewer
	Benson
	Bayard
	Ehrhard
	Schanz
	Watson
	Harnack
	(Krüger)
<i>Tractatus Origenis</i>	
Weyman	Funk
Zahn	Batiffol
Haussleiter	Morin
Jordan	Künstle
	Ehrhard
	Butler
	Ammundsen
	Torm
	Andersen
	Bihlmeyer
	Bardenhewer
	Harnack
	Schanz

The study of this Table must set all a-thinking. We have the best scholars of the day in hopeless contradiction, and we seem threatened with a system of mere authority—a counting of the names that support the rival theories—as the practical method of settling these and similar questions. The scholars who can best claim to be specialists in Novatian are probably Weyman, Landgraf, Haussleiter, and Harnack; and

yet in the Table they are divided into every combination. And the examination of points in detail is calculated still further to lessen confidence. For instance, the *De spectaculis* and *De bono pudicitiae* have been almost universally accepted as Novatian's on the strength of Weyman's and Demmler's linguistic arguments; and Harnack says that 'if it ever is possible to identify an author on internal evidence, it is so in this case'¹. On the other hand, Funk declares the linguistic argument in favour of Novatian's authorship of the *Tractatus* to be just as strong as that in favour of his authorship of the *De spect.* and *De bono pud.*; as, therefore, the argument is certainly invalid in the case of the *Tractatus*, Funk declares that we cannot rely upon it in the case of the other two²; and Schanz considers that Funk's scepticism in regard to Novatian's authorship of the *De spect.* and *De bono pud.* is very intelligible³. On the other hand, Ehrhard and Bardenhewer agree with Harnack in accepting the linguistic proof offered in the case of these two writings, but rejecting that offered in the case of the *Tractatus*. Wölfflin seems to acquiesce in Demmler's proof of Novatian's authorship of *De spect.* and *De bono pud.*⁴, but he had not long before written an article, based largely on similar linguistic considerations, to urge that *De spect.* is a genuine work of St Cyprian⁵, and Matzinger, a pupil of his, had done the same for *De bono pud.*⁶

Again, Harnack maintains that the internal arguments for Novatianic authorship are just as strong in the case of *Adv. Iudaeos* as in the case of *De spect.* and *De bono pud.*⁷; yet Weyman and Bardenhewer, who accept the latter proof, do not accept the former.

Concerning *Quod idola* the difficulties are still greater, for three views are in the field: a number of scholars of first rank (Weyman among them) cling to the Cyprianic authorship; Haussleiter claims the tract for Novatian; others deny that it belongs to either. Among the last is Harnack, who once upon a time thought the Novatianic authorship to be possible or even probable, but now definitely rejects it⁸. Of the two chief authorities on St Cyprian's stylistic and linguistic peculiarities, the one, Bayard⁹, believes that *Quod idola* is by St Cyprian, the other, Watson¹⁰, believes that it is not. In 1899 Weyman, while

¹ *Chronologie* ii 402.

² *Theol. Quartalschr.* 1900 p. 543.

³ *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* iii (2 ed.) 424. Schanz's position in regard to the authorship of *De spect.* and *De bono pud.* is not easy to determine: in the first edition (1896) —so at least I gather from Ehrhard—he did not admit Novatian's authorship; in the second (1905) he allows it 'a certain degree of probability' on p. 423, but on the next page he expresses sympathy with Funk's scepticism.

⁴ *Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr.* 1896 p. 319.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1893 p. 1.

⁶ *Des hl. Th. C. Cyprianus 'De bono pud.'* (1892).

⁷ *Chronologie* ii 403.

⁸ Herzog-Hauck xiv 226²⁰.

⁹ *Le Latin de St Cyprien* (1902).

¹⁰ 'The Style and Language of St Cyprian', *Studia Biblica et Eccl.* iv (Oxford 1896).

opposing Novatian's authorship, said he found it extremely difficult to accept Cyprian's¹; but in 1904 he veered round to the view that we must receive *Quod idola* as a genuine production of Cyprian². Krüger seems undecided (*loc. cit.*).

When we come to the *Tractatus* we find Weyman and Haussleiter, than whom more diligent and competent students of Novatian could not be found, affirming that the style and language are throughout altogether like Novatian's, and afford a convincing proof that he and no other wrote the *Tractatus*; on the other hand, Harnack, a no less diligent and competent student of Novatian—who declares, moreover, that Novatian's style is 'easily recognizable',—says that only in the portions of the *Tractatus* taken from Novatian can he discern any clear resemblance to Novatian³.

In my second article in the JOURNAL (ii 259) are indicated other examples, which have arisen out of the *Tractatus* controversy, of the uncertainties to which these critical methods lead; and if the survey were extended beyond the horizon of the *Tractatus*, similar phenomena would meet us on all sides.

The kaleidoscopic variations of expert opinion cannot but engender scepticism, not perhaps regarding the theoretical validity of the current linguistic and stylistic method of investigating authorship, but regarding the practical possibility of applying it in concrete cases; and agnosticism regarding the results obtained by such methods. As subsidiary proofs they may play a useful part in literary criticism; and as negative proofs, to establish difference of authorship, they may easily be decisive. But it seems that Ehrhard and Bardenhewer speak only the language of sound sense and sound criticism, when they say, the former, that Weyman's proof that Novatian wrote the *Tractatus* is 'inadequate, because of a purely linguistic nature'⁴; the latter, that on such grounds of language and style alone, 'only in quite exceptional cases is it possible to prove authorship'⁵.

The time will probably come before long when a great review and revision will be held of the numerous assignments of authorship made in the present generation, and it can hardly be doubted that many works are destined then to sink back into the anonymity whence they have been temporarily evoked.

E. C. BUTLER.

¹ This I take from Ehrhard *Altchrist. Lit.* ii 462.

² 'Doch werden wir ihn uns als ein echtes Produkt Cyprians gefallen lassen müssen' (*Biblische Zeitschrift* 1904 p. 237).

³ Herzog-Hauck xiv 227.

⁴ *Altchristliche Litteratur* ii 331.

⁵ *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Litteratur* ii 571.

HYMNS ATTRIBUTED TO HILARY OF POITIERS.

IN April 1904 this JOURNAL contained an interesting paper on the fragmentary Hymns attributed to Hilary of Poitiers in an eleventh-century MS at Arezzo, published first by Gamurrini. That paper proved to my satisfaction that the hymns in question were written by him.

That he was the first hymn-writer of the Western Church is certain. The united evidence of Jerome, of Isidore of Seville †636, and of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633, proves this fact beyond the possibility of cavil. But when we try to lay our hands on his hymns, other than the three Arezzo hymns, we are on less sure ground. However, Daniel¹ cites seven under his name, and Mr Wrangham² talks of 'eight hymns, the attribution of which to him is more or less certainly correct'. Are these things so? Let us take the eight hymns one by one and test the evidence which can be brought forward for Hilary as their writer.

First comes a good morning hymn 'Lucis largitor splendide | cuius sereno lumine | post lapsa noctis tempora | dies refusus panditur'. This hymn was, to the best of my knowledge, first assigned to Hilary by P. Coustant, the Benedictine editor of the works of Hilary, in 1693³. Now in some MSS there is found a letter, attributed to Fortunatus, purporting to be written by Hilary to his daughter Apra⁴ from his place of exile in Asia Minor, at the close of which he says that he is therewith enclosing a morning and an evening hymn for her use⁵. The letter is almost universally condemned as a forgery⁶. And supposing it to be genuine, what grounds had Coustant for suggesting 'Lucis largitor splendide' as the hymn in question, as he did? To begin with, not one of the eighty or ninety ancient hymnals or breviaries which I have examined contain the hymn at all, and this is most unlikely if it was the work of such a man as Hilary. Chevalier quotes it as in two not very old codices⁷: other MS authority for it I know not. It seems at least possible that Coustant, finding it in the Paris MS, jumped to the conclusion that it was the one referred to in the letter.

Next comes a series of three short hymns, also morning hymns, from the Mozarabic Breviary:—'Deus Pater ingenite', 'In matutinis surgimus',

¹ *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* i pp. 1–7. I take the seven hymns in Daniel's order.

² *Julian Dictionary of Hymnology* p. 522.

³ Published in Paris at the charges of the congregation of St Maur.

⁴ The name is variously written Abra, Afra, Apra.

⁵ 'Interim tibi hymnum matutinum et serotinum misi, ut memor mei semper sis.'

⁶ The letter was condemned first by Erasmus, 1523, nowadays by wellnigh every scholar who has approached the subject.

⁷ Paris B. N. l. n. acq. 1455; Rouen, 1381. Chevalier, *Repertorium* 10701, not only confidently gives Hilary as author, but the precise date, the end of 358.

'Iam meta noctis transiit'. These are assigned to Hilary by Daniel¹, and by others in blind reliance on Daniel. What then is Daniel's authority? The story is rather quaint.

Thomasius quotes the hymn 'Lucis largitor splendide', giving Hilary as writer². Then he quotes these three hymns, with a footnote, *Breviary Mozarabum*. Daniel took Thomasius to mean not merely that they were in the Mozarabic Breviary (which Daniel had not himself seen), but that this Breviary gave Hilary by name as their author. On this foundation Daniel at once begins to build³. 'Quod cum certum sit Hilarii carmina in Gothorum ecclesia per Galliae meridionales partes ac Hispaniam uulgatissima fuisse, haud prorsus spernenda est Mozarabum sententia.' And Kayser⁴: 'Sie sind dem alten mozarabischen Brevier entnommen, welches sie ausdrücklich unserm Hymnoden zuschreibt.'

What are the facts? In the first place, Cardinal Tommasi did not say more than that the hymns are to be found in the Mozarabic Breviary, by which presumably he meant the printed edition of 1502, prepared by Alphonso Ortiz at the charges of Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo⁵. In the next place, in the Mozarabic Breviary no names are given of writers of hymns or of any other part of the offices. And as a matter of fact only one of the three hymns ('In matutinis surgimus') is found in any MS of the Breviary⁶. The other two are to be found only in this Breviary of Ortiz, which leaves it extremely doubtful whether they did really belong to the *ancient* Mozarabic use.

Then we have the Epiphany hymn 'Iesus refulsit omnium | pius redemptor gentium'. Here we have Kayser⁷ on our side, saying that the combined mention of the Magi, the Baptism of Christ, and the Miracle at Cana with reference to the Epiphany could hardly have been made by so early a writer as Hilary⁸. Then Mone objects to the rhyme—not casual, but carried throughout the hymn—and still more to the alliteration⁹. Let these objections carry what weight they may. There remains the fact that the hymn is not assigned to Hilary by any writer earlier than Fabricius, A.D. 1564, some 1,200 years after Hilary's death.

¹ Daniel iv 36. In Dreves' and Blume's *Die mozarabischen Hymnen* (Leipzig, 1897) a better text of the three hymns is to be found on pp. 71, 102.

² pp. 408 ff of the ed. brought out by Fr. Vezzosi, 1747.

³ *Thes. Hymn.* iv 36.

⁴ *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung der ältesten Kirchenhymnen* i² 64.

⁵ Cf. Dreves and Blume, *ib.* pp. 6, 28 ff.

⁶ Madrid cod. 1005 (Hh 60) x cent. p. cxxiv.

⁷ *Op. cit.* i² 67.

⁸ Dreves, *Ambrosius* pp. 37 ff, makes this objection of doubtful weight, quoting Petrus Chrysologus (born 406) *tria Deitatis insignia* (of the Epiphany), and Maximus of Turin.

⁹ *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalters* i 78. A theory vigorously combated by Piment *Les Hymnes du Bréviaire Romain* i 93 ff.

The sixth hymn is the Lenten 'Iesu quadragenariae | dicator abstinentiae', of which Daniel himself to be sure says 'Sequiori aevo compositum esse tam certum est quam quod certissimum'. Kayser the conservative doubts if the forty days' fast was already, in Hilary's day, so fixed as the hymn takes for granted. And the rhyme is persistent. And the earliest authority is again Fabricius.

Last of the seven hymns given to Hilary by Daniel is the Whitsuntide 'Beata nobis gaudia | anni reduxit orbita'. The rhyme is again very marked, and Fabricius again is the earliest voucher for the Hilarian authorship. But the greatest objection is this. In Hilary's time, and for two centuries more, the Easter hymns were sung up to and including Whitsunday. So that he would not have thought of writing a hymn specially for this latter festival. As late as the Rule of Aurelian of Arles (+555) the Easter 'Hic est dies uerus Dei' of Ambrose¹ covered the whole of the fifty days. And Ambrose expressly says: 'Maiores tradidere nobis, Pentecostes omnes quinquaginta dies ut Pascha celebrandos.'²

The last of the eight is 'the noble matin hymn in praise of Christ' 'Hymnum dicat turba fratrum, hymnum cantus personet'³. This really has some definite evidence for its Hilarian authorship. It is in so many words assigned to him by the so-called Antiphony of Bangor, by two ancient codices at St Gall, by two manuscript copies of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, and twice by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims⁴. Against this we have to set the fact that Bede, in his mention of the hymn, does not give the writer's name, which (say some) he would have given if it had been Hilary's. But the argument from silence is notoriously unsafe. Bede may have known the hymn to be his and yet not have stated the fact. And it may have been Hilary's without Bede knowing it. The Antiphony was written when Bede was yet a child⁵.

Daniel is inclined to identify the *Hymnum dicat* with the hymn to Christ as God sung before daybreak by the early Christians of Bithynia, and Kayser quotes his opinion with approval. However, it is but a guess, resting upon no direct evidence of any facts that can be

¹ Cf. Daniel i 49; Mone § 167; Thomasius p. 368; Werner 32; Biraghi 63; Dreves *Ambrosius* 136.

² In *Luc.* viii 25 (cf. *Apologia David* viii 42). Ambrose was perhaps not thinking about hymns in particular when he wrote these words, but, considered in the light of Aurelian's Rule mentioned above, they seem to me to indicate that only the Easter hymn was used.

³ J. D. Chambers in *Dict. of Hymnology*.

⁴ The Bangor Antiphony (now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan) was written about 680. St Gall cod. 567 in the eighth, cod. 577 in the ninth century. The two MSS of the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (Dublin E. 4. 2 and Franciscan Library) in the eleventh century. Hincmar died 882.

⁵ Bede was born about 672.

brought forward other than 'the well-known connexion of the British and Irish Church with the Churches of Asia Minor'. And the hymn of which Pliny speaks was, of course, a Greek one. On the whole then, until stronger rebutting arguments have been brought forward than have been as yet adduced, we may be content to regard Hilary of Poitiers as the writer of the hymn. It is true that Muratori thought that it lacked the elegance that might have been expected in a hymn written by Hilary, and others have echoed his words. But what right have we to look for elegance in Hilary? The directness and simplicity of the hymn have persuaded some that it was not his. To such I should like to point out the contrast in regard to simplicity between one of Browning's elaborate poems, e.g. *Paracelsus*, and the *Pied Piper of Hamelin*. An obscure writer can be plain on occasion, when the obscurity does not arise from confusion of thought, which in Hilary it certainly did not.

It is just possible that the author of the *Hymnum dicat* was not Hilary of Poitiers, nor yet Hilary of Arles, but a third, otherwise unknown, Hilary, who lived in Gaul in the fifth century and who wrote, in 204 hexameters, an account of the Creation, which he dedicated to Pope Leo¹. According to Peiper he also wrote the poem *de martyrio Macchabaeorum* and another *de euangelio*². But with the hymn both the St Gall MSS mentioned above and the Irish preface in the *Liber Hymnorum* expressly connect the Bishop of Poitiers.

There is also a series of verses³—a hymn in the strict sense of the word it is not—often identified with the evening hymn sent by Hilary to his daughter, an abecedarius of twenty-three stanzas and a doxology beginning 'Ad caeli clara non sum dignus sidera | leuare meos infelices oculos'. In spite of Mai and Dreves—and on such a point the weight of their opinion is great—I cannot think that the bishop would have sent to his little girl for her daily use a hymn of such length, and containing such a sentiment as this: '[ingluuies] extendit uentrem, temulentum reddidit, | miscuit risus'. And to me Kayser's criticism appears to be just: 'die darin ausgesprochenen Empfindungen sind übertrieben, die Gefühle unwahr'⁴.

¹ Pope from 440 to 461.

² *Corpus script. eccl. lat.* xxiii 270 ff. This is a fragment of 114 hexameters. It is worth noting that while the *Hymnum dicat*, in enumerating the gifts of the Magi, makes no mention of the myrrh—perhaps as not being especially suitable for a king—the poem omits the gold. Manitius (*Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* 101 ff) treats Hilary of Poitiers as the writer of this fragment.

³ Mone i 387 ff, Du Ménil *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au xii^{me} siècle* 182 ff. An Ottobon MS of the ninth century attributes the verses—which Mone with a Paris MS (ninth century) entitles *uersus confessionis de luctu paenitentiae*—to Hilary of Poitiers. Others give them to Paulinus of Aquileia; cf. Dümmler i 147.

⁴ *Op. cit.* i² 69.

The opinion, therefore, at which I have arrived is that almost certainly Hilary did not write the first seven and the *Ad caeli clara*. But the *Hymnum dicat* he probably did write, or at least may have written.

A. S. WALPOLE.

AN ANCIENT OFFICE FOR HOLY SATURDAY.

IN spite of the great labours of liturgiologists in the past there still remain services and customs in old MSS which have not yet been published or described. The communication of a passage in a Vatican MS at the meeting of the Roman Conferences on Christian Archaeology in January last, and the subsequent discussion at the February meeting, seem too important to be lost without some permanent record of a liturgical point then treated for the first time.

The passage in question is found in Cod. Vatic.-Urb. Lat. 602, a troper usually, though without sufficient authority, assigned to Montecassino, with Beneventan script and musical notation of the twelfth century; a thirteenth-century writer has inserted on ff. 99-100^{vo} with neums:

S]i quis cathecuminus est, procedat.

Si quis hereticus est, procedat.

Si quis iudeus est, procedat.

Si quis paganus est, procedat.

Si quis arrianus est, procedat.

Cuius cura non est, procedat.

I]sti sunt agni novelli qui annuntiaverunt alleluia, modo venerunt ad fontes.

Repleti sunt claritate, alleluia, alleluia.

In conspectu agni amicti stolis albis et pal[

[For convenience, the words *Isti sunt . . . palmis*, which are separated from the preceding by a slight break, will be referred to as Part II.]

The neums clearly shew that these insertions were not made merely to preserve a dead rite, but for actual use. But what rite is referred to? In the absence of other similar texts, the first and not unnatural interpretation was that the first part represented the ancient *missa infidelium* before the oblation, when the catechumens were dismissed by the formula 'Catecumini recedant. Si quis catecuminus est, recedat' (Mabillon *Mus. Ital.*; Lutet. Paris 1684 vol. ii p. 79), whilst the second referred to the words which the subdeacon pronounced on the Saturday *in albis* as he presented to the Pope the wax *Agnus Dei*.

This explanation of *Si quis* &c., seemed to be so at variance with the

general opinion that heretics, Jews, and infidels were not permitted to be present even at the commencement of the sacred mysteries, and also to be founded on the supposition that *procedat* and *recedat* were synonymous terms, that I endeavoured to find other examples of this formula which would give an explanation more in accordance with the text and the traditional theory¹.

I have fortunately been able to discover the passage in three other MSS, and to find a reference to a fourth.

1. A twelfth-century Beneventan troper (now No. 28 in the Chapter Library of Benevento) has on fol. 27 for the office of Holy Saturday, after the tract 'Sicut cervus desiderat', &c., a short neumed litany which is worth reproducing for its simplicity and archaic character:

Domine, defende nos.

Domine, protege nos.

Hemmanuhel, nobiscum Deus, adiuva nos.

Kyrie leyson. Christe leison. Kyrie leison.

Christe, audi nos.

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

Christe, audi nos.

Omnes sitientes, venite ad aquas, querite dominum dum inveniri potest, dicit dominus.

Here follows the first part of the formula as in the Urbinas MS, except that the clause of the heretic precedes that of the Jew. The second part does not appear, but the MS without any break goes on with the Mass for Holy Saturday.

2. Vatican MS Ottob. Lat. 576, a neumed Missal of about A.D. 1200, which Ebner ascribes to a Benedictine cloister near Montecassino or Benevento, has on fol. 209^{vo} sqq. 'Iste orodus dicendus est sabbato post scrutinium. Quando procedunt ad fontem, dicitur ista Antiphona: *Omnes sitientes . . . dominus*. Deinde circa fontem faciant Letaniam' (with many saints, Leucius of Brindisi appearing second in the list of martyrs, between Stephen and Linus). 'Post Letaniam cantet diaconus hos versus. Respondeat diaconus similiter²: *Si quis cathicuminus*' &c., as above, except that the last sentence begins with *huius* instead of *Cuius* (the initial *h* is not rubricated like the *C*). This is followed immediately by the usual blessing of the font.

¹ After this notice was in type Prof H. Benigni in the April number of *Misulanea di Storia e Cultura Ecclesiastica* (Rome) vol. iii no. 6 p. 365, has defended the above interpretation, explaining *procedat* as equivalent to *recedat*. But the text of the office of the *scrutinium* makes a very clear distinction between the two verbs; the invitation to the catechumens to come forward is invariably *procedant*, whilst their dismissal is *recedant*.

² The contraction marks leave it doubtful whether the scribe did not intend *cantent diaconi . . . respondeant diaconi*.

3. MS C. 32 of the Vallicellan Library at Rome, an Ordinal of Beneventan script and musical notation, probably written in the twelfth century, has on fol. 30 sq. the Office for Holy Saturday, with part I as above (except *curam* for *cura*) preceded by the Rubric 'Quando procedunt ad fontes. *Ant.* Omnes sitientes' &c., and a South Italian litany, and followed by the Order of Baptism.

4. The 'Codice diplomatico Barese' (Bari 1897 vol. i p. 209) gives the text of a Holy Saturday neumed Roll written for Bari in the eleventh century and still preserved in the cathedral. The service for the blessing of the font runs: 'Tunc procedit pontifex ad fontem. canunt clerici antiphonam hanc: *Omnes sitientes* &c. Venientes (!) ad fontem incipit episcopus letanias [very short]. Deinde legitur lectio: *Hec est hereditas* &c. Tractus: *Sicut cervus* &c. Tunc presbyter dicit: *Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice propitius ad* &c. Deinde dicantur a duobus diaconibus hi versus: *Si quis* &c.' The invitation to the Arian comes second; and the last clause has *Cui* for *Cuius*. Then follows the blessing of the font.

It will at once be seen that all four sources agree in assigning this formula to the procession to the font on the vigil of Easter; and an examination of the Urbinas MS shews that here too the thirteenth-century scribe intended *Si quis* to serve for that day; he had erased the Gradual-tropes at the beginning of the MS in order to insert the processional Antiphons &c. and had written *Sicut cervus desiderat* &c. for Holy Saturday on fol. 22^{vo}-23, but would not erase the following pages as he desired to retain the Kyrie-tropes which were still in use; so he continued his insertions (*Si quis* &c.) for that day on the next page which he erased, viz. fol. 99^{vo}, although he had already inserted on the margin of fol. 23 the letter S as a sign to the rubricator.

Hence there is no doubt that even as late as the thirteenth century Benevento and its neighbourhood used for the procession that day an office which we have found nowhere else (all five MSS agree in providing the same melody).

The precise meaning of our formula is not so clear: we have apparently six classes of persons to whom the church appeals; the first five need no explanation, though it is strange to find Arians put in a class by themselves apart from other heretics; but the last 'Cuius cura non est' is a strange expression, and in the absence of any parallel passage, one can but offer suggestions as to its meaning. The variants *cui*, *huius*, *curam* make it possible that we may not have the original text and the different order of the preceding sentences adds to the difficulty. Six separate explanations have occurred to me and to liturgical scholars

whom I have consulted. It has been suggested that if the Arian clause is an interpolation due to a marginal note, the scale would descend from catechumens to (i) atheists, *sine cura*, a degree lower than pagans who had some sort of religion; or that the appeal is to (ii) the careless and indolent, the reference being to times when baptism was deferred until late in life¹, but such would scarcely form a definite class by themselves, and the formula should rather have run '*Cuius cura non erat*'. In fact the construction *Cui*, not *Cuius*, seems necessary to justify either this or the preceding rendering of the passage. Again, it is possible that the intention may have been to sum up the five classes, (iii) any one who is outside the charge of the church, though it seems hard to bring catechumens under this category. If, as I think, this is the right meaning to give to *cura*, I should venture to make this class (iv) the excommunicate, of whom for the time being the church took no care, i.e. '*cuius curam non habet ecclesia*'; it is difficult to say what one word in early ecclesiastical Latin would represent the class later on called the '*excommunicati*'. Two other possible explanations have occurred to me; if *sui* could be understood after *cura*, the reference may be to (v) energumens; or, if the expression is a general one, the invitation to join the procession may be addressed to (vi) the body of the faithful, who did not on this occasion need the special care of the church, as the function was primarily intended for the classes already summoned. I must be content to leave the matter thus, though I am inclined to favour the fourth explanation.

But another question arises as to the rite for which these various classes were bidden to come forward. It is apparently for baptism, and we could quote as a similar rite not only the present Roman Missal which refers to baptizing catechumens² on Holy Saturday, but also the custom of baptizing 'Jews' at the Lateran on that day. But baptism is out of the question for the last class if we are right in supposing them to be the excommunicate, and also for the Arians, if we are certain that the rite here referred to is Western in its origin, for the rebaptism of Arians was never allowed by the Roman Church, whatever may have been the belief and custom of the Easterns³.

Another solution of the question is suggested by the order in which the classes are called up: the first four appear according to their nearness to the church—(1) pious catechumens, (2) Jews by descent, (3) heretics, quasi-Christians, and (4) pagans, all of whom require baptism;

¹ Cf. the Holy Saturday prayer in the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*: '*Pro negligentibus tardisque domini nostri cultoribus, id est neophytis.*'

² The formula *Catechumini procedant* is found in all the Offices of the Scrutinium: cf. *inter alia* MS Vatic. Palat. 485, fol. 37^{vo} (a Lorsch MS of the ninth century).

³ Cf. the sixth-century Timotheus *De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt*, Migne P. G. lxxxvi col. 1059 sqq.

then come Arians, separated from the class of heretics in general as already validly baptized, and for such Confirmation was the public reception into the body of the Catholic Church; and lastly the excommunicate who needed reconciliation with their mother. As a matter of fact Confirmation was always administered after the Holy Saturday baptism, and penitents expelled at the beginning of Lent were received back on one of the last days of Holy Week, though I cannot for the moment recall an instance of their reconciliation being appointed in the West for the day preceding Easter¹.

Further research may settle the question definitely; but the above is offered as a possible explanation of the formula. As in the Good Friday prayers the Western Church prayed, and still prays, 'pro catechuminis nostris, pro haereticis et schismaticis, pro perfidis Iudaeis, pro paganis', so on Holy Saturday she invited them to approach the sacrament, whether of baptism, confirmation, or absolution, which they respectively needed before they could be admitted to the paschal feast.

This explanation suggests a corresponding one for the second part of our formula which is not found in the three MSS quoted above. It is true that the blessing of the wax *Agnus Dei* goes back as far as the eighth or ninth century, but, unless commentators are mistaken, the function was restricted to Rome and *suburbanis civitatibus*. Moreover, whilst the blessing of the *Agnus* was on Holy Saturday, the distribution and the use of these three sentences by the subdeacon took place on the following Saturday; as in the Urbinas MS the words follow the *Si quis* and apparently belong to the same office, and as all the additions by the second scribe have reference to processions, it seems very unlikely that *Isti sunt* can refer to the subdeacon's appeal to the Pope in a stationary rite. Hence I prefer connecting these three sentences with the procession back to the church after the baptism on Holy Saturday. It will at once be seen how appropriate is the description of the newly baptized as 'agni novelli, qui modo venerunt ad fontes', whilst 'repleti claritudine' and 'amicti stolis albis' well fit in with the lights they carried and the clothing by the bishop², and the 'qui annuntia-

¹ The oldest pontificals may perhaps be cited as witnessing to some similar arrangement: e.g. the ninth-century Poitiers pontifical (MS Paris, Arsen. 227) and the so-called Gellone Sacramentary of the eighth (MS Paris, B.N. 12048) after the usual ceremonies for Holy Saturday provide the following offices: *Si quis nondum catechuminus ad baptizandum venerit; ad catechuminum faciendum ex pagano; reconciliatio ab hereticis rebaptizati: benedictio super eos qui de variis heresibus veniunt; reconciliatio redeuntium a paganis; impositio manuum super energumenum*. It is true that the precise day for the use of these collects is not mentioned, but their position after the Easter-even offices suggests that they may have been intended for that day.

² Cf. the rubric in the South Italian MS Barberini Lat. 561 (xii 4) = *dat singulis stola, casulla et chrismale et decem siliquis et vestiuntur*.

verunt alleluia' recalls the words of the eleventh *Ordo Romanus* which speaks of the newly-baptized children as those 'qui annuntiant alleluia, id est gloriam caelestis patriae'.

On the whole formula it is noticeable that its use was apparently restricted to the south of Italy, and that it points back to some date before the final disappearance of pagans, whom St Benedict found at Montecassino in the sixth century, and before the Arianism of the Goths had died out; the Beneventan liturgy has several references to this period, e.g. the cathedral is termed the *ecclesia catholica*; in the farced Kyrie trope *Devote canentes* which I am now publishing (*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* vol. xlvii p. 173) we meet with: *Judaea lugeat, garrit Arius, sileat, centies victus est*. The baptism office of the South Italian manuscript missals has many allusions to the time when adult baptism was common; to take only one example—Ottobon. 576 speaks of the catechumen on fol. 192 'quem de errore seculi ad agnitionem nominis tui vocare dignatus es', on fol. 196 'quem liberasti de errore gentilium', and as one 'qui in seculi huius nocte vagatur incertus et dubius', whilst on fol. 193 it adjures the pagan 'horresce idola, respue simulacra', and the heretic or Arian 'cole Deum patrem omnipotentem et Iesum Christum filium eius cum Spiritu sancto'; these expressions occur, it is true, in an office for the baptism of infants¹, but are a clear indication of the surroundings of the time when it was originally drawn up.

If it appear strange that such a formula as ours was preserved and was in use as late as the thirteenth century, whilst no traces of it are found in the corresponding Roman office, it is, I venture to think, due to the fact which, as far as I know, has not yet been noticed, that the local ritual and offices of South Italy seem to have escaped the Gallican influence of the ninth century which so changed the Roman rite, and that, even after the arrival of the Normans with the usual Gallican-Roman books, they were allowed to be retained for some time; in some MSS, e.g. Barberini Lat. 560 (xii 3) of the tenth century, the office for the processions to and from the font, which may have contained the two formulas we have been describing, was not cancelled until a thirteenth-century scribe inserted other rubrics in their stead, one evidently of the local rite, the other 'secundum morem Romanae ecclesiae'; whilst in MSS still at Benevento the two rites seem to have been allowed to go on side by side in the twelfth century.

It must be reserved for some future notice to consider how far we may be able to find in the Beneventan MSS traces of the original Roman liturgy, such as are probably still to be seen in the Ambrosian;

¹ These expressions occur in the present Roman office for adult baptism.

r the present it may not have been without interest to call attention to one small but not unimportant part of it in the Office for Holy Saturday.

HENRY MARRIOTT BANNISTER.

PS.—*July 7, 1905.* I have now found that the formula occurs in the Ambrosian Antiphoner of the twelfth century (B.M. add. MS 34209), for *Sabbato in traditione symboli*. This fact may on investigation lead to a modification of my theory. If so, I hope to publish a further Note upon the subject in the next number of the JOURNAL.—H. M. B.

THE IDEA OF SLEEP IN THE 'HYMN OF THE SOUL'.

MR A. S. DUNCAN JONES in his review of Dr E. Preuschen's *Zwei gnostische Hymnen* in the *Journal of Theological Studies* No. 23 p. 450 writes as follows :

'The idea that Christ fell asleep and forgot his heavenly origin seems difficult to understand. Preuschen represents it as the result of partaking of the food of the world.'

The verses of the Bardesanite hymn in question are thus translated by Prof A. A. Bevan :

'I forgot that I was a son of kings,
And I served their king ;
And I forgot the pearl,
For which my parents had sent me,
And by reason of the burden of their . . .
I lay in a deep sleep . . .
To thee our son, who art in Egypt, greeting !
Up and arise from thy sleep.'

In a *Summa contra Patarenos* contained in an early thirteenth-century Codex of the San Lorenzo library in Florence, Bibl. Aedilium 37, fol. 75^{vo} foll. is a passage which throws some light on the reference to sleep in the hymn. The *Summa* is in the form of a dialogue between a Catholic and a Patarene, and on fol. 77^{ro} the latter speaks as follows :

'Villicus iniquitatis de quo euangelium (Lk. xv 25) dicit, fuit diabolus, cuius omnis (cohors) angelorum cum fuerit deputata, ut laudum

et psalmodum pensiones deo ab angelis reddendas ipse colligeret, sed cum angelis pro tam dura pensione generatis, coniurauit, ut similis esse posset altissimo, et pensionibus iam dictis cotidie fraudauit dicens: Quantum debes domino meo? c. choros tritici. Et dicit. Accipe cautionem tuam, inquire et scribe LXXX. et similia. Hoc autem uidens Altissimus, Michaellem ei substituit, et ipsum a uillicatione remouit, et cum suis complicibus de celo eiecit. Ipse uero diabolus terram aqua discooperuit, et duo hominum corpora fabricauit. Sed cum per xxx. annos uitalem spiritum istis corporibus infundere non posset, accessit ad misericordiam Altissimi et duos angelos ab ipso (ms *iro*?) quaesiuit. Astiterunt statim duo, quia diabolus occulte diligebant, et rogauerunt Altissimum et (*lege* ut) essent cito reuersuri. Quorum fraudem Deus cito agnoscens dixit: Ite sed caute ne dormiatis, quia per soporem reuerti non possetis et uiam obliuioni traderetis. Sed si dormiueritis, post .vi. millia annorum ueniam ad uos. Venerunt igitur, dormierunt, in corpora praedicta obliti celestis patriae inclusi sunt. Isti fuere Adam et Eua. Isti spiritus per corpora Enoc, Noe, Abraham et omnium patriarcharum et prophetarum errantes nunquam salutem reperire potuerunt. Sed demum in Symeone et Anna secundum promissionem in paradiso factam saluati sunt. Unde Symeon dixit: Nunc dimittis seruum tuum, Domine, secundum uerbum tuum in pace. Verbum intellige promissionis, quam michi in celo antequam descenderem fecisti. Sic et omnis spiritus qui ceciderunt in diuersa corpora intrant, et per amaritudinem poenae et uiam terrarum saluantur. Et si uno corpore hoc non fecerunt, intrant alia puerorum nascentium corpora et saluantur; nec aliud sunt animae hominum quam spiritus qui ceciderunt.¹

The ideas embodied in the above may easily be as old as the second century, and the exegesis may be that of Marcion. Egypt in the language of religious symbolism denoted the flesh. The idea that Adam received his soul at the age of thirty is a familiar one, and St Jerome's Rabbi repeated very similar teaching which had come down to him from Aquila. The belief in six millennia having elapsed is also ancient. The modern Syrians believe that a man receives his *parsopa* when he is thirty years old.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

THE CAMBRIDGE SEPTUAGINT OF 1665 AND 1684. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL QUERY.

THE Catalogue 'Bible' of the British Museum describes under 'Old Testament, Greek' (col. 261):

Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Graecum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum: juxta exemplar Vaticanum editum. [With a preface by J. P., i.e. Dr John Pearson.] pp. 19, 755, 516, 273. J. Field: Cantabrigiae, 1665. 12°.

There are three copies in the British Museum, bearing the press-marks 676. a 6, 7, 8 (2); 1003. b 5, 6; 218. b 17, 18 (2).

The next editions of the Septuagint described are: Amstelodami, 1683. 8° and Oxonii 1707-20.

To the first edition attaches a curious history, which seems to be little known. I do not remember to have found it mentioned lately.

In a letter signed T. B., i.e. Dr Thomas Brett, Oct. 17, 1729, and printed in London 1743, entitled: 'A Letter Shewing why our *English* Bibles Differ so much from the Septuagint, though both are translated from the *Hebrew* Original', we read (p. 47 f):

'It was also printed at *Cambridge* by John *Field*, 1665, in 12°. To this Edition the learned Bishop *Pearson* prefixed an excellent Preface. And *John Hayes*, who succeeded *Field* as Printer to that University, reprinted the *Septuagint* there in the Year 1684. But as he took care to print it Page for Page, and, I suppose, Line for Line with *Field's*, so he put *Field's* Name to it, and dated it as *Field's* was, 1665. By which he put a Cheat upon the World: His Letter being not so clear, nor his Book so correct as *Field's* is. This Edition of *Field's* and *Hayes's* does more exactly give us the *Roman* Edition, than that of London in 1653, though both differ in some Particulars.'

In a later, much enlarged edition, entitled: 'A Dissertation on the Ancient Versions of the Bible; Shewing why our *English* Translation differs so much from them. . . . In a Letter to a Friend. The Second Edition, prepared for the Press by the Author before his Death, and now printed from his own Manuscript. By the late Rev. Dr. Thomas *Brett*. London, 1760': the passage concerning these impressions runs (p. 84 f):

'But I must here observe, that this *Cambridge* Edition, which Dean *Prideaux* (from whom I have chiefly taken what I have here said of the three eminent Editions) says was twice printed, first by *John Field* in the Year 1665, and then by *John Hayes* in the Year 1684. But *Hayes* (who succeeded *Field* as Printer to the University) put *Field's* Name to his own Impression, and dated it 1665 as *Field's* was, and printed it

Page for Page like *Field's*, and so put a Cheat upon the World, to make it pass for *Field's* Edition, though the Print was not so clean and neat, and I question also whether so correct as *Field's*. As I was admitted at *Cambridge* within a Year after *Hayes* reprinted *Field's Septuagint*, and was well acquainted with *Hayes*, I remember I asked him how he came to set *Field's* Name, and the Date of 1665 to a Book himself had just printed? He only smiled, and made me some slight Answer, intimating I shewed myself a Stranger to the World, by asking such a Question.'

This new impression is mentioned in Graesse's *Trésor des livres*, 'Cambridge, Hayes 1684, contrefaçon de 1665'; but nowhere have I found a more accurate description, which would make it possible to distinguish the two editions. I therefore beg to put the question: Is the story of this 'Cheat' true, and how may the two editions be distinguished from each other? My own copy, which I bought as complete, omits the third part, containing the Apocryphal books. On the last page of the Preface is the 'Index Librorum Veteris Testamenti', running from pp. 1 to 745 and 1 to 512, containing no clue that a complete copy has a third part of 273 pages.

Maulbronn.

EB. NESTLE

[With the help of the officers of the University Press and Mr Worman of the University Library, and after examination of various copies of the LXX, all bearing *Field's* name and the date 1665 (one in the University Library, four in Pembroke College Library, and others in other College Libraries and in private hands), it is only possible to give a somewhat uncertain answer to Dr Nestle's questions, though the evidence seems to point to some positive conclusions.

The books examined shew that the title-page and the preface were set up three times. The three editions may be distinguished: (a) probably *Field's* own original edition, bearing on the title-page the mark which is commonly found in his books, viz. a plain long oval, the symbolic figure having the arms full extended, and the motto 'Hinc lucem . . .' beginning at the bottom on the left side and running left to right; (b) probably the edition of *Hayes*, with the mark which (though he also still continued to use *Field's* mark) is found often in his books, viz. a smaller and rounder oval, with a scroll round it, the figure having the arms uplifted, and the motto beginning at the top of the right side and running right to left; (c) probably printed abroad, the printer's mark being like those which were used by a Paris printer, C. Wechel, a century before, and not known in books printed in England.

The same fount of type seems to have been used in (a) and in (b), with the exception of one or two letters, but the setting of a few of the lines in the preface is different. The title-page of (b) has the misprint *διαθηχη* for *διαθηκη*, but the preface seems to be accurately set up. The paper used throughout both books appears to be the same. On the other hand the paper of the title-page and preface of (c) is different from the paper of the rest of the volume (which appears to be the same

as that of (a) and (δ)), and there are misprints in the preface, such as 'ab eam' for 'ad eam' in the first sentence, and בדר for בדר on the second page, and the Hebrew type all through is different—a bold staring type much too large to suit the type of the rest of the page.

But in all the books examined—(a), (δ), and (c) alike—the Greek text of the whole of the O. T., including the Apocrypha, so far as I have examined them, is identical, page for page, line for line, and word for word, and there seems to be no doubt that all the sheets belong to one impression. Certain curious errors in pagination are found in all the copies: e.g. in the O. T. (1 Kings) the pages run 444, 445; 446, 447; 446, 447 (repeated); 450, 451; 450, 451 (repeated); 454, 455; 454, 457. And again (1 Chronicles) 646, 647; 648, 647; 648, 649; and (2 Chronicles) 688, 689; 690, 691; 692, 693; 694, 685; 686, 687; 688, 689; 690, 691. And in the Apocrypha (3 Maccabees) there is a similar error, the pages running 262, 263; 464, 265; 266, 267; 268, 469; 470, 471; 472, 273. But apart from this evidence, the officials of the Press are of opinion that it would be impossible for any compositor, even if he used the same type, to follow his copy so minutely and exactly. It appears, then, that all the sheets of the Greek text are of Field's printing; that a smaller number of the title-page and preface were originally printed (a) (or else that the stock was mislaid), and that the type was set up again (δ), and that some of the sheets of the text passed into the hands of some one abroad who set up the title-page and preface for himself and issued the book as Field's (c).

In any case it seems clear that no real 'cheat' was perpetrated; and if the text of all editions was the actual text, the actual sheets, of Field's original printing, we have the explanation of Hayes's smile and his 'slight answer'.

With regard to Dr Nestle's other question: the book was printed in three parts—(1) Genesis-Esther pp. 1-755, sheets A-kk; (2) Job-Malachi pp. 1-516, sheets A a a-v y y, with τέλος τῶν προφητῶν at the end; (3) Esdras-3 Maccabees pp. 1-273, sheets A-z. Parts (1) and (2) were frequently bound together in one volume. Part (3) was issued separately, but commonly bound up in one volume with Duport's Greek Version of the Prayer Book (with the LXX version of the Psalms in the middle), and the New Testament in Greek, making a volume of the size of parts (1) and (2) together. Otherwise the whole is divided into three volumes of nearly equal size—(1) being found alone, (2) and (3) forming the second volume, while the third comprises the Prayer Book and the New Testament. These other contents of the volume also were printed separately in parts: the Prayer Book pp. 1-126 (ending with the Communion Service); the Psalms, Special Forms of Prayer, and Ordinal pp. 1-171; and the New Testament pp. 1-419.

The Psalms (the LXX version, arranged according to the divisions of days and verses in the Prayer Book; the titles of the LXX being retained and supplemented, in place of the Latin headings of the Prayer Book) had been printed as a separate volume, with title-page and last page bearing the printer's (Field's) mark, in 1664; and the sheets of

this impression, title-page and all, were used for the 1665 edition of the Prayer Book, the pages of the version of the 'special forms of prayer' and the Ordinal being numbered continuously with the last page of the Psalms.

I have before me the two-volume edition of the whole in its original binding, and a copy of the Prayer Book and of the N. T. (not the same setting as in the original two or three volume editions of the whole) each in one volume; but I have not seen a copy of the Apocrypha by itself. The copy of the N. T. (belonging to one of the Readers of the Press) contains the advertisement of the London agents of the Press in and about the year 1698 as follows: 'The Septuagint Bible in *Greek*: the *Greek* Apocrypha: the Common-Prayer in *Greek*: Printed in the same Volume with this; and making two equal Volumes when bound together; are Sold compleat or separately, by A. and J. Churchill, in *Pater-noster row*.'

It may be of interest to add that, whatever the facts are with regard to Field's edition of the Old Testament, there is no doubt that the Prayer Book was set up and printed more than once. The two copies before me bear Field's name and the date 1665 (αχξε), but there are numerous small differences in type and setting. The Psalms, however, in both books seem to be the same impression, viz. that of 1664, as they purport to be, with the same minute displacements of single letters and other resemblances which it seems impossible that a compositor could have reproduced. There appears, therefore, to have been a larger impression of the Psalms of 1664 than of the Prayer Book of 1665; and the history of impressions of the Psalms and the Prayer Book in Greek—so far as we can recover it—seems to furnish a parallel to that of the LXX and the preface¹.—J. F. B-B.]

¹ The Amsterdam edition of 1683, which Dr Nestle mentions, reprints Pearson's *Praefatio Paraenetica* without acknowledgement, omitting the signature J. P. In the Zürich edition of Grabe (1730-1732) Pearson's Preface is also printed, but as his, with an appendix by the Editor. The London Edition of 1653, mentioned by Dr Nestle, was also printed by a Cambridge printer, whose patent was cancelled for neglect in 1650.

REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

Outlines of the Life of Christ. By W. SANDAY, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, 1905.)

No sooner had Dr Sanday's article 'JESUS CHRIST' appeared in the second volume of Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* than the wish was expressed that it might be reprinted in a separate form for the benefit of readers who could not procure the *Dictionary* as a whole. It is matter for general congratulation that this desire has now been fulfilled. Few greater gifts could be bestowed upon the rank and file of the religious teachers of England than a book which, within the compass of 250 pages, offers a summary of all that is at present known of its great subject, written by a scholar whose name is a guarantee for fullness of information, sobriety of judgement, and perfect candour in the treatment of disputable points.

So far as our examination has gone, the *Outlines* have proved to be an almost exact reprint of the article. No change has been made in the literary form beyond the breaking up of the text into chapters. Occasionally we have noticed a slight addition or correction: thus, on p. 47, the author refers in a footnote to his acceptance of *Tell Hâm* as the site of Capernaum, which was announced in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1903; and on pp. 145, 151 his description of a writer (Dr Chwolson) is modified, presumably in the light of fuller knowledge. But as a rule nothing has been altered, even when a slight change would have brought the information up to date; e.g. on p. 29 the third edition of Schürer's *Geschichte des jüd. Volkes*, which was completed in 1901, is said to have 'begun to appear (vols. ii and iii, 1898)'; and, generally, no attempt has been made to bring the bibliographical lists down to the present year. Thus the book, like the article, must be regarded as the work of 1899 (p. 239). As the prefatory note explains, this course has been deliberately adopted, in view of Dr Sanday's intention of publishing a larger work on the subject a few years hence; and it is easy to understand his desire under these circumstances to postpone the publication of results which must still be incomplete and

judgements still open to reconsideration. But it is permissible to express a hope that when the larger work has been given to the world the *Outlines* may be revised in the light of the author's latest researches. Probably there will always be room for the smaller as well as for the fuller book.

Dr Sanday's article is so familiar to all readers of this JOURNAL that it would be superfluous to review what is practically a simple reprint. As a manual of the Life of Christ it has the merit of blending clear and well-balanced statements, such as a beginner may comprehend, with occasional discussions which meet the wants of the maturer student. The textual notes on Luke xx 14 ff (p. 158 f) and Matt. i 16 (p. 197 ff) may be mentioned as examples of expert guidance for which scholars will be grateful. Yet these admirable digressions do not impose on the neck of the English reader a yoke which he is not able to bear; he can pass them over without being conscious of any break in the continuity of the exposition.

There is one feature, inherited from the article, which it is difficult not to regret, though much may obviously be said in its favour. In the reprint, as in the article, the Life of our Lord begins with the Ministry, and the Birth and early years are treated near the end of the book under the head of 'supplemental matter'. Although the author carefully guards against misconception (p. 3 and ch. vii *passim*), it is only too probable that events thus relegated to the position of a supplement may be regarded as of inferior importance, if not as standing on a lower plane of historical truth than the rest of the Gospel narrative. Moreover, while the Ministry and its sequel may fairly be treated, as they are treated in the second and fourth Gospels, without reference to the preparatory years, a Life of Christ, even in outline, seems to call for an orderly view, so far as it may be obtained, of the whole course of events from His birth to His departure from the world. For these reasons it might be wished that ch. vii had been placed, *mutatis mutandis*, in the foreground of the *Outlines*, notwithstanding the difficulties which a change of order would have involved.

But this is a mere matter of arrangement, and one on which readers will differ. As to the value of every part of the work, and the skill with which it meets the wants of students of every class, there cannot be two opinions. Where all is admirable it is difficult to particularize, but to the present writer the sections on 'the Miracles of Jesus' and 'the Resurrection' have always seemed to bear the palm; it is hard to conceive of any more worthy or satisfactory treatment of these difficult subjects within so short a compass. But the book is one to be read and digested from cover to cover; and nothing better can be desired in the interests of a sane and intelligent teaching of the Gospel history than

that these *Outlines of the Life of Christ* should be accepted as a recognized authority upon the subject in our pulpits, our theological colleges, and our public schools.

H. B. SWETE.

ST PAUL'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu, in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht von D. A. RESCH. Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. xii. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1904.)

THIS book is the result of infinite pains and is full of interesting suggestions. Dr Resch has for years been an independent student of the Synoptic problem, and by a careful comparison of the three Synoptists, of all the variant readings of their text found in MSS and in patristic quotations, and of the non-canonical sayings attributed to our Lord, he has come to the conclusion that St Mark's is the earliest of the three, that behind St Mark lay an earlier narrative which existed primarily in Hebrew and which was used independently by the three Evangelists, each taking from it as much as suited the primary purpose of his Gospel. This earlier narrative he calls the *Logia*, identifying it with the Logia of Papias, and regarding it not as a mere collection of sayings, but as a narrative Gospel including the main outline of the synoptist story as well as much of the material peculiar to each Synoptist and even the Pericope Adulteræ, and this he attempted to reconstruct both in Hebrew and Greek, and published in 1898 in his volume entitled *Die Logia Jesu*.

In the present volume he approaches the same question from a different side, from the study of Paulinism. The Pauline Epistles seem to him to prove that St Paul had a wide knowledge of the facts of the life of Jesus, and his teaching and language shew many points of coincidence with those of the Evangelists; and this agreement is found in all the letters, the earliest as well as the latest. Whence then had St Paul, who at first purposely abstained from oral communications with the earlier apostles, acquired this knowledge? This is the question which Dr Resch sets himself to answer here. He is inclined to believe that St Paul had seen the Lord during His earthly ministry; indeed, he hints that he was the rich young man, the ruler, whom Jesus loved, but who turned away from Him

being as yet unprepared to give up his riches. This hint is, however, not followed up. The main answer to the question is that St Paul, after his conversion, received a written copy of the Hebrew Logia, perhaps from Ananias, that he had this with him during his three years in Arabia, that his mind was thoroughly steeped in it, and that all his teaching was developed from germs to be found there. To this document he sees allusions in 1 Cor. xv 3, 1 Tim. v 18, 2 Tim. iv 13. In order to prove this point he marshals his facts with great skill. First (pp. 35-154) he prints every passage from St Paul in which any coincidence with the Gospels or the Agrapha can be detected; next (pp. 155-464) follow a series of excursuses in which the chief phrases and thoughts are examined; finally (pp. 464-639), each epistle is examined separately, and the effect of the Logia on its language and teaching drawn out; then the Pauline vocabulary and Pauline doctrine as a whole is treated in the same way; and an attempt is made to shew that while Paulinism has been dependent on the Logia, it has itself influenced, though not to the degree often assumed, the final form of our three Gospels.

Does he succeed in his main contention? Not, I think, wholly or conclusively. The array of quotations is indeed imposing at first sight; but he has all the cleverness of a general, who makes the same soldiers pass quickly by a given point dressed in different uniforms each time, and so deceives his enemy into the belief that his force is three times its real size. Again, there can be no doubt that the author overpresses his point: he prints many passages in which he would himself admit that the coincidence was very, very precarious: he does not allow for the independent use by the two writers of the same passage of the Old Testament; or for the effect of oral tradition; or, again, for the necessity of two writers using similar language when treating the same topic. To take but one instance, from 1 Timothy he quotes fifty-two points of comparison: of these, thirty leave on my mind the impression of accidental coincidence, two are due to use of the Old Testament, and only twenty suggest a possible dependence on previous material, and of these one only (v 18) *suggests*, and it does not require, dependence on a written document.

Yet when all deductions have been made, much of real value remains, and the book will be of permanent interest to the student of the Gospels and of the Pauline Epistles alike. To put this at its lowest estimate, the facts accumulated supply a rich illustration of St Paul's language and are often very illuminating as to his meaning: but in addition to this, there is much valuable material in the excursuses, e.g. the collection of passages bearing on Trinitarian doctrine (p. 368), on prayer (p. 223), on St Paul's use of *Ἰουδαῖοι* as the equivalent of *Φαρισαῖοι* in the Gospels (p. 194), on the references to Jerusalem (p. 326), Gethsemane (p. 353),

on the use of *καινή διαθήκη* (p. 341): the treatment of each Epistle, the defence of the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals, the account of Paulinism and its influence on Church history, are all well done, and in spite of the mass of his materials he makes his argument lucid and effective; nor can it be denied that he has proved that St Paul was in close touch with the traditions of the earliest Christians, that he had a real knowledge of the facts of the Lord's earthly life, and that there is a distinct possibility, nay probability, that some of the discourses and parables of the Lord lay before him in a written form. While it seems to me purely fanciful to suggest that he was thinking of the parable of The Good Samaritan in his account of his own treatment of Onesimus, it seems more than probable that he knew the Lord's Prayer, the outline of the Sermon on the Mount, the eschatological discourse of our Lord, and that 1 Cor. vii 35 implies a knowledge of the story of Martha and Mary in the form which we have it now in St Luke's Gospel.

WALTER LOCK.

THE GENUINE WRITINGS OF APOLLINARIUS.

Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule. Von LIC. HANS LIETZMANN.
(J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], Tübingen. 1904.)

FRESH interest in Apollinarius was aroused some dozen years ago by the researches of Dr Dräseke, who claimed (*Texte u. Untersuchungen* vii 3, 4: 1892) as the genuine work of the great heresiarch (1) the letters to Basil which the Benedictine editors of Basil's works inserted in their edition, though regarding them as forgeries; (2) the two last of the five books against Eunomius attributed to Basil, the first three of which only are believed to be his; (3) the *ἐκθεσις πλότηως* or *περὶ τριάδος* attributed to Justin, but clearly belonging to a later time; and (4) the first three of the seven dialogues on the Trinity and the Incarnation, printed in the Benedictine edition of the works of Athanasius, and attributed by the MSS to Athanasius, Maximus the Confessor, or left anonymous.

Dr Dräseke thus added very largely to the scanty materials which were available for the study of Apollinarius, though none of these writings shews any trace of 'Apollinarian' conceptions, and he took credit for giving back to Apollinarius his own, of which he had been deprived for so many years. His arguments met with some acceptance:—as a whole, in England, by the *Church Quarterly* reviewer (October

1893); as regards (1), by Harnack, Seeberg, Bardenhewer, Batiffol, Krüger, Jülicher, though the contrary view was maintained by Loofs (*Eustathius von Sebaste*, 1898), and independently in *Texts and Studies* vol. vii no. 1 pp. 38 ff; and as regards (3), by Harnack, Seeberg, and others, while Funk (*Theol. Quartalschrift* 1896—reprinted in his *Kirchengesch. Abhandl.* vol. ii pp. 253–291) attacked the main premiss on which Dräseke's argument rests. Similarly as regards (2), Funk, in 1897 (*op. cit.* pp. 291–329), by a searching examination shewed that the two books against Eunomius could not be a work by Apollinarius refuting the *Apologeticus* of Eunomius, as Dräseke had maintained they were. And finally, G. Voisin (*L'Apollinarisme* pp. 236–270, Louvain 1901), carefully reviewing the whole controversy, and adducing fresh arguments after independent study, shewed, as it seems to me conclusively, as regards all four works, that Dräseke's confident claim to have established the authorship of Apollinarius is not made good. Voisin himself styles the attribution both gratuitous and impossible, and, so far as I can judge, the words are not too strong. One is entitled to resent the publication of theories which are not more securely based.

And now Herr Lietzmann, merely referring his readers to Funk and Voisin, ignores Dr Dräseke as having altogether too great a 'combinationsgabe', and gives us only about fifty of the two hundred pages that Dräseke printed as the work of Apollinarius, adding to them some fresh materials from Syriac versions and some pages of writings by followers of Apollinarius.

To establish the text he has spared no pains, utilizing the Latin and Syriac translations wherever they are available, as well as the Greek MSS. The Syriac translations are published separately in the transactions of the *Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* of Göttingen (phil.-hist. Kl. N. F. vii 4). Where the Syriac only is extant, we have in this volume German (of the *de fide et incarnatione*, of which only the middle portion is extant in Greek, Herr Lietzmann gives us translations of the Syriac all through). Besides, by way of introduction to the texts, we have (ch. i) an interesting sketch of the 'political history' of Apollinarianism, (ch. ii) the sources and chronology, (ch. iii) the history of the transmission of Apollinarian writings, and (ch. iv) an account of the writings themselves. We are promised a second volume with the exegetical fragments, an exposition of the theological position of Apollinarius, and discussion of other subsidiary questions.

Pending the completion of the work, we may content ourselves with giving a hearty welcome to this volume, which seems to make it possible at last to read the genuine works of Apollinarius as a whole, so far as they have survived. The type is so arranged that we can distinguish at a glance between what he actually wrote and what his opponents

supposed that he meant and represented him as saying; and so we may be able to arrive at the truth about his teaching.

For example, to take one point, it is of course certain that he did not teach, as he was falsely charged with teaching, that the *flesh* of our Lord came down from heaven or was in any sense eternal. It also seems clear that he started from an Aristotelian basis, though in some respects he approximated to the Platonic standpoint. But did he get so far as to conceive the idea of an eternal prototype of humanity, which is an emphatically Platonic notion? And did he defend himself against the charge of mutilating the humanity of our Lord, by declaring that the Logos was the archetype of all human souls, and that, therefore, where the Logos Himself was present, there was full and perfect manhood? As far as I know, Dorner was the first to find this conception in his teaching, following the lead which Gregory gave. 'The Second Man is from heaven' and 'the Son of Man came down from heaven' were favourite sayings with Apollinarius; and again, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ γῆς ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ἄνθρωπος μέντοι καὶ εἰ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβέβηκεν (fr. 17—L. p. 209) and προϋπάρχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος Χριστός (fr. 32—L. p. 211; cf. fr. 33). Gregory's comment on the latter expression is that he taught τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοῦ φανέντος ἡμῖν θεοῦ προαιώνιον εἶναι, and it is difficult to resist the natural inference from such phrases that he did actually maintain that the Person who came down from heaven was already in some sense human. The conception is, in its philosophical aspects, an attractive one, and I wish some scholar would investigate it; but he would perhaps do well to let Herr Lietzmann have his say first, as I understand from him he will in his second volume, as to what Apollinarius really taught¹. I only note now, as illustrating the important results that Herr Lietzmann's researches into the text sometimes have, that appeal can no longer be made to one well-known passage. In the address to Jovian (p. 251 l. 14) Dräseke (p. 342 l. 7), reading οὐ before μετουσίᾳ and punctuating accordingly, gives a text which runs as follows: 'He therefore that was born of the Virgin Mary is Son of God, and very God, by nature and not by grace, and [He is] man not only by participation [with us] as regards the flesh which was of Mary'—and so Apollinarius is credited with a strange remark which at once suggests that the Logos was already somehow Man before the Incarnation. Hahn also (*Symbolæ*³ p. 267) retains the οὐ, though he notes that the reading has little attestation, and joins οὐ μετουσίᾳ with οὐ χάριτι. The awkwardness of the clause, especially in connexion with the following sentences, is enough to throw suspicion on it. The text as we now have it, however, with οὐ omitted, gives us the sense, '. . . God, by nature and

¹ He writes to me that, while he must reserve a definitive judgement at present, Dorner's view seems to him very questionable.

not by grace and participation; man only as regards the flesh which was of Mary'. This text is in agreement with many other passages, in which He is said to be Man in and by the flesh which was assumed, and it gives no support to the view in question. I, for one, while thanking Herr Lietzmann for what he has already done for us, shall look forward with much interest to his second volume.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

HISTORY OF DOCTRINE AND PATRISTIC TEXTS.

The Christian Idea of Atonement. By T. VINCENT TYMMS, D.D.
(Macmillan & Co., 1904.)

THIS volume, which contains the Angus Lectures delivered in 1903, is a valuable addition to recent English literature upon the doctrine of the Atonement. It is not the least of its merits that it is written in a clear and forcible style, which is free from technical terms. In a few places the book suffers from the lack of careful revision, and there is an irritating use of the split infinitive. In one or two points of detail Dr Tymms's treatment is open to criticism, e.g. his rendering of *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* in Rom. viii 3 by 'an account of sin' (p. 49); or again his note on the same passage (p. 442), which scarcely does justice to the interpretation rejected by him. Nor again are we sure that Dr Tymms has fairly interpreted the passage of Augustine which he criticizes adversely on p. 448. But these are details which do not affect his treatment as a whole.

The main value of the book is that it is an attempt to restate in a modern form the theory of the Atonement which has been associated with the name of Abelard. Dr Tymms does not indeed refer to Abelard or his view of the Atonement in the short historical sketch contained in Lecture I, but the exposition of his own view of the Atonement in Lectures IV, VI, VII presents striking points of contact with that of the mediaeval thinker. The following statements set forth the leading points in Dr Tymms's treatment of the subject. 'The only real remedy for sin, and the only perfect satisfaction of God's nature, must consist in *the reconciliation of man to a state of voluntary obedience to the Divine will*' (p. 167). 'This obedience can be induced only by measures which inspire that love which is the spring of all the conduct God enjoins, and the sum of all that He requires to see in human hearts' (p. 169). 'It was not enough that God eternally "is

love". There was a necessity for Him to shew that love, and to so shew it as to convince the minds and recapture the hearts of those who have denied or doubted its existence' (p. 264).

In Lecture VII, Dr Tymms developes his thesis, and exhibits the death of Christ as 'a revelation, and the most intense, vivid, and sublime revelation of God in His relations with a sinful world' (p. 285). Among the reasons given for the death of Christ are the revelation of the malignity of sin, of God's antagonism to it, and of its impotence against God; the demonstration of God's sorrow for sin, of His power to forgive it, and of the costliness of mercy; and lastly the necessity that Christ's human experience should be complete, that He should confront the full force of temptation, and that He should 'reveal Resurrection in such a manner as would assure His followers of fellowship in His risen life' (p. 301). The resemblance of the view here propounded to that of Abelard is apparent. With Dr Tymms, as with Abelard, the prominent thought is that 'it was God's design to render the crucifixion a spectacle to the world, and through what, with all reverence, may be called its dramatic power, to work upon the 'hearts and consciences of men' (p. 286). This view of the Atonement has commended itself to many thinkers in modern times. It presents some points of contact with that of Ritschl in his great work *Justification and Reconciliation*, though Dr Tymms's standpoint is far removed from that of Ritschl in the matter of sin and guilt and the person of Christ. In one respect Ritschl's teaching seems an advance upon that of Dr Tymms. While the latter, following the general tendency of Protestant theology, fails to give sufficient emphasis to the corporate relationship of Christ and believers, in the teaching of Ritschl the love of God exhibited in Christ has as its correlate and object the Christian community, through which man attains fellowship with Christ and shares His Spirit. Dr Tymms does not indeed ignore this aspect. In his concluding lecture the mystical union with Christ and the work of the Spirit are referred to, but they are not brought prominently into connexion with his main thesis, and, as Dr Moberly has shewn, the full significance of the Atonement as a present power in men's lives cannot be adequately set forth without them. On the side of what has been called the 'representative' character of Christ's human sufferings Dr Tymms's treatment seems defective. Though he dwells upon the force of Christ's example and His submission to human conditions, there is no comprehensive treatment in his book of the place of our Lord's humanity in the Atonement. Throughout, the emphasis is laid upon the spectacle of the Cross as a revelation of certain truths. Dr Tymms's treatment of the cry upon the Cross is not wholly consistent. In one place (p. 290 foll.) he seems to be on the verge of explaining it away. A little

later he explains it by the very questionable supposition that the death of Christ 'seems to have necessarily involved a temporary severance of the Divine and human'. 'There was a passing away of the Father from His abode in the Son of Man prior to the passing of the human spirit from the flesh which left an inanimate body on the cross' (p. 294). It is commonly agreed that the mystery of the Atonement culminated in this cry. Dr Tymms's treatment of it seems to shew that his theory is inadequate to meet all the facts.

In Lecture II there is a valuable discussion of the Scriptural teaching on the forgiveness of sins and a careful examination of the 'proof-texts' of the New Testament, which are commonly quoted to shew that Christ bore the actual punishment of our sins. In Lecture V the significance of the Old Testament sacrifices is treated of in an able and convincing manner, and there is a criticism of some modern writers who are inclined to 'throw overboard the Old Testament idea of sacrifice as a survival of ancient Semitic heathenism, while insisting that in the New Testament this heathenish idea is not only discarded but reversed' (p. 184). Lecture VIII contains a discussion of justification by faith, a criticism of imputation theories, and some careful positive statements upon the relation of St Paul's idea of justification to the teaching of Christ.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

Histoire des dogmes. I. La Théologie anténicéenne, par J. TIXERONT.
(Paris. Victor Lecoffre, 1905.)

This is the first part of a *Histoire des dogmes dans la théologie ancienne* by the Dean of the Catholic Faculty of Theology at Lyons. A subsequent volume is to complete the history.

As to how the history of doctrines should be presented, there is of course room for difference of opinion. It is possible to trace the developement of a particular doctrine, or group of doctrines, through a given period, and it is possible to give in more systematic form the teaching of the leaders of Christian thought in their chronological order, and various combinations of both methods are possible. M. Tixeront recognizes the advantages and some of the drawbacks of either method (p. 9). He chooses the latter, which he styles the 'synthetic' method. It seems to me to be the method of Patristics rather than of history of doctrines. It tends to concentrate attention on the particular teacher, and leaves a student uncertain how far the doctrine which he represents is only an individual's opinion; but it has, no doubt, its special advantages, and the student who wishes to take his history in this form will find M. Tixeront an excellently equipped and a thoroughly sympathetic guide.

Full references are given in footnotes to the original sources and to the more important modern works upon the subject of French, German, and occasionally English writers (the latter including articles in this JOURNAL), so that a student is well guided to further investigation for himself. Special praise is due to this part of the work. And in the careful, though brief, *résumés* of the different special studies which the volume contains, an attempt is made, with a large measure of success, to gather together the main results and to mark the stages in regard to the development of doctrines.

Occasionally it seems to me there are misleading statements, as (p. 410) that Dionysius of Rome in his letter to his namesake of Alexandria says nothing of the term *δημοσίσιος*. 'Le mot était nouveau, et si son collègue d'Alexandrie l'évitait, le pape, lui, ne voulait pas l'adopter' (p. 410). The Latin equivalent of the term had long been current coin in the West, and it is clear from the reply of Dionysius of Alexandria that his avoidance of the term had not the Bishop of Rome's approval. The recognition of this fact is of the first importance in tracing the history of doctrine. So, too, to say that by the *σπερματικὸς λόγος* Justin probably meant only 'la raison humaine, dérivation de la sagesse éternelle, mais elle-même créée et finie' (p. 228) is to fail to do justice to the width and depth of Justin's view of human life and history. Again, that the African Creed was originally derived from Rome is highly probable, but it is not accurate to say 'Tertullien remarque d'ailleurs que les Églises d'Afrique avaient reçu de Rome la *tessera* de la foi' (p. 159 n.). In the passage cited *de praescript.* 36 the true reading is *contestetur*, not *contesserarit*, and *contesseratio* which occurs *ibid.* 20 has no reference to the Creed. And it is strange to find M. Tixeront endorsing the view to which Dr Harnack has given currency that *πατέρα* in the first article of the Creed 'ne désigne pas la personne du Père, mais affirme simplement l'universelle paternité de Dieu comme créateur' (p. 160). It is certain that the conception of God as Father, in relation to Jesus Christ and, at least through Him, to men, was of the essence of the Gospel from the first. If stress is laid by some of the Apologists of the second century on the cosmic significance of the title, it is to be explained by their desire to find as much common ground as possible with their pagan opponents. It is unthinkable that Christians who invoked God as Father, through Jesus Christ, can ever have failed to attach to the title its special Christian sense. General considerations of this kind must correct inferences that may be suggested by other evidence. M. Tixeront himself fully recognizes the fact as regards the presentation of the Christian faith which we find in the Apologists (p. 223).

The loose translation of *οὐσία* by *nature* (p. 261) also calls for comment.

There is perceptible, too, all through, a tendency to attribute to the Church of Rome and its bishops an authority in matters of doctrine which in these early days was not conceded to them. So we find the popular Roman reading of the appeal of Irenaeus to the tradition of the churches, which is described as not 'sa tradition doctrinale, mais sa tradition hiérarchique . . . Les successeurs des apôtres sont seuls qualifiés pour nous enseigner la vérité' (p. 200). For this point of view, however, allowance can easily be made.

The book is in style and form a refreshing contrast to most recent works on doctrine, and others than the French students of ecclesiastical history for whom it is primarily designed will read it with pleasure and profit.

The Letters and other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria, edited by C. L. FELTOE. Cambridge University Press, 1904 (Cambridge Patristic Texts).

IN this volume we have collected together the extant fragments of the writings of Dionysius of Alexandria, including a few which have been preserved only in a Syriac translation. A large amount of most careful and scholarly work and research has been put into the book in the determination of the text, the explanation of the historical setting of the fragments, and the elucidation of the thought and the language of a writer whose style and vocabulary, though 'really saturated with classical uses', often present more than momentary difficulties. The great St Denys is certainly one of the most interesting figures, as administrator, theologian, and biblical critic, in a most interesting period of the history of the Church, and Dr Feltoe has rendered a real service to all students by putting into their hands this admirable edition of his writings, which touch so many subjects of high importance. The volume is a worthy addition to the useful series of Cambridge Patristic Texts.

Justin: Apologies, par LOUIS PAUTIGNY. (Paris. Alphonse Picard et fils, 1904.)

THIS is the first of a series of *Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme*, which is to include the texts of the works of most importance for the history of Christianity, its institutions, and its doctrines, with a French translation.

We have, accordingly, in this volume the Greek text of Justin's *Apologies* (based on that of the third edition of G. Krueger) with the translation on the opposite page, a few notes on the text, an introduction, and an index of words and Biblical quotations.

The Introduction is brief but excellent on all the points which call for notice, a few matters which would naturally come in expository notes

included; and the admirable bibliography given at the end of each section furnishes ample materials for further study of all the questions that are dealt with. For the Introduction alone any student of the Apologies will be grateful. If subsequent volumes are as good as this one, the series will abundantly fulfil its aim.

Justin's involved and often clumsy periods become transparently clear and pleasant reading in the French of M. Pautigny. But this result is, of course, only attained by the exercise of a good deal of freedom of translation, and in some passages which are particularly difficult, and where the exact meaning is obscure, I am not sure that the sense is always caught or successfully expressed.

I subjoin a few examples of passages in which it seems that the translation is inexact or the text adopted unsatisfactory.

iii 4 ὅπως μὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ ἡμέτερα νομιζόντων τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν ἡμῶν πλημμελώσει τυφλώνοντες αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὀφλήσωμεν is rendered *de peur que, pour ne nous être pas fait connaître de vous, nous ne soyons responsables devant notre conscience des fautes que vous commettriez par ignorance*. The meaning is 'that we may not bring upon ourselves (lit. ourselves incur for ourselves) the punishment, which is due to those who are habituated to ignorance about us, for the crimes which in their blindness they commit'. The rendering given slides over the difficulties and *devant notre conscience* introduces an alien idea. Christians who let others remain in ignorance would have to bear on their behalf the divine punishment for their wrongdoings. iv 7 παρακελεύονται is slurred over, and ἄλλως in the next clause. vi 2 The translation given is no doubt right: that we have here an instance of the substantival use of οἱ ἄλλοι, as is suggested in the note (p. xxix), is impossible. vii 2 διὰ τοὺς προλεχθέντας rendered *parce que d'autres ont été cités avant eux* gives no sense. For the word προλεχθέντας which is untranslatable (unless, indeed, δαίμονας may be understood with Trollope), we should probably read—as has been suggested—προελεγχθέντας, giving a good sense; viz.: you have to condemn many, on the evidence of their evil conduct; but you do it because you find them guilty of crimes of their own, not because others before them have been convicted: yet this is the principle you are following in the case of Christians if you condemn them as such, because some Christians have been convicted of crimes. xii 3 οὐ γὰρ . . . gives no sense, unless perhaps with a question after ἀδικούσιν. Veil's correction οἱ γὰρ . . . is to be preferred. xxi 4 διαφθορὰν καὶ παρατροπήν are read instead of the MS διαφορὰν καὶ προτροπήν, which however can be understood as ironical. xxiv 2 ἐν ταφαῖς στεφάνους with Otto, for ἐν γραφαῖς MS. We still wait for a convincing restoration of the text. xxix 3 the paraphrase seems to miss the meaning. xli 3 λάβετε χάριν (i. e. 'take a thank-offering')—*apportez*

des présents (Eng. V. 'bring presents'). xlv 11 the construction is *ἕκαστον . . . μέλλοντα . . . τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ . . . ἀπαντήσεσθαι*, 'that every one shall meet with the things from him (sc. God), i. e. receive his reward'. The correction of the text to *τὰ παρ' αὐτόν* (tr. *les offenses commises contre lui*) is unnecessary, and the translation of the whole clause is impossible, even if *παρ' αὐτόν*, which occurs in the previous clause meaning 'with him', could be used in two successive clauses in one sentence in such different senses. The second clause is really pleonastic. xlv 1 the correction *ἐκπύρωσιν* is unnecessary—the MS *ἐπικύρωσιν* 'confirmation' of a decree, so 'consummation' of things, is quite intelligible, and *ἐκπύρωσιν* is not likely to have been altered to it. l 7 *ὅτι ἀπέστραπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ* (i. e. 'because his face was turned away') *on se détourne de sa face*. (Heb.=as one from whom faces are hid.) 10 *ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθη dans son humiliation, il a été jugé*. li 2 *δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ je pardonnerai aux coupables à cause de sa sépulture*. lxvi 2 *δι' εὐχῆς λόγον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν consacré par la prière formée des paroles du Christ*.

I have noticed but few misprints, e. g. p. 7, l. 4, 15 for 19; p. 6, l. 24, *πατηγορῶντας* for *κατηγορῶντας*; p. 144, l. 6, *προρικῆς* for *κρονικῆς*.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

RECENT ASSYRIOLOGY.

Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum. Part VIII. By PROFESSOR R. F. HARPER. (Luzac & Co., London. 1902. 8vo. vii + 821-940 + xxiii pp.)

THE Eighth Volume of Professor R. F. Harper's great *Corpus Epistolarum* apparently completes the first half of his task, as it is to be followed by an index-volume containing the proper names occurring in the first eight volumes. This will, doubtless, prove a great help to those who want to refer to the rich and varied contents. Already 876 of these specimens of 'epistolary correspondence' are thus rendered available for study. The texts have been edited with the greatest care, and each volume has added considerably to our knowledge of the last century of the Assyrian Empire. These letters form a mine of information concerning matters to which the formal historical inscriptions are often only summary and obscure guides. They are frank and outspoken and aim at conveying the truth; they are as candid about defeats as they are exultant over victories. Often they exhibit strange words and phrases, sometimes the faithful record of provincial usages, sometimes preserving examples of diction only to be paralleled later from cognate

Semitic tongues. They add to our knowledge of manners and customs, politics and religion, even at times contribute to the reading of obscure ideograms and other technical matters. Their chief interest, however, consists in their being firsthand sources, subjected to no revision in party interests and guiltless of 'tendency'.

The historical value of this volume is considerable. It contributes side-notes to many chapters of history. Thus, No. 764 is obviously from Aplâ, the governor of Arapha (cf. No. 326 in vol. III), who, with Kudur governor of Erech, was so hard pressed by Shamash-shum-ukîn's rebellion against his brother Ashurbânipal. Again, No. 774 is concerned with Ashurbânipal's seventh campaign, against Elam (*V. R.* p. 5, ll. 50-57). The city Shamauna is that elsewhere called Samuna; it lay in the district of Iatburu, had already been captured by Sargon, rebuilt by him and renamed Bêl-îkiša, was taken again by Sennacherib, and now once more by Ashurbânipal. Its inhabitants bore names of the old Aramaic types, Abîa-kîa, Abîa-kî', Abî-iakar, Abî-bigânu, &c. They write to the king about affairs in the land of Râshu, which Sargon's inscriptions locate in Elam, on the borders of Babylonia and on the banks of the Tigris. It was captured at the same time as Shamauna. Ashurbânipal had to retake it in his seventh campaign. In No. 295 we have a letter from the king to the people of this land of Râshu, reminding them of his kindness to the Elamites in the time of famine and his continued friendship for them, but complaining of their bad faith, and urging the Râshai to be staunch friends. So we might go through letter after letter reconstructing the history of many a small town or state.

Occasionally we meet with some welcome hints as to internal politics. Thus No. 870, from a writer whose name we can no longer decipher, but one who must have been highly placed, uses a plainness of speech truly remarkable when addressed to an Oriental despot. It opens with the startling words: 'that which is not done in heaven, the king my lord, has done for his part on earth, or allowed to be done. Thou hast thrown a veil (?) upon the face of thy son (the writer?). Thou hast committed to him the kingdom of Assyria, thy eldest son thou hast set in the kingdom of Babylon.' After a considerable *lacuna* the writer goes on to say that 'what the king my lord has done to the kings his sons is not good for Assyria. Ashur has given thee, the king my lord, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun; let him look upon these thy sons with favour and may he rejoice thy heart. May the king my lord dismiss from his mind that counsel which is not good'. Unfortunately the rest of the letter conveys no connected sense; but it is evident that the writer bitterly resented the king's new policy. Now which king was this? One naturally thinks at once of Esarhaddon. We know that he made his sons Ashurbânipal and Shamash-shum-ukîn

kings of Assyria and of Babylon respectively; and that in his own lifetime. Further, we know that for some reason the nobles of Assyria offended him and that in B.C. 669 he put many of them to death. If we associate this letter with these events we must suppose it to be addressed to Esarhaddon. That would necessitate our concluding that Shamash-shum-ukin was really Ashurbânipal's elder brother and that Esarhaddon passed him over in favour of his younger brother. The writer seems to regard the selection of the eldest son for the throne of Babylon as a slight to Assyria. Did he regard it as a step towards making Babylon the metropolis? Esarhaddon may have meant that, and afterwards have subordinated the elder to the younger in order to appease the disaffected nobles of Assyria. Or this stroke of policy may have been due to the great queen-mother, Zakûtu, mother of Esarhaddon, who on his death, together with Shamash-shum-ukin, and the nobles of Assyria, proclaimed Ashurbânipal as the rightful king of Assyria. Was this adhesion of Shamash-shum-ukin to this policy an abdication of his birthright? If so, his disastrous rebellion twenty years later against his brother may have been an attempt to resume his father's policy. We do know that he was only titular king of Babylon while his father lived, and did not take up his position there till some time after Ashurbânipal began to reign in Assyria. Esarhaddon's death on his way to Egypt may have been a result of the disaffection caused by his new policy, and the Assyrian nobles may have kept Shamash-shum-ukin in Assyria because they doubted his intentions. It would all fit together very well, but we have hitherto been accustomed to regard Ashurbânipal as the eldest son. He is named first in a letter to Esarhaddon which seems to give the list of that king's family in order of seniority (No. 113). There Ashurbânipal is called eldest son, and the third child named is a daughter, Shêrua-eîrat, who is elsewhere called eldest daughter of Esarhaddon (No. 308). Then follow the names of two more sons. Shamash-shum-ukin is second in this list of five children. So too in my *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, No. 970, the same order is given, and in a dozen other places Ashurbânipal seems to be the eldest.

Now Sennacherib had placed his eldest son, Ashur-nâdin-shum, on the throne of Babylon during his lifetime, while he destined a younger son, Esarhaddon, for the throne of Assyria. Could the writer of this letter have forgotten that example when he wrote that such a thing 'was not done in heaven'? One can hardly think so. Still, Esarhaddon was probably not called king of Assyria till after his elder brother was dead. The difficulty may be got over by supposing that Ashurbânipal and Shamash-shum-ukin were really twins, but that one party claimed the status of eldest son for Shamash-shum-ukin. Ashurbânipal con-

tinually calls Shamash-shum-ukīn his *talimu*, a word that has been a great puzzle. Delitzsch renders it 'twin', Lehmann *ebenbürtiger Bruder*, Meyer 'illegitimate brother', &c.; it may be merely a term of affection, something like 'own brother'. Can it be that Esarhaddon originally meant Ashurbānīpal, really the elder brother, to be king of Babylon, and Shamash-shum-ukīn to be his successor in Assyria? He may have been forced to reverse that policy by his nobles and this letter may voice the discontent.

Another most interesting reference to ancient history occurs in No. 872. The writer's name has perished and we can only conjecture to which king he wrote. Evidently that king had the tastes of an antiquary, for the writer prides himself on having presented to his royal master an ancient letter written in Aramaic, *egirtu Armlti*, which had been given to him by one Kabtī, a scribe and once servant of Ashur-dāin-apli, son of Shalmaneser. Now we know that in B.C. 827 Ashur-dāin-apli, son of Shalmaneser II, rebelled against his father and succeeded in holding the greater part of the empire for some years. This must have been Kabtī's master, for the writer says that Kabtī told him 'the letter concerned the rebel, *bēl hiṣṣi*'. Hence we may conclude that the Aramaic script was used for letters at least as early as B.C. 823, when Ashur-dāin-apli was slain by his brother Shamshi-adad. The two lives, Kabtī's and the writer's, can hardly be made to cover more than a century, and the royal antiquary can hardly be later than B.C. 700.

As an example of curiosities in language we may note No. 771. Here Bēlikbi and the people of Gambulu, writing to the king, address him as *bēlumni* where we usually have *bēlini*, 'our lord'. Was this from a peculiarity of the Gambulu speech, or is it a scribe's blunder? They say further, *kalbē mitūtu anīni*, 'dead dogs were we', but the king has restored them to life, and *ūm balāṣu ana naḥirini iltakan* 'has given the breath of life to our nostrils'. There are many other peculiarities in this and other letters which will interest philologists for some time to come.

A contribution to the elucidation of the ideographic writing, so frequent in the long proper names, is made by No. 775. Here the writer, Nabû-rām-niṣēṣu, is clearly the same as the Nabû-rām-*E-RI* who wrote No. 140. There and in No. 777 he is associated with Salamu and they both use the same style of address. Each letter refers to Elamite affairs. The city Dunni-shamash, named in No. 775, is placed by Sargon's inscriptions in the land of Rāshu, on the borders of Elam. The writer seems to have lived in Dēri, or Dûrili, also on the Elamite border. This identification shews that *E-RI* is an ideographic writing for *nīṣē*, 'people'. We already knew that it stood for *ardu*, 'servant', and *nûru*, perhaps 'person'. Thus gradually knowledge accumulates

and obscurities depart. Again, No. 295 shews that to the other values of the sign *NE* may now be added *ših*.

It would be easy to continue to point out the many other gems which this volume contains. Nabû's letters are of great interest for the calendar, recording many observations of eclipses, but we must not trespass further. Of errors we have noticed very few. It is, of course, impossible without the favour of the Museum authorities to ascertain whether these are due to the original scribe or to the learned copyist. It may be of service to the reader to point these out, and they will no doubt be corrected in the editor's notes, or at least assigned to their true source. On p. 873, rev. 3, the first sign as printed is not recognizable; p. 826, rev. 6, the first sign should be *am* not *kar*; p. 838, line 19, *iḥarbûte* is for *ina ḥarbûte*, but such an omission of *na* is not without parallel; p. 849, rev. 3, the archaic sign for 'god' is surely not on the original; p. 877, obv. 9, rev. 9, the kind of wood mentioned should be *šurman* not *Aššurman*; in rev. 7, the official title is surely *rab SE-GAR*, not *AŠ-SE-GAR* as given. The sign which follows the determinative of wooden objects on p. 876, obv. 6 and rev. 9, is Brünnow's No. 4192, and forms the subject of K. 4257, col. 1, ll. 33-47. On p. 891, l. 15, the last sign should be completed to *kit*. On p. 907, l. 9, *abuk* is more probable than *abu-as*. According to No. 281, obv. 21, the last sign but one of No. 789, obv. 7, should be *e* not *si*. A comparison with the earlier volumes makes many more restorations possible than those given by Professor Harper. On the whole this is an error on the right side, for a wrong restoration is often cause of more trouble than an obscure *lacuna*. No. 793 is almost a duplicate of No. 283, though one is addressed to the king, the other to the Rabshakeh. Yet the use of either to restore the other must be made with great care.

A fruitful source of obscurities is the detestable habit, in which some copyists have indulged themselves, of scratching the tablets with a pin, or pen, or knife, in order to remove the hard incrustation due to long burial in the earth. This incrustation of 'silica', or 'bitumen', often renders the characters illegible, but it can be removed scientifically and then proves to have been an invaluable preservative of them. After its removal the signs appear as sharp as on the day when they were first inscribed. Many of the tablets have been beautifully cleaned and all might be so. It is difficult to trace the culprits who thus damage tablets; but the widespread occurrence of their depredations makes it doubtful whether the habit is a failing of more than one or two. Probably only one man alive has handled them all, and it would be interesting to know in what state he found and left them. Now, whoever finds such traces can only say he has had a predecessor.

Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. PROFESSOR M. JASTROW, JNR.
(Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1902-1904. First 7 parts. Band I.
pp. 552.)

SEVEN years ago Prof M. Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, published what was at once recognized as the best history of Babylonian religion (*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Ginn & Co., Boston U.S.A. 1898). The best, because the most closely wedded to facts and furnished with invaluable references to the sources. A competent Assyriologist, a student of Comparative Religion (since author of *The Study of Religion*, W. Scott, London, 1901), Librarian in a thoroughly equipped modern library, he had every qualification for producing good work on the subject. His own personal qualities of industry, accuracy, and method were guided by an eminently sane judgement. What he did then will always remain a fine piece of work.

Seven years, however, is a long time in Assyriological research; little short of a hundred important works have appeared, bearing on the religious life of Babylonia. Some of them have greatly increased our knowledge of the sources and naturally modified details or enlarged whole sections. A new edition was urgently needed to embody new material, and no one could be so competent to estimate the value of fresh results as he who had done so much for the earlier known facts. The better to meet the wants of students this work is being issued in instalments. The first volume includes such valuable introductory matter as a short sketch of Babylonian and Assyrian history, an excellent concise account of the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and a programme of the sources and method of research to be followed in the work. Then there comes an admirable account of the Pantheon arranged in four strata; the ancient pantheon, that of the united empire, the Assyrian, and the later Babylonian. The next great section deals with religious literature as far as the incantations, prayers, and hymns.

There is not extant any native treatise dealing formally with the subject of religion, and, in default of such a guide, the labour involved in collecting from scattered sources the materials for this work must have been enormous. The new edition is, however, far from being merely an enlarged text with insertions and excursions. So far as it goes it is a triumph of classification and arrangement. It is singularly free from the fault so easy to commit of piling up references and quotations till each page becomes as wearisome to read as a dictionary. Not only is it free from cuneiform type but also from the disfigurement of Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopic, or Syriac type which spoils so many learned works. Any one can make out the meaning of what is printed.

Naturally many questions are discussed on which a final pronounce-

ment cannot be expected for years to come. Some vital points may never be really settled. This is due to the fact that the material, often bewildering in its profusion, yet comes from widely distant localities, at wide intervals of time. Thus the cult of a particular god may be abundantly illustrated in early times, entirely unattested for a thousand years or more, and then appear in full vigour again. Nevertheless this may be no revival but only the result of the fact that we are without evidence for the interval. Exploration has not been carried out thoroughly on more than one or two sites. The connecting links still lie buried in the soil and it may be centuries before they are discovered.

A marked feature of the discussion of the Babylonian Pantheon is the frequency with which one god is found to be an *Erscheinung* of another god. Either he owed his distinguishing name to a local cult, or some aspect of his character gradually became more prominent. A comparatively small extension of what seems to be proved for a very large number of cases would justify us in saying that the Babylonians worshipped one god in a multiplicity of persons. The discussion has a distinct value for the appreciation of what personality was to the ancients. Recalling their significant use of the name as implying and fixing the power and destiny of its bearer we may ask: 'In what consisted the personal identity of a god?' Was he a different god when worshipped under another name, or was there but one god worshipped by many names? That the gods were not unanimous was implied, we may suppose, by their oppositions, e.g. by their divided counsels in the deluge story. Yet the composite nature of that poem may be the real explanation of the apparent discord. It might seem impossible to suppose that gods were originally one with goddesses. Sex seems an impassable barrier to identification. Yet nothing is more certain than that gods became goddesses in time. Whether they were always male and female we cannot say, because our earliest evidence must be thousands of years later than the first gods. As we see the evidence preserved, either a new name, no uncommon event, conferred a fresh personality, which might lead to difference of opinion with the old; or we have to do with a gradual corruption of original identity.

Most instructive in this aspect is the character of Ashur, the god of the city Asshur, then the national god of Assyria. He appears to have been destitute of the usual features of a nature god. Ashur was not worshipped in one place only, but wherever the Assyrian power became dominant there he was supreme. His worshippers readily did sacrifice to other gods in other lands, but he remained supreme wherever they became masters. He was a moveable god, symbolized by the standard carried into battle. Fierce, terrible, cruel to his foes, yet he was 'the good god' to his own. Like all the Babylonian gods he shares

in that estimable feature, which characterizes almost the whole cuneiform literature, the absence of lewd and disgusting traits. These old gods are eminently respectable beside the classical deities.

Of far-reaching importance for ethical studies is the list of sins. True they were regarded as likely to bring on disease, and in every sickness the first question was 'What is the sin?' True, the disease and the sin also could be removed by magical rites associated with prayer. But the character of sin is the key to the ethical system. There is a very fine morality inculcated even in professedly magical rites: and most beautiful prayers are mingled with grotesque exorcisms. Possession by devils was firmly believed in, but there are sane attempts at medical treatment; and surgical skill was by no means contemptible. It was apparently a chaos of incompatibles, yet there was much that was noble and worthy to survive. The prayers and hymns are a most striking feature of the religious literature. Professor Jastrow has given excellent renderings of them, and every page shews improvements on his predecessors. One only wonders, at times, whether the ancient Babylonian meant by his words what the modern translation can mean to us. If so, surely he too was not far from God.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

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